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P. VERGILI MARONIS OPERA.

WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

VOL. I.

Fourth Edition.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER & CO., AVE MARIA LANE;
GEORGE BELL, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1881.

LY 18. 364

1774/25.
H. H. H. H. H.
Classification Department.
I - III.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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P. VERGILI MARONIS
OPERA.

THE WORKS OF VIRGIL,

WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN, AND FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE;
LATE FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE ECOLOGUES AND GEORGICS.

*FOURTH EDITION, REVISED, WITH CORRECTED ORTHOGRAPHY
AND ADDITIONAL NOTES AND ESSAYS,*

BY

HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A.

CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER & CO., AVE MARIA LANE;
GEORGE BELL, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1881.

816
43

TO
GOLDWIN SMITH, M.A.,
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
THIS EDITION OF VIRGIL,
ORIGINALLY UNDERTAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH HIM,
IS INSCRIBED,
IN MEMORY OF A FRIENDSHIP OF MANY YEARS.



PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

AT the request of the publishers of Conington's Virgil I have undertaken to revise the first volume of that work. The orthography adopted by Conington, which was that of Wagner's small edition, has been entirely recast in accordance with the principles now accepted by all Latin scholars. I cannot suppose that Conington, had he been now alive, would have bound himself permanently to a system which time has shown to have been founded on an incomplete survey of the evidence, and have let his Virgil fall, in this respect, behind many even of our recent school-books, which, in the matter of orthography, have had the full benefit of the modern advance in Latin scholarship.

I have altered nothing in the notes except where I felt sure that Conington himself would have made a change. But I have written some additional notes, which are enclosed in brackets [] with my initials, mainly on points connected with the history of Virgil's time, with the text, or with interpretation given by the ancient commentators. It will be observed that a much greater number of MS. variants is mentioned than in the previous editions. Although many of these are mere mistakes, they will, I hope, be found of some use in assisting students to form a clearer idea than before of the condition of Virgil's text in the fifth century A.D.

The references to Catullus have been altered to suit the most recent editions, and those to Pliny's Natural History have been changed in accordance with the convenient practice of most modern editors, the second number denoting in all cases the short sections into which the books are divided in the editions of Jan and Detlefsen. Nonius is quoted according to the paging of

Mercier, which is given in the editions both of Gerlach and Quicherat. The references to Forbiger's Virgil have been corrected, where necessary, to suit his fourth edition, in which a change or modification of his former views is sometimes observable.

For the Life of Virgil prefixed to the previous editions I have substituted a new memoir, and have added three essays, on the ancient critics of Virgil, on the ancient Virgilian commentators, and on the text of Virgil. These essays will, I hope, be found useful as making more intelligible the allusions made in the notes to the manuscripts and to the ancient commentaries. To the last essay is added a list—the first complete list that has ever been made—of the Bodleian manuscripts of Virgil, with some account of the more important ones, by Mr. F. Madan, Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College.

The view which I have expressed of the relation between the Macrobian Servius and the Servius of the commentary I had formed independently, before I learned that it was also in substance the same as that of MM. Thilo and Emile Thomas. I desire to record my especial obligations to the excellent essay of M. Thomas ("Essai sur Servius et son Commentaire sur Virgile," Paris, 1879), which is, so far as I know, the only work in which the problems connected with the Servian commentary are exhibited and discussed in a comprehensive form. Two valuable pamphlets on Macrobius, by MM. Linke and Wissowa, I was unable to procure until the last sheets were going through the press.

In the essays on the ancient Virgilian commentators and on the text of Virgil I need hardly say that I have been much indebted to Ribbeck's *Prolegomena*. The scope and aim of Ribbeck's treatment of the subject is, however, somewhat different from that which I have had in view, nor am I always able to agree with his conclusions. I have attempted to ascertain approximately the date, or rather the period, to which the Virgilian notes which are common to Nonius and the later commentators should be assigned; a point which, so far as I know, has not been fully discussed in this connection either by Ribbeck or by any other scholar, though the general question of the authorities followed by Nonius has

been treated recently by Hertz, Riese, Schmidt, and Schottmüller. What I have written is offered not as a final solution of the many difficult problems involved in the subject, but as an attempt to break ground in a region as yet imperfectly explored.

In these essays I have endeavoured in all cases to distinguish between the Vulgate of Servius and the additional notes published in Daniel's edition. But I have not thought it necessary to do this in the commentary, as the antiquity and high value of these notes, whether they be regarded as interpolations or not, make them quite equal in importance to the Vulgate for all purposes of interpretation or textual criticism.

I have retained the spelling *Virgil* in deference to Conington's authority, though no length of literary association can, in my opinion, make it correct.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

Oxford, December 1880.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.¹

WHEN an author has to publish a second edition of a work, not the least perplexing of the questions which occur to him is what to do with the Preface to the first. The answer will probably depend on the extent to which the work has been altered. In a case like the present, where important changes have been introduced, but the bulk of the work is substantially the same, it seems natural that the original Preface should neither be simply repeated nor altogether omitted, but remodelled.

At the time when I undertook this edition of Virgil, in 1852, I had, as the public are aware, the advantage of being associated with another editor, the distinguished friend to whom I have now the satisfaction of a second time inscribing it. In 1854 he was called to other duties, which removed him from Oxford, while they engrossed his time; and I had to continue the work alone. Those who know him will be able to feel how much he might have contributed to the illustration of an author one of whose chief characteristics is his subtle delicacy of expression, and who requires in those who would appreciate him, not only the power of an analytical critic, but the sympathy of a practised master of the Latin language. Even as it is, this volume owes not a little to Mr. Goldwin Smith's assistance. The Eclogues, the first two Georgics, and a part of the third we read together. The notes on the latter part of the first Georgic, the whole of the second, and the early part of the third, were, to a considerable extent, pre-

¹ This Preface is reprinted with the omission of such passages only as would, if retained, have conflicted with statements in the Preface to the Fourth Edition.—H. N.

pared by us in concert for publication: those on the first five Eclogues are based on some which he composed by himself: and many passages in both poems have since been discussed between us. The editorial responsibility is however entirely mine, and I have exercised it freely with reference to the materials which he allowed me to use, adding, altering, and suppressing, as I deemed best. One important remark, affecting the interpretation of the first Eclogue, I have thought it right to assign distinctly to him, as it appears to me both new and valuable.² On the other hand I fear it is not impossible that the notes may betray, here and there, even after the present revision, a trace of that inconsistency which is perhaps almost inseparable from a divided editorship, though it is also conceivable that indications of this kind may have arisen from changes in my own opinion, such as it is no less natural to expect in the course of a protracted work.

Even a transient glance at the contents of the present volume will show that the production of it must necessarily have been a work of time. It does not profess, indeed, any more than the other editions of the *Bibliotheca Classica*, to be a work for the learned, the result of elaborate original research. No manuscripts have been consulted in the formation of the text: a very large portion of the notes may be found in the commentaries of others. But it is no light thing to comment on nearly 3000 lines, line by line, even where the materials of the note are taken from other sources. Much too depends on the style in which a commentary is written. I have in general studied brevity of expression, abridging quotations which might have been given in extenso, and indicating a thought which might easily have been pursued. A very few lines of type will often represent the employment of an hour. Before I knew the actual nature of the work, I fancied that an edition of the whole of Virgil, such as I proposed, might be completed in two or three years: I can now only wonder at the inexperience which suggested the thought.

In writing my notes I have had no one class of readers exclusively in view, but have aimed at producing a commentary which should contain such information as is suited to the various wants of a somewhat mixed body—those who constitute the

² See p. 11.

highest classes in the larger schools, and those who read for classical honours at the Universities. As a general rule, however, I have said nothing where I did not think it possible that a doubt might arise in the mind of a fairly instructed reader. My custom has been to take every line as it came before me, and ask myself whether I thoroughly understood it; and this process has often led me to entertain difficulties which had not previously made themselves felt. Some of these I have come to think of importance: others a little consideration has sufficed to dispel: but it seemed worth while to endeavour to preclude the latter no less than the former. I have not in general desired to furnish information of a kind which is to be found in Lexicons, or in the well-known Dictionaries of Antiquities, Biography and Mythology, and Geography. With regard to the last-named works, however, my practice has not been very consistent: I have frequently referred the reader to them, and as frequently left him to refer himself. I trust, however, that this awkwardness has not been productive of any serious inconvenience.

The essays which I have ventured to introduce in different parts of the volume are intended in one way or another to illustrate the literary peculiarities of Virgil's poems. Possibly they may be found interesting on their own account, as, with the signal exception of Colonel Mure's unfinished work, to which I may now add Professor Sellar's book on the Roman Poets of the Republic, our language is singularly deficient in sketches of the history of classical literature.³ Here, as elsewhere, I have written rather for learners than for scholars: I have sought to popularize what already exists in less accessible forms. Two of these essays, those introductory to the Eclogues and the Georgics, were substantially delivered as public lectures before the University: the remaining two, which are of much slighter texture, were written for the present publication.

With regard to the text, I may refer generally to what I have said in the Preface to my second volume. The publication of Ribbeck's *apparatus criticus* has made a new recension necessary, though here as well as in the Aeneid I have accepted his facts

³ Written before the appearance of Dr. Wagner's translation of Teuffel's *Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur*, and Mr. Cruttwell's more recent manual.

without holding myself bound by his judgment. The more important varieties I have mentioned in the notes, particularizing the MSS. in which they are found, and noticing even transcriptional errors when they seemed to suggest any critical considerations. Doubtless the text of Virgil cannot yet be said to be fixed: but it is satisfactory to know that so much has been added to our materials for fixing it. Meantime it may be asserted even with more confidence than before that there are few writers whose text is in so satisfactory a state as Virgil's. Variations there are, and probably will continue to be, as some of the most eminent of the ancient grammarians appear to have made independent recensions, each of which would naturally have distinctive peculiarities. But the choice generally lies between words, each of which has considerable probability, external and internal; and though the critic may not always feel sure that he has before him the actual hand of Virgil, he is not left to the hopeless confusion which unskilful transcribers have introduced into the text of other authors. The more important MSS., though not always accurate representatives even of their own recension, supply each other's defects: the less important may in general be passed over entirely. The need of critical conjecture is almost wholly removed. Even the two instances where, in the first edition, following other editors, I had disturbed the text without any external authority, have now disappeared. In *Eclogue 7*, v. 54, Lachmann and Madvig have shown "quaeque" to be the true reading: in *Eclogue 8*, though there is no authority for leaving out the burden contained in v. 76, there is authority for introducing a corresponding burden after v. 28, which I have accordingly done.

In the notes I have availed myself largely of the labours of my predecessors. Servius and Philargyrius I have used constantly, though it is likely that some few of their remarks may have escaped me,⁴ as I have studied them chiefly in the commentary attached to the *Delphin and Variorum Classics*, where they seem not to have been reprinted quite entire. The same collection has supplied me with many of the notes of Germanus, Cerda, Taubmann, Emmenessus, and others. This field had been partially

⁴ Several additional notes have been quoted from them in the Fourth Edition
—H. N.

reaped by Heyne; but I found that he had left me something to glean. From Cerda in particular, whose own complete commentary I have sometimes consulted, I have derived some additional parallel passages, though he is fond of accumulating matter which is not strictly relevant. Trapp's notes, appended to his translation, are not without good sense, but do not show much learning or poetical feeling. Martyn's commentary has been constantly at my side, and has been of some use, independently of its botanical and agricultural information, as containing the opinions of others, particularly Catrou, whose own edition I have never seen. Heyne's explanatory notes deserve much of the praise they have received, but they are deficient in minute attention to the author's language. I have used Voss's commentary on the Eclogues (in Reinhardt's Latin translation) with advantage, frequently availing myself of his research even where I could not accept his views; his commentary on the Georgics I have unfortunately been unable to procure, though I have no reason to believe that it is an uncommon book. The explanatory notes of Wagner are few, though more numerous than those of Spohn and Wunderlich, which he has incorporated in his edition of Heyne; they are however generally valuable, while his "*Quaestiones Virgilianae*" exhibit very great care and diligence. The merits of Forbiger's edition are chiefly those of a compilation; but it contains a large amount of exegetical matter; it leaves few difficulties unnoticed; and its references to grammars and other works where points of language are examined deserve much commendation. I have made great use of it, levying on it the same kind of contributions which it has levied on others. To Mr. Keightley I owe a more personal acknowledgment, as he was kind enough, when I was preparing my first edition, to place in my hands a copy of his Notes on the Eclogues and Georgics, containing many MS. corrections and additions, and also to favour me with his opinion on certain points by letter. His book has been chiefly useful to me in relation to agricultural and botanical matters, but I have derived considerable advantage from his independent judgment as a general commentator, though frequently compelled to differ from him on questions of scholarship. From Ladewig's German school commentary (I speak of the first edition only) I

have gained something, though his novelties of interpretation seem to me frequently untrue, and his conjectural deviations from the received text unfortunate. I have consulted also the school editions by Mr. A. H. Bryce and Mr. C. D. Yonge, and parts of a critique by Ameis on passages in Wagner's and Ladewig's editions of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, under the title of "*Spicilegium explicationum Vergilianarum*." I am sorry that I am obliged to go to press before the appearance of Dr. Kennedy's promised school edition.

I have carefully studied the valuable review of the first edition of this volume by my friend Mr. Munro, in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, frequently adopting his views, and never rejecting them without full consideration. And I have introduced not a few suggestions from a body of remarks kindly forwarded to me by Mr. Blackburn, Rector of Selham in Sussex, who speaks not only as a student of Virgil, but as a man accustomed to country pursuits. While, however, I trust that from these and other sources various improvements will be discovered in the explanatory part of the present edition, it is right to say that it will be found to be substantially unaltered.

As subsidiary works, bearing on the subject of the *Georgics*, I have consulted Dickson's "*Husbandry of the Ancients*," and Dr. Daubeny's recently published "*Lectures on Roman Husbandry*;" but my knowledge has, I fear, not been always sufficient to enable me to use them with effect. The grammar to which I have most frequently referred is Madvig's; the lexicon, Forcellini's.

The editions of the classics to which I have referred have been in general the best and latest, when my library happened to contain them. For the Greek dramatists I have followed Dindorf; for Pindar, Bergk or Schneidewin; for Hesiod, commonly Götting; for Dion Cassius, Reimarus; for Xenophon and Appian, the editions published in Teubner's series. For Plautus, I have followed those editions where the lines are numbered by Acts and Scenes, not as preferring that practice, which appears not to have been sanctioned by antiquity, but because neither Ritschl nor Fleckeisen, who adopt the other plan, has completed his edition; for Propertius, Paley; for Lucretius, Lachmann; for the other Latin

poets, Weber's "*Corpus Poetarum*;" for the fragments of the Latin dramatists, Ribbeck; for those of Ennius, Vahlen; for those of Lucilius, Gerlach; for Cicero, mostly Verburg; for the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, sometimes Gesner, sometimes Schneider; for the Latin grammarians, Keil; for Festus, Müller; for Nonius, generally Gerlach and Roth. This list is perhaps not quite complete, but I think it contains nearly all those authors the references to which are likely to vary according to the editions used. I fear there may be some cases found in which I have used an edition not named in it; but the notes have been written at various places, a large portion of them indeed during vacations, when I have been absent from Oxford, and have in consequence only had a certain number of my own books about me.

In concluding the Preface to my first edition, I spoke of my obligations to Mr. Long and his lamented colleague. To their supervision were due the removal of many errors, and the accession of some new information. At the same time I said that their criticisms had very considerably abated the confidence with which I offered the volume to the public: and though the favourable opinion of most of my reviewers, and the sale of a large impression, seem to show that the work has in the main been approved, I have learned quite enough, both from my own increased experience and from the observations of others, to prevent me from withdrawing the expression of self-distrust. Where so much has been successfully questioned, it is impossible not to be afraid that there remains behind much more, not only open to dispute, but actually erroneous. I can only say, as before, that I shall be very grateful to any reader who will help me towards accuracy by pointing out my mistakes. Meantime, I may perhaps put in a plea for indulgence on account of the wide field over which the notes extend. A body of several thousands of propositions on a great variety of subjects can hardly fail to yield a large percentage of error.

JOHN CONINGTON.

LIFE OF VIRGIL.

THE fullest and most authentic life of Virgil now existing is that prefixed to the commentaries of Aelius and Tiberius Donatus. This memoir, which was formerly attributed to Ti. Donatus, is now by the almost universal consent of scholars assigned to Suetonius.¹ There is also a Life prefixed to the commentary which bears the name of Probus, which may also be ultimately based upon Suetonius, but whose author, whoever he was and whatever authorities he followed, cannot be acquitted of either ignorance or carelessness.² And a short memoir is also prefixed to the commentary of Servius, which, although it is for the most part merely a confused abridgment of the work of Suetonius, contains some additional matter, notably the statement that the lines about Helen in the second Aeneid (vv. 566 foll.) were Virgil's own, and were struck out of his manuscript by Varius and Tucca.

The memoir by Suetonius, in the form in which we now possess it, does not perhaps contain all that Suetonius wrote about Virgil, but so far as it extends its value is all-important. For Suetonius, a diligent and conscientious collector of facts, had access to documents contemporaneous with the poet himself,³ including his correspondence with Augustus, and memoirs of him by the poet Varius and other friends. Fragments only of these original authorities have come down to us,

¹ Arguments in support of this theory will be found in my edition of the memoir ("Ancient Lives of Virgil," Clarendon Press, 1879). I should have added to those already adduced the fact that Jerome, in his additions to the Eusebian chronicle, which in this part are universally acknowledged to come from Suetonius, uses language about Virgil identical with that of the Life attributed to Donatus.—A. Abr. 1948, 1960, 1965, 2003 = Vita Vergilii 2, 7, 35, 36.

² He puts the confiscation of Virgil's estate immediately after the *bellum Mutinense* (43 B.C.), instead of after the battle of Philippi.

³ Quintilian 10. 3. 8. "Vergilium quoque paucissimos die composuisse versus auctor est Varius." Gellius 17. 10, "amici familiaresque Vergilii in iis quae de ingenio moribusque eius memoriae tradiderunt." Tacitus, Dial. 13, "testes Augusti (ad Vergilium) litterae." Macrobius, Sat. 1. 24. 11, preserves a fragment of the correspondence between Augustus and Virgil.

but, so far as it goes, the information which they convey corresponds accurately enough with that given by Suetonius.

Such are the sources from which I have drawn the following short account of the life of Virgil.

Publius Vergilius Maro was born on the fifteenth of October, in the year 70 B.C., in which Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus were for the first time consuls, at Andes, a *pagus* in the territory of Mantua.⁴ The name *Andes* is Celtic,⁵ and so apparently is *Vergilius*. The poet's father was a man of humble origin. According to some accounts he was a worker in pottery, but most authorities represented him as the hired servant of one Magius, a courier,⁶ whose daughter Magia he at length married. His mother's name is doubtless in great part responsible for the mediaeval notion which made Virgil (*"Magiae filius"*) a magician.

If we may trust the authorities mentioned by Suetonius, Virgil's father managed to enrich himself by buying up tracts of woodland and by keeping bees. There is nothing improbable in this statement, as the time when he was thus engaged may well have been the era of the Sullan proscriptions, when land would be cheap. It is probable that Virgil's love for the country was fostered by his early surroundings.

Although of humble origin himself, Virgil's father, like Horace's, seems to have been anxious to give his son the best education attainable. Virgil spent his boyhood at Cremona,⁷ and took his *toga virilis* there on his fifteenth birthday (Oct. 15, B.C. 55), on the very day when the poet Lucretius died.⁸ By an odd coincidence, Pompeius and Crassus were a second time consuls in this year. From Cremona Virgil went to Milan, and shortly afterwards to Rome. Here he studied rhetoric under the best masters,⁹ among others (if we may believe the short biography given in two Berne manuscripts) Epidius, who also numbered Antonius and Octavianus among his pupils. The earliest specimen quoted of his poetry is a couplet said to have been

⁴ Suetonius 2, "in pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua non procul." Jerome a. Abr. 1948 "Vergilius Maro in pago qui Andes dicitur, haut procul a Mantua." The memoir attributed to Probus calls Andes a *vicus*, and places it some thirty miles from Mantua. But Andes must have been much nearer to Mantua: see "Ancient Lives of Vergil, &c.," p. 33.

⁵ A Gallic tribe was so called: Caes. B. G. 2. 35, and elsewhere.

⁶ Suetonius 1, "quem quidam opificem figulum, plures Magi cuiusdam viatoris initio mercennarium, mox ob industriam generum tradiderunt, egregieque substantiae silvis coemendis et apibus curandis auxisse reculam." (I conjecture *substantiam* . . . *reculae*.)

⁷ Perhaps his mother Magia was a native of Cremona: a Numerius Magius of that city is mentioned by Caesar B. G. 1. 24.

⁸ Suetonius 6, 7; Jerome a. Abr. 1965.

⁹ Probus.

written in his boyhood as an epitaph on a brigand Ballista, the master of a school of gladiators :

“Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
Nocte die tutum carpe, viator, iter.”¹

Suetonius says that among his other studies Virgil paid attention to medicine and astrology.² A notice in the Verona scholia informs us also that he studied philosophy under Siron, a celebrated Epicurean.³ There are some pretty lines in the collection of the minor poems (κατὰ λεπτόν) attributed to Virgil, in which the boy expresses the delight with which he is abandoning rhetoric and grammar, and even poetry, for philosophy :

“Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae,
Inflata rore non Achaico verba;
Et vos, Stiloque Tarquitique Varroque,
Scholasticorum natio madens pingui,
Ite hinc, inane cymbalon iuventutis.
Tuque o mearum cura,⁴ Sexte, curarum
Vale, Sabine; iam valete, formosi;
Nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus,
Magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,
Vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura.
Ite hinc, Camenae, vos quoque ite iam, sane
Dulces Camenae, (nam, fatebimur verum,
Dulces fuistis); et tamen meas cartas
Revisitote, sed pudenter et raro.”

No scholars, as far as I am aware, see any objection to accepting these lines as genuine. If they are so, they are an interesting testimony to the aspiration for philosophical culture which Virgil expresses again in the second Georgic, and which never left him.

Like Horace, Virgil long felt the influence of the Epicurean system, to a part of which at least he expresses his adherence in a passage in the first Georgic (v. 415 foll.). And we may well believe that it was partly due to the teaching of Siron that Virgil conceived the deep admiration for Lucretius which no careful critic has failed to detect in his writings.

Suetonius says that at the age of sixteen Virgil wrote the *Culex*,⁵

¹ Suetonius 17; Servius.

² *Ibid.* 15.

³ Ecl. 6. 10.

⁴ *Causa*, Haupt.

⁵ Suetonius 17, “deinde (scripsit) catalepton et priapia et epigrammata et diras, item Cirim et Culicem cum esset annorum xvi. Scripsit etiam, de qua ambigitur, Aetnam.” Servius: “scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos: Cirin, Aetnam, Culicem, Priapeia, catalepton, epigrammata, Copam, diras.” I doubt whether these two statements can be taken as independent. There is considerable critical difficulty

meaning thereby, I suppose, the worthless hexameter poem which has come down to us under that name, and which concludes as Suetonius says Virgil's poem concluded. Suetonius is not alone responsible for this statement, for a literary tradition as old as Lucan⁶ assigned this piece to Virgil's youth or boyhood. The poem is poor enough in itself, and (as Mr. Munro has pointed out to me) stands sufficiently condemned on metrical grounds. For the author of the *Culex* is careful in the matter of elisions,⁷ never, if possible, allowing two long vowels to coalesce. This strictness is inconceivable in Virgil's youth. A poet who even in his ripest work allowed himself the greatest freedom in eliding vowels is not likely to have been preternaturally scrupulous in his seventeenth year.

No one now thinks of attributing the *Ciris* or the *Aetna* to Virgil. The workmanship of the *Copa* and the *Moretum* is not unworthy of the Augustan age; but this does not, of course, prove that they are from the hand of Virgil.

Of the short poems known under the various names of *Catalecton*, *Catalepta*, and *Catalecta*, but more rightly, as Bergk and Unger have shown, named *Catalepton* (τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν, or minor poems), the second, *Corinthiorum amator iste verborum*, is expressly attributed to Virgil by Quintilian (8. 3. 27), though even this testimony cannot be accepted as conclusive. Of the fifth, *Ite hinc inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae*, I have already spoken; there seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the tenth, *Sabinus ille quem videtis hospites*, a parody of Catullus' *phasellus*. The eighth, *Villula quae Sironis eras*, purports to be written by Virgil in the year 41, when he was flying from his home. He addresses the villa of his master Siron, and implores it to give shelter

about the passage. In Suetonius the Canonician MS., which, though late, represents a good tradition, reads *moretum* for *catalepton*: and Servius' words *septem sive octo* require explanation. My own opinion is that Suetonius wrote *deinde Culicem cum esset annorum xvi.*, and that the rest is an interpolation. Servius' *septem sive octo* I should explain by supposing that *epigrammata* and *catalepton* refer to the same set of minor poems: that one word was written over the other as an explanation, and thus crept into the text, and that the scribe, in doubt whether to count *epigrammata* and *catalepton* as two sets of poems or one, saved his conscience by adding *sive octo* after *septem*. Bæhrens, however, in his recent edition of these poems (Leipzig, 1880), accepts the text of Suetonius and Servius, whom he treats as independent authorities, as genuine, and contends that the title *catalepton* includes all the minor poems attributed to Virgil, and that the true title of the short pieces is *epigrammata* or *praelusiones*. I agree with him that *epigrammata* would be a very good term to designate the short pieces, but I doubt whether τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν could include the larger ones, and suspect that *epigrammata* and *catalepton* were synonymous.

⁶ Suetonius, *Vita Lucani*.

⁷ Bæhrens also lays stress upon this point in the work just quoted (p. 26).

and a home to him and his father. This poem has as good a claim to acceptance as any in the collection; but the thirteenth, the author of which speaks of himself as a soldier accustomed to hard campaigning, cannot possibly be by Virgil. The third (*Aspice quem valido subnixum gloria regno*) may very well, as I have argued elsewhere,^{*} apply to Phraates, and in that case must belong to the year 32 B.C., the thirty-eighth of Virgil's age. Considering this fact it can hardly, perhaps, be pronounced worthy of him. Of the sixth and the twelfth all that can be said is that they are lampoons in the manner of Catullus. Two poems (4 and 11) are addressed apparently to Octavius Musa, an historian of note. The authorship both of these and of the rest of the collection remains at present uncertain.

But, whatever be the case with regard to these poems, we must look to the Eclogues and Georgics if we would learn anything of the studies and political leanings of Virgil's early manhood. To take the last point first, it must never be forgotten that Virgil's boyhood was passed in the full blaze of Julius Caesar's glory. Virgil was a boy of fifteen when Caesar invaded Britain; an expedition which impressed the fancy even of the hostile Catullus. And there were nearer ties which bound Virgil's native country to Caesar. In 49 B.C. (the twenty-first of Virgil's age) Caesar, who had for nineteen years been patron of Gallia Transpadana, conferred the Roman citizenship on its inhabitants. The whole career of the Dictator must, in fact, have deeply impressed the imagination of the young poet. The literary men of the previous generation had mostly espoused the cause of the republic; but a change, for which the course of events quite sufficiently accounts, began with Sallust, Virgil, and Varius. If the fifth Eclogue is rightly referred to Julius Caesar, we may take this poem as well as the conclusion of the first Georgic as Virgil's tribute to the man whom he regarded as the saviour of his country.

Turning now to Virgil's early studies, it is clear from the Eclogues and the Georgics that they were mainly devoted to the Alexandrian poets, and among the Roman poets to Lucretius (witness the sixth Eclogue), to Helvius Cinna, and to Varius. These last he expressly mentions as writers whose fame he would fain emulate if he could.^{*} Helvius Cinna, whose poem on Smyrna, admired of Catullus, had occupied him nine years, is said in a notice preserved by Philargyrius to have given the occasion for Horace's precept "*nonumque prematur in annum.*" We may conjecture that he was admired by Virgil as setting an example of severe learning and minute study of form.

* "Ancient Lives of Vergil," p. 34 foll. I am glad to find that Baehrens has arrived independently at the same conclusion.

* E. 9. 36. "*Nam neque adhuc Varro videor nec dicere Cinna Digna*" (41 B.C.).

Varius may have inspired Virgil with the love of epic and tragedy. It is curious that before he began the Eclogues he attempted a poem on Roman history, but found the subject uncongenial to his then frame of mind.¹

The Ciceronian age, barren of epic, tragedy, and comedy, had produced only lyric, didactic, and learned poetry. Virgil's youth was passed under the direct influence of the Alexandrian school and its followers in Italy; with Cornelius Gallus, one of the most distinguished among the "*cantores Euphronis*," he was on terms of intimate friendship.² It is remarkable how Virgil's genius and tact enabled him to avoid the characteristic faults of the Alexandrians and their imitators. *Non hic te carmine ficto Atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo*. Their merits he makes his own, their refinement and their beauty; but there is nothing to show that he had ever any taste for the obscurity and affectation and love of recondite mythology which Catullus and Propertius and probably Cinna allowed to blemish much of their writing.

Before the year 41 B.C., Virgil had been fortunate enough to win the friendship of Asinius Pollio,³ whom he mentions in the third Eclogue as encouraging his attempts in the way of pastoral poetry, as well as that of Cornelius Gallus and Alfenus Varus. Pollio was *legatus* in Gallia Cisalpina in 43 B.C.; whether Virgil knew him before this is not certain. When the troubles of the year 41 came, and Virgil, like Propertius and Tibullus, was ejected from his estate, the influence of these three friends procured its restitution from Octavianus, who found it a hard task to silence the complaints of the ejected landowners, without giving dangerous offence to his veterans.⁴

In the quarrel which attended Virgil's expulsion from his farm he was aided by the wealthy and accomplished Etruscan *eques*, C. Cilnius Maecenas, with whom he had previously been acquainted, and was afterwards on terms of intimate friendship.⁵ The Eclogues, published probably in 37 B.C. or thereabouts,⁶ were intended, says Suetonius, as a thank-offering to Gallus, Pollio, and Varus. The first is, of course, intended as a compliment to Octavianus; but of the remaining nine, two (the fourth and eighth) are dedicated to Pollio, two (the sixth and

¹ Suetonius 13, "*Cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit.*" Ecl. 6. 3, "*Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem Vellit et admonuit.*"

² See the sixth and tenth Eclogues.

³ Ecl. 3. 84, "*Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam.*"

⁴ For a discussion of the history of these events as bearing on the first and ninth Eclogues, see the Excursus at the end of Eclogue 9.

⁵ Suetonius 20.

⁶ The chronology of the Eclogues is discussed in the introduction to those poems, pp. 17, 18.

ninth) to Varus, and one (the tenth) to Gallus, who is also mentioned in terms of the greatest affection in the sixth.

The acquaintance of Horace with Virgil must have begun before the publication of the Eclogues. It was either in the year 40 or 38 or 37 (the year when the last Eclogue was probably composed), that Virgil, with Varius and Tucca, the future editors of his *Aeneid*, joined Horace at Sinuessa on a journey to Brundisium.⁷ Horace speaks of Virgil as at that time one of his most intimate friends, as if their acquaintance were now of long standing. The only relic, as far as I am aware, of the early period of this friendship is the twelfth ode of Horace's fourth book, which, in spite of the fact that this book was published after Virgil's death, it seems reasonable to refer to him. The ode, which Horace perhaps had not cared to publish before, is addressed to a Vergilius whom Horace asks to dinner on condition of his bringing with him a box of nard in exchange for Horace's wine. The language of the poem would very well suit the time when both poets were young and Horace poor, and before his introduction by Virgil, the *iuvenum nobilium cliens*, to the circle of Maecenas.

Horace's judgment of the Eclogues⁸ is well known: "*molle atque facetum (epos) Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae*," the Muses have granted him tenderness and refined wit in his hexameter writing. The literary sympathy and intimate friendship between Horace and Virgil was of immense importance as affecting the history of Roman literature. It was they who, while enjoining a closer study of the Greek masterpieces in their length and breadth than had hitherto been given to them, formed the classical style of Roman poetry, and showed how close imitation of great models was compatible with a free and noble manner, untainted by pedantry or servility. I have endeavoured elsewhere⁹ to collect some of the passages which resemble each other in the earlier works of these twin poets, thus attesting (in all probability) a constant and intimate communication between them.

The Eclogues, says Suetonius,¹ were so popular that they were often recited in the theatre. The same was the case with some of the poems of Ovid. On one occasion, if we may believe Tacitus,² the whole audience rose on hearing some of Virgil's verses, and testified their homage to the poet, who happened to be present.

When Virgil began the *Georgics* there is no positive evidence to determine. They were undertaken partly in honour of Maecenas,³ as

⁷ Sat. 1. 5. 40.

⁸ Sat. 1. 10. The date of this satire cannot be later than 32 B.C., and the *Georgics* were not finished till 29.

⁹ "Ancient Lives, &c." pp. 62—3. ¹ Sueton. 26. ² Dial. 13. ³ Sueton. 20.

a token of gratitude for the assistance which he had given the poet in the troubles of the year 41. The line in the first Georgic (509), *hic movet Euphrates, illic Germania bellum*, is usually taken as referring to the events of 37 B.C.; but I have tried to show in a note on the passage that it was probably written in 33 or 32. We know⁴ that the Georgics were read to Octavianus after his return from the East in 29 B.C. This then is their *terminus ad quem*: the only *terminus a quo* is the passage alluding to the *portus Iulius* in the second Georgic (161). This harbour was completed by Agrippa in 37 B.C., and the verses in question cannot therefore be earlier than that event. And these limits tally sufficiently with the statement of Suetonius⁵ that the Georgics were written in seven years.

Yet, if we are to press literally the concluding lines of the fourth Georgic, Virgil must have written the bulk of the three first Georgics at Naples in the years 31–29, when Octavianus was settling the affairs of the East.⁶ The expressions of Virgil in this place need not, however, mean more than that he was generally occupied with the work at that time. He appears to have worked at the Georgics very slowly, writing only a very few lines every day;⁷ and it may well be that although he had begun the poem as early as B.C. 36, the final touches were added between 31 and 29. The Georgics themselves do not offer much in the way of internal evidence towards enabling us to decide when different parts were composed. The openings of the first and third Georgic, I incline to think, were written for the recitation of 29 B.C., later, that is, than anything else in the whole work: the conclusions of the first and of the second Georgic are, perhaps, best referred to the end of 33 or the beginning of 32 B.C.

The opening of the third Georgic would be more easily intelligible could we suppose that the book was written either in Greece, or after a visit to that country. There is something to be urged in favour of this hypothesis. In the third ode of his first book, Horace speaks of a Vergilius, whom he calls *animae dimidium meae*, and for whom he prays a safe journey to the coast of Attica. It is difficult, if not impossible, to suppose that this Vergilius can be any one but our Virgil. The only recorded journey of Virgil to Greece is that which he made B.C. 19, a little while before his death; but to this it is impossible that Horace can be alluding, the ode in question having been written much earlier. May Horace then be referring to a journey taken by Virgil about the time when the third Georgic was written?⁸

⁴ Sueton. 27, and note.

⁵ *Ibid.* 25.

⁶ G. 4 fin.

⁷ Sueton. 22.

⁸ My friend Mr. T. W. Jackson, of Worcester College, has noticed, in regard to this point, that the third Georgic seems pervaded by a poet's enthusiasm for Greece.

In the year 31 came the battle of Actium; in 29 Octavianus returned to Italy from the East. Virgil, who with the assistance of Maecenas read the Georgics to him at Atella, seems to have intended at this time to write an epic poem in celebration of his exploits. The poets were busy upon the battle of Actium, and Virgil was for the time caught by the general enthusiasm. But he cannot have entertained the idea for long. Like Horace, he, for some reason or other, seems to have shrunk from the direct celebration of the acts of any person: thus in the sixth Eclogue he refuses to perform this service for Varus. Perhaps he thought, like Horace, that Varius was the right man to treat such subjects: *Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium Victor, Maemonii carminis aliti*. However this may be, he preferred a wider field, and turned his thoughts to the Aeneid.

He was engaged for the rest of his life, ten years, on this great epic, which he never lived to finish. Suetonius⁹ preserves a very important notice regarding the manner in which the Aeneid was composed. Virgil drafted it in prose, and then wrote the books in no particular order, but just as the fancy took him. This fact fully accounts for the numerous inconsistencies in the narrative as we have it. The narrative of the wanderings of Aeneas in the third book is not to be reconciled with that given in the first and fifth; the fifth interferes with the course of events as narrated in the fourth and sixth, and is inconsistent with the sixth in its account of the death of Palinurus.

There seems no doubt that the third book was written before the second. For in the second Crensa foretells to Aeneas that he is destined to come to the land of the Tiber, while in the third he is represented as acting in entire forgetfulness of this prophecy: a fact easily explained if we suppose that the second book was written after the third. For the rest, there are very few notes of time to aid us in determining how Virgil distributed his work over the ten years he was able to give to it. He must very soon after beginning his labours have read parts of the new poem to his friends. In a poem written in or about 26 B.C. (3. 26), Propertius has the well-known lines—

“Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai,
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade,”

which show that he was one of the friends who were admitted by Virgil to listen and criticise.¹ I have elsewhere² endeavoured to

⁹ 23, “Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in xii. libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque et nihil in ordinem arripiens.”

¹ Suetonius 33, “recitavit et pluribus, sed neque frequenter et ea fere de quibus ambigebat, quo magis iudicium hominum experiretur.”

² “Ancient Lives, &c.,” p. 67.

collect other evidence of this fact drawn from coincidences of language between Propertius and Virgil.

In 26 and 25 B.C. Augustus was absent in Spain, and wrote to Virgil pressing him to send him either his first sketch of the *Aeneid*, or any paragraph or passage he pleased.³ Virgil refused,⁴ urging that he had as yet nothing sufficiently finished, and dwelling on the vastness of the material, and the new studies that he was about to give to the subject.

The second, fourth, and sixth books were, however, at length read to Augustus and Octavia. This must have been after the death of the young Marcellus in 23 B.C. When Virgil came to the famous passage, "Tu Marcellus eris," Octavia is said to have fallen into a long swoon.⁵

The events of 19 B.C. are alluded to in the sixth and seventh books (6. 794, 7. 606), which shows that Virgil was still busy with this part of the *Aeneid* till within a short time of his death. Ribbeck supposes that he was also engaged in the latter years of his life upon a fresh edition of the *Georgics*. However this may be, there seems no reason to doubt that the end of the fourth *Georgic* was altered in or after the year 26, when the poet Gallus came to his tragical and untimely end. The original conclusion of the book, which in some way or other had been intended by Virgil as a compliment to Gallus, was, at the instance of Augustus, cut out, and the episode of Aristaens substituted for it.⁶

In the year 19 Virgil had intended to travel into Greece and Asia Minor, with the view of spending three years there in finishing and polishing the *Aeneid*.⁷ This done, he hoped to devote the rest of his life to philosophy. But it was not to be. At Athens he met Augustus, who was returning from the East, and decided to return with him to Italy. On a very hot September day he went to Megara, and afterwards fell ill. He was worse when he arrived, after an uninterrupted voyage, at Brundisium, where he died a few days afterwards, on the 20th of September.

³ Sueton. 31, "supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitabat ut sibi 'de Aeneide,' ut ipsius verba sunt, 'vel prima carminis ὑπογραφὴ vel quod libet colon mitteretur.'"

⁴ Macrob. Sat. 1. 24. 11, "tanta incohata res est ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar."

⁵ Suetonius 31, "cui (Augusto) tamen multo post perfectaque demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum quartum et sextum, sed hunc notabili Octaviae adfectione, quae cum recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus 'Tu Marcellus eris' defecisse fertur atque aegre fociolata est."

⁶ Servius G. 4. 1, "sciendum, ut supra diximus, ultimam partem huius libri esse mutatam. Nam laudes Galli habuit locus ille qui nunc Orphei continet fabulam, quae inserta est postquam irato Augusto Gallus occisus est."

⁷ Sueton. 35 foll.

Before leaving Italy Virgil had tried in vain to extract a promise from Varius that if anything should happen to him, he would burn the *Aeneid*. On his deathbed he constantly asked for his manuscript to burn it; but this request being also refused he left his writings in his will to Varius and Tucca, with the proviso that they were to publish nothing which had not been already given to the world. With the sanction of Augustus, if not at his instance, Virgil's last wish was judiciously disregarded, and the *Aeneid* was published by Varius and Tucca, with such corrections only as were absolutely necessary, even the unfinished verses being left as they stood.⁸

Virgil is said to have been tall, dark, and of a rustic appearance. His health was indifferent, for he suffered from weakness in the throat and stomach, as well as from headaches and spitting of blood. Little is known of his character, but what is known is (with doubtful exceptions) in his favour. His own language about his poems in the *Eclogues* leads us to imagine him fastidious, modest, and sensitive, and this apparently was the general impression. The modesty of his looks procured him at Naples the punning nickname of *Parthenias*. He objected very much to the demonstrations made in his honour if ever he appeared in the streets of Rome, an event, if we may believe Suetonius, of very rare occurrence.⁹ Virgil's father must, if we may trust the little poem in the *Catalepton* addressed to the villa of Siron,¹ have been alive at the time of the confiscations of 41 B.C. He was blind at the time of his death.² Virgil had two brothers, Silo and Flaccus. Silo died in his boyhood; Flaccus, who died in riper years, is said by Suetonius to have been the *Daphnis* of the fifth *Eclogue*.³

Virgil's mother, *Magia*, survived her husband and married again. A son, named *Valerius Proculus*, was the issue of this union.

Virgil seems to have been much beloved by his friends, among whom

⁸ Suetonius 39—41. "Egerat cum Vario priusquam Italia decederet ut si quid sibi accidisset *Aeneida* combureret; at is facturum se pernegarat. Igitur in extrema valetudine adsidue scrinia desideravit crematurus ipse; verum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de ea cavita, ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit ne quid ederent quod non a se editum esset. Edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos sicuti erant reliquerit": *ib.* 37. "L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius *Aeneida* post obitum iussu Caesaris emendaverunt." ⁹ *Ibid.* 8—12.

¹ *Catal.* 8. "Villula quae Sironis eras et pauper agelle,

Verum illi domino tu quoque deliciae,

Me tibi et hos una mecum, quos semper amavi,

Si quid de patria tristius audiero,

Commendo, in primisque patrem: tu nunc eris illi

Mantua quod fuerat quodque Cremona prius."

² Sueton. 14.

³ *Ibid.* 14.

perhaps the most intimate were Horace, Quintilius Varus, Varius, and Tucca.⁴ Horace describes⁵ Virgil and Varius, whom he constantly mentions together, as most transparent and lovable souls.

Owing to the generosity of his friends Virgil enjoyed a fortune of nearly £100,000. It is interesting to know that when Augustus offered him the property of an exiled citizen, whose name has not been preserved, he could not bring himself to accept it. He was seldom at Rome, though he had a house there near the gardens of Maecenas, and spent most of his time in Sicily or Campania.⁶

He was a very bad speaker,⁷ and failed completely when in his early life he attempted the profession of advocate. But his reading was so beautiful that⁸ Julius Montanus, a contemporary poet, said that verses which in themselves seemed lifeless and trivial sounded well when he recited them.

Half of his property he left to his half-brother Valerius Proculus, a quarter to Augustus, a twelfth part to Maecenas, and the rest to Varius and Tucca. His remains were taken to Naples and buried in a tomb on the road to Puteoli, with the epitaph—

“Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope: cecini pascua, rura, duces.”⁹

⁴ Probus.

⁵ Sat. 1—5.

⁶ Sueton. 12—13.

⁷ *Ibid.* 15—16, “egit et causam apud iudices unam omnino, nec amplius quam semel, nam et in sermone tardissimum ac pæne indocto similem fuisse Melissus tradidit.”

⁸ *Ibid.* 28—29.

⁹ *Ibid.* 36—37.

ON SOME OF THE EARLY CRITICISMS OF VIRGIL'S POETRY.

THAT Virgil was attacked during his life-time for his innovations in style we are assured by express statements in the memoir by Suetonius. After his death Carvilius Pictor published an *Aeneidomastix*, on the analogy of the *Homeromastix* of Zoilus, and the *Ciceromastix* mentioned at the beginning of the seventh book of Aulus Gellius; Herennius collected his *vitia*, which I suppose means faults of expression, Perellius Faustus his plagiarisms (*furta*); while an apparently neutral work, called *ὑπομνήματα*, or a collection of his translations from the Greek, by Octavius Avitus, filled eight books.

A reply to the *obtrectatores Vergilii* was written by Asconius Pedianus; a fact which may throw some light on the date of the works mentioned by Suetonius. For Asconius lived in the first part of the first century A.D.; and if, as it is reasonable from the language of Suetonius to infer, his work was a reply to the three books of Carvilius Pictor, Herennius, and Perellius Faustus, it follows that those works cannot have been published at any very great distance of time from Virgil's death, which took place in 19 B.C.

I propose to ask whether it is possible to trace any remains of these criticisms, and the replies to them, in the notes of Servius¹ and Macrobius, or elsewhere.

I.

And first as to criticisms passed upon Virgil for new combinations of words. Agrippa said that Virgil had been suborned by Maecenas to invent a new kind of affectation (*κακοζήλεια*), which consisted in an unusual employment of ordinary words,² and was therefore difficult of detection. With this criticism I am strongly inclined to connect a passage in Horace's *Ars Poetica* (v. 45 foll.), a work which, as Michaelis³

¹ In the following pages, when the name of Servius is mentioned without any addition, the so-called Vulgate or uninterpolated text of Servius is meant. By Servius (Dan.), on the other hand, is meant the Servius edited by Peter Daniel, and containing the additional notes printed by Thilo (in his recent edition) in italics. The relation of these notes to those of the Vulgate is discussed below in the section on Servius.

² Sueton. 44, "M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis."

³ In the *Commentationes Philologicae* recently published in honour of Mommsen.

has recently argued, may very probably have been written when Virgil was alive—

“*In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor :
Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit iunctura novum.*”

Horace asserts that new combinations of ordinary words, if made with nicety and caution (*tenuis cautusque*), are to be put down to a poet's credit. Now in the whole context of this passage (to which I shall have to return again) Horace is defending himself and his school against the attacks of hostile criticism ; and it is therefore very probable that his remarks about new combinations of words may be intended as a covert reply to such charges as that brought by Agrippa.

Herennius, says Suetonius, made a collection of Virgil's *vitia*. *Vitium* would, I suppose, mean any fault in style or expression. Quintilian says of *κακοῦλογία* (8. 3. 56), that it is *omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pessimum*. *Vitia*, therefore, would include affectation real or alleged, and we can hardly doubt that the work of Herennius included instances of this. Perhaps it may also have included the *vitia in versibus quas a nonnullis imperite reprehenduntur* mentioned by Macrobius 5. 14. 1: such alleged metrical errors as *arietat in portas, parietibus textum caecis, duos obice postes, quin protinus omnia, arbutus horrida*. Macrobius goes on (*ib.* § 5) to mention verses *vulsis ac rasis similes et nihil differentes ab usu loquendi, as omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus Amori: Nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*. These are defended by the example of Homer: but the words *vulsis ac rasis similes* have all the air of a quotation from a hostile critic. It must be remembered that Macrobius' *Saturnalia* is a mere succession of extracts from older works, sometimes strung together in no logical order, and without anything to show where the transition from one writer to another is to be looked for. The only interest in reading him is, therefore, that he makes us curious to get back, if possible, to the sources on which he is drawing.

In Macrobius 6. 6 Servius is represented as quoting some instances of new figures, or combinations of words, employed by Virgil, “*Vates iste venerabilis varie modo verba modo sensus figurando multum Latinitati leporis adiecit.*” His instances are *Supposita de matre nothos furatae creavit*, *creavit* being used for *creari fecit*: *tepida recentem Caede locum: socii cesserunt aequore iusso: caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis: vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo: et me consortem nati concede sepulchro: illa viam celerans par mille coloribus arcum*, and some others, two only of which I will quote as bearing specially on the question before us: “*frontem obscenam rugis arat: arat non nimie sed pulchre dictum*”; and “*discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit: quid enim est aura auri, aut quemadmodum aura refulget? Sed tamen pulchre usurpavit.*”

The two last comments which I have quoted are plainly answers to hostile criticisms; in the last, indeed, the very wording of the criticism is given: *Quid enim est aura auri*, &c. A careful reader of Macrobius, who has observed the very slovenly style of his patchwork, will be not disinclined to infer that perhaps all the passages quoted from § 2 to § 11 of this chapter had been fixed upon for attack by collectors (whether Herennius or others) of the *vitia Vergilii*, and were subsequently defended by friendly critics. And here it will be well to compare the Servius of Macrobius' Dialogue with the *scholia* which go under the name of Servius, in order, if possible, to ascertain the relation between them. I shall exhibit the two in parallel columns:—

THE SERVIUS OF MACROBIUS.

Nothos furatu creavit: ut ipsa creaverit quos creari fecit.

Tepidaque recentem Caede locum, cum locus recens caede nove dictus sit.

Socii cesserunt aequore iusso, pro eo quod est iussi cesserunt.

Caeso sparsurus sanguine flammās: qui ex caesis videlicet profunditur.

Vota deum primo victor solvebat Eo. Pro quas dis vota sunt.

Me consortem nati concede sepulchro. Alius dixisset, et me consortem nato concede sepulchri.

Illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum: id est per arcum mille colorum.

Spolia . . . coniciunt igni; pro in ignem.

Corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit. Tela exit, pro vitat.

Senior leto canentia lumina solvit; pro vetustate senilia.

Esaeaeque arboris antro: pro caverna.

Frontem obscenam rugis arat. Arat non nimie sed pulchre dictum.

Ter circum aerato circumfert tegmine silvam. Pro iaculis.

Vir gregis, pro capro.

Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis. Ora pro personis.

Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit. Quid enim est aura auri, aut quemadmodum aura refulget? Sed tamen pulchre usurpavit.

THE SERVIUS OF THE COMMENTARY.

Silent.

Aen. 9. 455. Hypallage est pro *tepidum locum recenti caede*. Unde multi legunt *tepidumque recenti Caede locum*.

Aen. 10. 444. Pro *ipsi iussi*. (Probus.)

Aen. 11. 82. Pro *caessorum*.

Aen. 11. 4. Subaudimus *tempore*.

Aen. 10. 906. Silent.

Aen. 5. 609. Aut subaudis *factum*, aut antiptosis est *mille colorum*.

Aen. 11. 193. Silent.

Aen. 5. 438, *exit*, vitat, declinat: unde de Venulo (11. 750) *et vim viribus exit*. Et hoc verbo bis usus est.

Aen. 10. 418. aut hypallage est pro *ipse canens*, aut physicam rem dicit. Dicuntur enim pupillae mortis tempore albescere.

Georg. 4. 44. Silent.

Aen. 7. 417. Silent.

Aen. 10. 887. Silent.

Ecl. 7. 7 (Dan.). Horatius (Od. 1. 17. 7) *olentis uxoribus mariti*, et Theocritus (8. 49) ὁ τράγει, τὰν λευκὰν ἀλγὼν ἄνερ.

Georg. 2. 387. qui ea (ludicra) exercebant, propter verecundiam remedium hoc adhibuerunt, ne agnoscerentur, ut personas factas de arborum corticibus sumerent.

Aen. 6. 204. *Auri aura*, splendor auri. Horatius (Od. 2. 8. 23) *tua ne retardet Aura maritos*, i.e. splendor. Hinc et aurum dicitur a splendore qui est in eo metallo.

THE SERVIUS OF MACROBIUS.

Simili frondescit virga metallo. Quam bene usus est frondescit metallo!

Nigri cum lacte veneni . . . nigro imponere nomen lactis.

Haud aliter iustas quibus est Mezentius iras. Odio esse aliquem usitatum; iras esse inventum Maronis est.

THE SERVIUS OF THE COMMENTARY.

Aen. 6. 144, *frondescit*, in naturam redit; et honeste locutus est dicens *habet frondes sui metalli*.

Aen. 4. 514, *nigri* aut noxii, quia nigri fiunt homines post venenum, aut certi illud est, quia sunt herbae nigri lactis, id est suci. Dicunt autem per periphrasin agreste papaver significari.

Aen. 10. 716. Silent.

Without quoting all the instances of novel refinement in language given in Macrobius, we are, I think, justified in asserting that there were a number of expressions in Virgil which were felt to require defence or explanation. That Macrobius had in his hands some work or works in which they were attacked, or, at least, remarked upon, may be inferred from two facts. First, it will be observed that in at least four of the notes above quoted, he seems to be giving the actual words of an adversary: I mean those on Aen. 7. 417, 6. 204, 4. 514 (here the words are now mutilated), and 10. 716. Secondly, the criticisms fall roughly under heads, though Macrobius does not say so. *Recens caede, caeso sanguine*, are instances of an uncommon use of adjectives; *vota deum, consortem nati, mille coloribus arcum, coniciunt igni*, of an uncommon use of cases: *tela exit*, of an uncommon use of a verb. The instances which follow are cases of metaphors: *canentia lumina, arboris antro, frontem arat, aerato circumfert tegmine silvam, vir gregis, aquae mons, telorum seges, ferreus imber*. Then comes a mention of some expressions not easily reduceable under any particular head, as *Dona laboratae Cereris*: and, finally, a note on Virgil's use of one word for another, as *ora* for *personas*.

Supposing the whole passage to be an extract from some collection of such expressions, these two facts will be easily explained. A comparison of the notes given in parallel columns will, I think, show that the Servius of the Saturnalia stands in no relation of dependence to the real Servius. The real Servius is sometimes silent where Macrobius has a note; sometimes he is fuller, sometimes less full than Macrobius; sometimes he seems to be defending Virgil against an objection; sometimes his remark adds something new, or is altogether different. At the same time, the same passages are, on the whole, commented on in both; and this fact, when put together with that of the discrepancies just noticed, points to the conclusion that both are ultimately derived from the same source.

To this source, whatever it was, we may, perhaps, owe the following notes in the commentary bearing the name of Servius:—Aen. 77. 7, “*tendit iter velis*: aliud est iter velis tendere, aliud per vela iter (per iter

vela?). Et multi dicunt improprie dictum, multi nimium proprie." Aen. 12. 524, "quaeritur quid sit *virgulta sonantia lauro*;" compare the remark on *aura* quoted above, "quid est enim *aura auri*?" Aen. 12. 591, "*ater odor* : nove."

II.

But it was remarked not only that Virgil ventured on new combinations of words, but that he invented new words. Here, again, it is perhaps allowable to start from the previously-quoted passage in the *Ars Poetica* :—

"Si forte necesse est

Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter,
Et nova flectaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadant, parce detorta. Quid autem?
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Vergilio Varioque? Ego cur, acquirere pauca
Si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
Sermonem patrium ditaverit, et nova rerum
Nomina protulerit?"

Here Virgil is mentioned by name, and it is distinctly implied that he was attacked for the invention of new words. Horace says that words lately coined will pass current if derived, with sparing alteration, from a Greek source. I am not sure that I clearly understand what this means. But that Virgil was attacked for his use of Greek words is clear from Macrobius l. 24. 7, "si . . mille alia multum pudenda seu in verbis modo Graecis modo barbaris, seu in ipsa dispositione operis deprehenderentur." Compare 5. 17. 15, "postremo Graecae linguae quam se libenter addixerit de crebris quae usurpat vocabulis aestimate:" and the critic mentions *dius*, *daedala*, *trieterica*, *choreas*, *hyalus*, and some others, concluding thus, after noticing the poet's predilection for Greek inflections, "denique omnia carmina sua Graece maluit inscribere, *Bucolica Georgica Aeneis*, cuius nominis figuratio a regula Latinitatis aliena est."

In the sixth book of the *Saturnalia* (4. 17) Virgil is defended for this proceeding by the argument that other writers had used Greek words before him: "inseruit operi suo et Graeca verba, sed non primus hoc ausus." *Lychni*, *aethra*, *daedalus*, *reboant* are then justified by the example of older poets; and the critic remarks "sed hac licentia largius usi sunt veteres, parcius Maro: quippe illi dixerunt et *pausam* et *machaeram* et *asotiam* et *malacen* et alia similia." This is Horace's argument: why should not Virgil and Varius be allowed what was not forbidden to Caecilius, Plautus, Ennius and Cato?

But Virgil (Macrobius 1. 24. 7) was charged also with using barbarian, that is, non-Latin words. There is a very short answer to this in the sixth book of the *Saturnalia* (4. 23) "*necnon et Punicis Oscisque verbis usi sunt veteres: quorum imitatione Vergilius peregrina verba non respuit.*" The instances given are *urus*, "*Gallica vox qua feri boves significantur,*" and *camurus*. On *urus* Servius on Georg. 2. 374 says "*silvestres uri, i.e. boves agrestes, qui in Pyrenaeo monte nascuntur, inter Gallias et Hispanias posito.*" On *camurus* Macrobius has virtually the same note as Servius and Philargyrius on Georg. 3. 55, and is probably therefore drawing upon the same source, which I hope to show was either the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius Flaccus, or some work immediately dependent upon it.

In the following chapter Virgil is defended on the ground of ancient precedent for the use of several words, partly simple, partly compound, "*quae ab ipso ficta creduntur.*" The simple words are *Mulciber*, *petulcus*, *liquidus* as an epithet of *ignis*, *tristis* in the sense of *bitter*, *auritus*: the compounds are *turicremus*, *Arcitenens*, *silvicola*, *velivolus*, *vitigator*, *noctivagus*, *nubigena*, *umbraculum*, *discludo*. And a similar plea is urged in favour of certain apparently new senses given by Virgil to ordinary words, as to *additus* in *Teucris addita Iuno*: to *vomit* in *totis vomit aedibus undam*: to *agmen* in *leni fluit agmine Thybris*: to *crepitans* in *crepitantibus urere flammis*: to *horret* in *ferreus hastis* *Horret ager*: to *transmittunt* in *transmittunt cursu campos*: to *defluo* in *tota cohors . . . relictis* *Ad terram defluxit equis*: to *deductus* in *deductum dicere carmen*: to *proiectus* in *proiectaque saxa Pachyni*: to *tempestivus* in *tempestivum silvis evertere pinum*.

Servius has short notes only on *additus*, *horret*, and *umbracula* (A. 6. 90, 11. 601, E. 9. 42 [Dan.]), which agree in substance with those of Macrobius, but are mere abridgments of them. On *liquidus* Servius (Dan.) on E. 6. 33 quotes the same passage from Lucretius as Macrobius.

We may here notice some other criticisms of the same kind preserved by other authors. Gellius 1. 21. 5 quotes a note of Hyginus on the word *amaror*: "*non enim primus finxit hoc verbum Vergilius insolenter*" (implying that Virgil had been accused of inventing the word) "*sed in carminibus Lucretii inventum est, nec est aspernatus auctoritatem poetae ingenio et facundia praecellentis.*" Quintilian 1. 5. 65 mentions an objection to the word *imperterritus*, noticing the fact that the two prepositions contradict each other; and Servius on A. 10. 770 seems to be making excuses for Virgil. So Servius 8. 433 (Dan.) *instabant*, "*nova locutio, currum et rotas instabant:*" 10. 835 (Dan.) *acclinis*, "*quis ante hunc?*" 12. 7 "*latronem, venatorem: quis ante hunc?*" Varro tamen dicit hoc nomen posse habere

etiam Latinam etymologiam," &c. Hyginus (ap. Gell. 7. 6) blamed the phrase *praepetibus pennis*, which was defended by parallels from Ennius and Matius. Gellius 10. 29. 4 says that in G. 1. 203 *atque* was thought obscure, and interprets it as = *statim*; so Nonius, p. 530. The phrase *tunicam squalentem auro* was again defended by ancient example (Gellius 2. 6. 19). Servius on A. 12. 517 (Dan.) says of *exosus* in that line "quaeritur sane quis primus *exosum* pro *peroso* dixerit."

From these criticisms, which attribute to Virgil the invention of new words, or a new or rare application of old ones, we should be careful to separate such remarks as that of Cornutus on *vezare* (Gellius 2. 6 = Macrobius 6. 7. 4) "incuriose et abiecte in his versibus verbum posuit;" on *inlaudati Busiridis*: "hoc enim verbum *inlaudati* non est idoneum ad exprimendam sceleratissimi hominis detestationem;" and that quoted from the same writer on the words *dizerat ille aliquid magnum* by Servius on Aen. 10. 547, "Cornutus ut sordidum improbat."

The notes of Gellius and Macrobius on *vezare* and *inlaudatus*, it should be observed, throw fresh light on the relation of the Servius of the Saturnalia to the real Servius, who has the remark on *vezare* (Ecl. 6. 75⁴) in a shorter form, and without any mention of objections; while in his note on *inlaudatus* (Georg. 3. 4) he takes no account of the discussion carried on in Gellius and Macrobius, but simply explains the word as = *qui laudari non debeat*. With these criticisms compare Servius on Aen. 8. 731, "hunc versum notant critici quasi superfluo et inutiliter additum, nec convenientem gravitati eius, namque est magis neotericus;" Aen. 11. 53, "hoc quidam ἀνέκδοτον (ἀνεκτόν?) et vulgare accipiunt; sed decenter ad exprimendum patris adfectum nunc ad patrem redit."

III.

I now come to consider some of the criticisms made upon Virgil's management of his story in the Aeneid. Macrobius 1. 24. 2 speaks of "multa pudenda . . . in dispositione operis."

In the *Ars Poetica* (143 foll.) Horace lays down the principle that the Homeric order of narrative (as distinguished, for instance, we may suppose him to mean, from that of Apollonius Rhodius) is that which an epic poet ought to follow:

"Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,

⁴ The Lemovicensis here adds the same illustrations of *vezare* as are given in Gellius 2. 6.

Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdim;
 Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
 Nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo;
 Semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res
 Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit," &c.

I am inclined to think that this passage again is intended as a defence of Virgil. At any rate, the point in question is treated by the early commentators, and in his reply to the *obtrectatores Vergilii* we know that Asconius set himself in particular to answer criticisms *circa historiam*, which would, I suppose, include unfavourable remarks on the order of the narrative.

That such remarks had been made appears clearly from Servius, Aen. p. 4 (Thilo): "ordo quoque manifestus est, licet quidem dicant secundum (librum) primum esse, tertium secundum, et primum tertium . . . nescientes hanc esse artem poeticam, ut *a mediis incipientes* per narrationem prima reddamus." And on Aen. l. 34, "ut Homerus omisit initia belli Troiani, sic hic non ab initio coepit erroris." Again, with regard to the whole plan of the Aeneid, which was intended by Virgil to include both an Iliad and an Odyssey, "prius de erroribus Aeneae dicit, post de bello" (Aen. l. 1).

Now these remarks are no more than a condensation of the passage assigned to Eustathius in the fifth book of the Saturnalia (2. 6), "Aeneis ipsa nonne ab Homero mutuata est errorem primum ex Odyssea, deinde ex Iliade pugnas? quin operis ordinem necessario rerum ordo mutavit, cum apud Homerum prius Iliacum bellum gestum sit, deinde revertenti de Troia error contigerit Ulixi, apud Maronem vero Aeneae navigatio bella quae postea in Italia sunt gesta praecesserit. . . . Nec illud cum magna cura relaturus sum, licet, ut aestimo, non omnibus observatum, quod cum primo versu promississet producturum se de Troiae litoribus Aenean . . . ubi ad ianuam narrandi venit, Aeneae classem non de Troia sed de Sicilia producit

Quod totum Homericis filis contexuit. Ille enim vitans in poemate historicorum similitudinem, quibus lex est incipere ab initio rerum, et continuam narrationem ad finem usque perducere, *ipse poetica disciplina a rerum medio coepit et ad initium post reversus est. Ergo Ulixis errorem non incipit a Troiano litore describere, sed facit eum primo navigantem de insula Calypsonis. . . . Scylla quoque et Charybdis et Circe decenter attingitur.*"

The words *nec illud magna cum cura . . . de Sicilia producit* form a remark virtually identical with that quoted by Servius, that the Aeneid ought to begin with the fall of Troy. The answer to this is an appeal to the example of Homer, expressed in words which I have italicized, because they are almost a paraphrase of Horace's lines in the *Ars*

Poetica. Is the whole passage in Macrobius a mutilated quotation from the work of Asconius *contra obtretractores Vergilii*?

I have noticed one or two other passages in Servius which bear on the same point: Aen. 4. 1 "Iunctus quoque (quartus liber) superioribus est, quod artis esse videtur, ut frequenter diximus. Nam ex abrupto vitiosus est transitus; licet stulte quidam dicant hunc tertio non esse coniunctum. . . . Cum enim tertium sic clausurit, *factoque hic fine quievit*, subsecutus est *At regina gravi, &c.*" Aen. 6. 752 "huc tetendit ut celebret Romanos, et praecipue Augustum. Nam qui bene considerant, invenient omnem Romanam historiam ab Aeneae adventu usque ad sua tempora summatim celebrasse Vergilium. Quod ideo latet quia confusus est ordo," &c. Aen. 9. 1 "quem transitum quidam culpant, nescientes, &c." Compare further Macrobius 5. 14. 11 "item divinus ille vates (Homerus) res vel paulo vel multo ante transactas opportune ad narrationis suae seriem revocat, ut et historicum stilum vitet non per ordinem digerendo quae gesta sunt, nec tamen praetertorum nobis notitiam subtrahat. . . . Vergilius omne hoc genus pulcherrime aemulatus est."

So much with regard to the order in which Virgil tells his story: let us now pass on to some of the criticisms passed upon the incidents of his narrative. His enemies compared the Aeneid, passage by passage, with the Iliad and Odyssey, with the view of showing its inferiority; his friends replied as best they could, sometimes attempting to show that Virgil had surpassed his model. Here are instances, which I have endeavoured to arrange under heads:

The causes of Juno's anger against the Trojans, as compared with that of Apollo against the Greeks.—Macrob. 5. 2. 6 "Homerus in primo, cum vellet iniquum Graecis Apollinem facere, causam struxit de sacerdotis iniuria; hic, ut Troianis Iunonem faceret infestam, causarum sibi congeriem comparavit."

The cause of the war between Aeneas and Latinus, as compared with that of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon.—Macrob. 5. 17. 1 "ubi rerum necessitas exegit a Marone dispositionem incohandi belli, quam non habuit Homerus (quippe qui Achillis iram exordium sibi fecerit, quae decimo demum belli anno contigit), laboravit ad rei novae partum. Cervum fortuito saucium fecit causam tumultus. Sed ubi vidit hoc leve nimisque puerile, dolorem auxit agrestium, ut impetus eorum sufficeret ad bellum. Sed nec servos Latini, et maxime stabula regia curantes, atque ideo quid foederis cum Troianis Latinus icerit ex muneribus equorum et currus ingalis non ignorantes, bellum generis domini oportebat inferre. Quid igitur? Deorum maxima deducitur e caelo, et maxima Furiarum de Tartaris adsciscitur: sparguntur angues velut in scena parturientes furorem: regina non solum de penetralibus

reverentiae matronalis educitur, sed et per urbem mediam cogitur facere discursus: nec hoc contenta silvas petit accitis reliquis matribus in societatem furoris. Bacchatur chorus quondam pudicus, et orgia insana celebrantur. Quid plura? Maluisssem Maronem et in hac parte apud auctorem suum vel apud quemlibet Graecorum alium quod sequeretur habuisse."

There is no doubt about the *animus* of this critic, who expresses himself in a nervous Latin style of which I shall have to give some more instances below. Take for instance the following remarks on the Virgilian and Homeric catalogues, which I cannot help suspecting are from the same hand. Macrob. 5. 15. 2 "Homerus praetermissis Athenis ac Lacedaemone vel ipsis Mycenis, unde erat rector exercitus, Boeotiam in catalogi sui capite locavit, non ob loci aliquam dignitatem, sed notissimum promuntorium ad exordium sibi narrationis elegit, unde progrediens modo mediterranea modo maritima iuncta describit, inde rursus ad utrumque situm cohaerentium locorum disciplina describentis velut iter agentis 'accedit, nec ullo saltu cohaerentiam regionum in libro suo hiare permittit, sed hoc viandi more procedens redit unde digressus est, et ita finitur quicquid enumeratio eius amplectitur; contra Vergilius nullum in commemorandis regionibus ordinem servat, sed locorum seriem saltibus lacerat. Adducit primum Clusio et Cosis Massicum; Abas hunc sequitur manu Populoniae Ilvaeque comitatus; post hos Asilan miserunt Pisae, quae in quam longinqua sint Etruriae parte notius est quam ut adnotandum sit; inde mox redit Caere et Pyrgos et Graviscas, loca urbi proxima, quibus ducem Asturem dedit; hinc rapit illum Cinirus ad Liguriam, Ocnus Mantuam. Sed nec in catalogo auxiliorum Turni, si velis situm locorum mente percurrere, invenies illum continentiam regionum secutum."

And again, with regard to the style of the two catalogues, § 14, "in catalogo suo curavit Vergilius vitare fastidium, quod Homerus alia ratione non cavit eadem figura saepe repetita, οἱ δ' Ἀσπληδὸν ἔβαιον, οἱ δ' Εὐβοίαν ἔχον. . . . Hic autem variat, velut dedecus aut crimen vitans repetitionem, *primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris. Filius huic iuxta Lausus*. . . . Has copias fortasse putat aliquis divinae illi simplicitati praeferendas; sed nescio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unice decet, et est genio antiqui poetae digna enumerationique conveniens, quod in loco, mera nomina relaturus, non incurravit se neque minute torsit deducendo stilum per singulorum varietates, sed stat in consuetudine percensentium, tamquam per aciem dispositos enumerans, quod non aliis quam numerorum fit vocabulis," &c. §§ 6—9 are in the same style, blaming Virgil for introducing names into his narrative which he has omitted in his catalogue, and omitting on the other hand

to assign any part in the war to those whom he has mentioned there.⁵ In § 10 Virgil is charged with inconsistent repetitions of the same name, as of Corinaeus, who is killed in the ninth book and kills Ebusus in the twelfth.

In § 18, on the other hand, Virgil is said, in one passage of his catalogue, to have almost surpassed Homer: but otherwise Macrobius has preserved nothing but hostile criticisms on this part of Virgil's work. As to Virgil's carelessness or want of invention in the matter of proper names, there is a remark in Servius (Aen. 12. 542 Dan.) which reminds the reader very much of what is said in Macrobius: "*Et quidam reprehendunt Vergilium in hoc loco quod in nominum inventione deficitur. Iam enim in nono Crethea a Turno occisum inducit ut Crethea Musarum comitem. Sed et apud Homerum [taliam invenies?] nam et Pylaemonem et Adrastum bis ponit et alios complures.*"

The fact that Servius, whose remarks are mostly on the side of Virgil, makes a reply on this point, suggests the possibility that he was drawing upon a work in which the question was treated in a sense favourable to his author.

Servius records some remarks of a similar kind, sometimes favourable, sometimes unfavourable, on matters of detail. Aen. 3. 590 (Dan.) "*arguitur in hac Achaemenidis descriptione Vergilius negligentiae Homericae narrationis; Ulixes enim inter initia erroris sui ad Cyclopa venit; quemadmodum ergo Aeneas post septimum annum quam a Troia profectus est socium Ulixis invenit? praesertim cum eum tribus mensibus in regione Cyclopa dicat moratum, et mox Aeneas de Sicilia ad Africam venisse dicatur.*" This is not in Macrobius; nor again the following: Aen. 9. 264 "*atqui secundum Homerum Arisba Troianis misit auxilium et ab Achille subversa est. Sed accipimus aut ante bellum Graecorum Arisbam a Troianis captam et in amicitiae foedus admissam, aut certe pocula haec data ab Heleno,*" &c.

Aen. 7. 803, "*prudenter post impletam commemorationem virorum transit ad feminas. Ita enim et de Troianis loquitur, qui ultimum Amazonum auxilium postulaverunt. Quae res ab Homero praetermissa est.*" Aen. 8. 625 (Dan.) "*sane interest inter hunc et Homeri clipeum. Illic enim singula dum fiunt narrantur, hic vero perfecto opere noscuntur; nam et hic arma prius accepit Aeneas quam spectaret, ibi postquam omnia narrata sunt, sic a Thetide deferuntur ad Achillem. Opportune ergo Vergilius,*" &c. Macrobius 5. 16. 9, "*Eumedes Dolonis proles bello praeclara animo manibusque parentem refert, cum apud Homerum Dolon imbellis sit.*"

⁵ Compare Servius on Aen. 9. 584 "*incertum ex qua recondita historia Aroentem istum induxerit . . . et quid homo Siculus in hoc bello fecit (faciat?) quem nusquam supra cum Aenea dicit ad Italiam pervenisse.*"

Servius on Aen. 12. 266, "hoc loco ab Homeri oeconomia recessit. Ille (autem?) inducit Minervam persuadentem Pandaro ut iacto in Menelaum telo dissipet foedera. Hic vero dicit ipsum augurem telum sponte torsisse, et occidisse unum de novem fratribus." Aen. 9. 269 (Dan.) "honestius fecit ultro offerri, cum Homerus fecerit Dolonem Achillis currus improbe postulantem." Aen. 9. 804 "melius quam Homerus hunc locum executus est; salvo enim sensu vitavit et fabulosa et vilia. Nam ille ipsas minas exsequitur."

To these may be added the following remarks on Virgil's treatment of theology and mythology: Macrobius 5. 16. 8, "Fortunam Homerus nescire maluit, et soli decreto, quam *μοῖραν* vocat, omnia regenda committit, adeo ut hoc vocabulum *τύχη* in nulla parte Homerici voluminis nominetur. Contra Vergilius non solum novit et meminit, sed omnipotentiam quoque eidem tribuit, quam et philosophi qui eam nominant nihil sua vi posse, sed decreti sive providentiae ministrum esse voluerunt. . . .⁶ Aegaeon apud Homerum auxilio est Iovi; hunc contra Iovem armant versus Maronis. . . . Nullam commemorationem de iudicio Paridis Homerus admittit. Idem vates Ganymedem non ut Iunonis paelicem a Iove raptum, sed Iovialium poculorum ministrum in caelum a dis adscitum refert. . . . Vergilius tantam deam, quod cuivis de honestis feminis deforme est, velut specie victam Paride indicante doluisse et propter Catamiti paelicatum totam gentem eius vexasse commemorat."

Under this head falls the criticism on the *petitio Veneris impudica* of Aen. 8. 370, which is noticed both by Servius there and by Macrobius 1. 24. 2, and that upon Pilumnus and Orithyia mentioned by Servius on Aen. 12. 83, "unde critici culpant hoc loco Vergilium, dicentes incongruum esse figmentum. Namque Orithyia cum Atheniensis fuerit, filia Terrigenae, et a Borea in Thraciam rapta sit, quemadmodum potuit Pilumno, qui erat in Italia, equos dare"? Further we may notice the remark of Servius on Aen. 3. 46, that there were persons who blamed Virgil for inventing the change of ships into nymphs in the ninth book, for the story of the golden bough in the sixth book, and for the mission of Iris to Dido at the end of the fourth book. The last-mentioned criticism, we know, came from Cornutus; Macrobius 5. 19. 2, "Iris a Iunone missa abscidit ei crinem et ad Orcum refert. Hanc Vergilius non de nihilo fabulam fingit, sicut vir alias doctissimus Cornutus existimat, qui adnotationem eiusmodi adposuit his versibus; 'Unde haec historia, ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus, ignoratur; sed adsuevit poetico more aliquid fingere, ut de aureo ramo.' Sed me pudet quod tantus vir, Graecarum etiam doctissimus litterarum, ignoravit Euripidis nobilissimam fabulam

⁶ Compare Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 10. 567.

Alcestim," &c. Servius (Dan.) says in a short note, "Euripides Alcestim Diti sacratum habuisse crinem dicit, quod poeta transtulit ad Didonem:" and on Aen. 3. 46, "sed hoc purgatur Euripidis exemplo, qui de Alcesti hoc dixit, cum subiret fatum mariti." On Aen. 9. 82, Servius says of the change of the fleet into nymphs "figmentum hoc licet poeticum sit, tamen, quia exemplo caret, notatur a criticis. Unde longo prooemio excusatur." In the passage from Macrobius I have italicized the words *ut de aureo ramo*, because they make it probable, I think, that the note of Servius on Aen. 3. 46, which mentions the golden bough in the same breath with the mission of Iris to Dido and the change of ships into nymphs, is an abridgment from Cornutus.

It was of course noticed that Virgil altered the current traditions about Aeneas for the sake of poetical effect; the two main instances of this being the episode of Dido in the fourth Aeneid, and the account of the death of Turnus in the twelfth. Macrobius 5. 17. 4, "bene in rem suam vertit quicquid ubicunque invenit imitandum; adeo ut de Argonauticorum quarto, quorum scriptor est Apollonius, librum Aeneidos suae quartum totum paene formaverit ad Didonem vel Aenean, amatoriam incontinentiam Medae circa Iasonem transferendo. Quod ita elegantius auctore digessit, ut fabula lascivientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot tamen saecula speciem veritatis obtineat," &c. Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 4. 459, "nam quod de Didone et Aenea dicitur falsum est. Constat enim Aenean CCCXL annis ante aedificationem Romae venisse in Italiam, cum Karthago non nisi XL annis ante aedificationem Romae constructa sit." And with regard to Turnus, Servius on Aen. 9. 745, "plerique sed non idonei commentatores dicunt in hoc loco occisum Turnum, sed causa oeconomiae gloriam a poeta Aeneae esse servatam, quod falsum est. Nam si veritatem historiae requiras, primo proelio interemptus est Latinus; inde ubi Turnus Aeneam vidit superiorem, Mezentii imploravit auxilium; secundo proelio Turnus occisus est, et nihilominus Aeneas postea non comparuit; tertio proelio Mezentium occidit Ascanius. Hoc Livius dicit et Cato in Originibus." To these notes may be added those of Servius on Aen. 11. 271 about the birds of Diomedes; "hoc loco nullus dubitat fabulae huius ordinem a Vergilio esse conversum. Nam Diomedis socios constat in aves esse conversos post ducis sui interitum, quem extinctum impatienter dolebant"; and on Aen. 6. 359 about Velia: "sane sciendum Veliam tempore quo Aeneas ad Italiam venit nondum fuisse. Ergo aut anticipatio est, quae, ut supra diximus, si ex poetae persona fiat, tolerabilis est, si autem per alium, vitiosissima est."⁷

⁷ This is an abridgment of Hyginus ap. Gell. 10. 16. On 6. 122 Servius' note reminds us of Hyginus ib. § 11.: "*quid Thesea*: durum exemplum. Unde nec immoratus est in eo. Dicit autem inferos debere patere pietati, qui patuerunt

I will add here some other miscellaneous criticisms on details in the narrative of the Aeneid which I have noticed in Servius. Many more are collected by M. Thomas in his essay on Servius p. 247 foll.

1. 71, "notant Vergilium critici, qui marito promittit uxorem; quod excusat regia licentia."

2. 668, "notant hoc critici, quia saepius armari aliquos dicit cum exarmatos nunquam ostendat."

4. 509 (Dan.), "quaeritur a quibusdam quæ sit haec sacerdos, quia illam ipsam accipi volunt quæ supra dicta est, tamquam ficta a Didone."

4. 546, "quomodo viz, cum dicat ipse (l. 361) *conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni Aut metus acer erat?* Si ultro convenerunt, quomodo viz se dicit *revellisse*?" Comp. Aen. l. 361, "metuebant laedendi, hoc est qui timebant ne laederentur; unde est illud in quarto *et quos Sidonia viz urbe revelli*, quia non voluntate, sed odio aut timore convenerant."

4. 674, *morientem nomine clamat*. "Multi quaerunt quomodo procedat hoc, cum eius nomen nusquam sequatur."

5. 410. "Quare *haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma ferebat*, si isti sunt caestus quibus contra Herculem dimicavit? Solvitur, isti quidem sunt caestus quibus Eryx dimicavit, sed si quis illius vidisset caestus, id est Herculis, quibus contra Erycem tristi congressione pugnavit."

Quod si quis, &c. "Quare duas res pro uno posuit, cum debuisset dicere aut caestus aut arma? Solvitur sic; *caestus* sunt quibus caeduntur, *arma*, omnia illa caestuum quibus brachia innectantur."

5. 493, "quomodo Mnestheus, cum Cloanthus victor extiterit? Solvitur, sed victor Mnestheus virtute, qui de ultimo ad tertium locum venit," &c.

5. 517, "Sane sciendum hunc totum locum ab Homero esse sump-tum. Unde inanis est vituperatio Aeneae quod suspenderit avem maternam."

5. 521, "Culpat in hoc loco Vergilium Vergiliomastix; artem enim in vacuo aëre ostendere non potuit."

5. 626. Inconsistencies in the chronology are pointed out, and the commentator remarks "ergo constat hanc quaestionem unam esse de insolubilibus, quas non dubium est emendaturum fuisse Vergilium."

6. 661, "quasi quis castus esse possit post mortem. Sed aliud dicit, i.e. qui fuerunt casti dum in communione vitae versarentur."

7. 268, "male multi arguunt Vergilium, quod Latinum induxit ultro infanda cupienti. Nam hic ad rapiendam Proserpinam ierat cum Pirithoo, et illic retentus luit poenas, ut *sedet aeternumque sedebit*." Hyginus' criticisms are mostly on matters of history or mythology.

filiam pollicentem, nec oraculum considerantes, quia Italo penitus dari non poterat, nec Aeneae meritum, quem dicebat rogari."

7. 519, "quare, cum di inferi inducuntur, signam bucina datur? Solvitur, quia bucina ex cornu caprae fiat, et quod sit proprie Ditis hostia."

8. 23, "negant omnes Physici lumen lunae aliud ex se reddere; et vituperatur hoc dicto Vergilius, quod tamen tolerabile est, quia non lunam, sed imaginem dixit lunae, quam a sole lumen accipere manifestum est."

8. 291, "sane critici frustra culpant Vergilium, quod praesentibus Troianis Troiae laudari introduxit excidium, non respicientes quia hoc ratio fecit hymnorum, quibus aliquid subtrahere sacrilegium est."

8. 498, (Dan.) "quibusdam sane displicet quod aruspicias namen non addiderit."

9. 75, "quaeritur quid ibi faciant foci. Sed in carminibus quaedam nec ad subtilitatem nec ad veritatem exigenda sunt. Aut certe focos quos ibi habere potuerunt."

9. 367. Scholia Veronensia; "hoc loco adnotant Probus et Sulpicius contrarium illi esse (7. 600) *saepsit se tectis, rerumque reliquit habenas*." Servius: "non est contrarium illi loco, *saepsit*, &c."

10. 157, "notatur a criticis Vergilius hoc loco, quemadmodum sic cito dixit potuisse naves Aeneae fieri?" quod excusat pictura, &c.

10. 845, "*ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret*: uno eodemque tempore non potuisse eum et inhaerere corpori et manus ad caelum levare."

10. 861, "hoc loco notant Vergilium critici quod homini sacrilego dedit prudentem sententiam."

11. 188, "*fulgentibus armis*: frustra hoc epitheton notant critici, quasi circumeuntes rogos alia arma habere debuerint."

12. 769 (Dan.), "quaeritur cur terreno deo nautae dona suspenderint."

IV.

I now come to the criticisms on Virgil's imitations of Homeric verses, similes, and language, in which it is possible to distinguish clearly a favourable, a hostile, and a neutral class.

Of favourable criticisms a number of instances are to be found in Macrobius 5. 11 and 12; the eleventh chapter dealing with cases in which Virgil is supposed to have surpassed Homer, the twelfth with cases in which he is said to have equalled him.

On Aen. 1. 430 it is observed "non negabo Vergilium in transferendo densius excoluisse. Vides apes descriptas a Vergilio opifices, ab Homero vagas; alter discursum et solam volatus varietatem, alter

exprimit nativæ artis officium." On 1. 198, "in his quoque versibus Maro extitit locupletior interpres. Ulixes ad socios unam commemoravit aerumnam; hic ad sperandam præsentis mali absolutionem gemini casus hortatur eventum. Deinde ille obscurius dixit καὶ τοῦ τῶνδε μῆσεσθαι ὄτω, hic apertius forsân et hæc olim meminisse iuvabit." Aen. 2. 626, 3. 513 are criticised in the same spirit. The criticism on Aen. 4. 367 is identical with that assigned by Gellius (12. 1. 20) to Favorinus. As there is no perceptible difference of style between this passage and its surrounding, it may fairly be inferred that the whole of Macrobius' eleventh chapter came from the same source, a commentary or treatise older than Gellius.

Comparing Macrobius here with Servius, we find that on some of the passages noticed by Macrobius Servius is silent, viz., Aen. 1. 430, 198, 2. 626, 3. 513, 5. 144, 12. 339, 2. 470, 4. 612, 9. 546. On others he has the short remark *Homericæ comparatio est*, or the like: viz. 7. 466 (Dan.), 9. 679 (Dan.), 6. 6, 12. 67, 7. 12 (Dan.), 10. 740.

But in the tenth chapter we come again upon a style with which we have already been made familiar. A number of instances are quoted in which Virgil is without mercy pronounced to have fallen below Homer. Aen. 10. 554, "ad quem non potuit conatus Maronis accedere;" 2. 222, "inspecto hic utriusque filo quantam distantiam deprehendes!" So on Aen. 3. 119, 2. 304, where he says, "duas parabolæ temeravit ut unam faceret, trahens hinc ignem, inde torrentem, et dignitatem neutrius implevit;" 2. 416, "idem et hoc vitium quod superius incurrit;" 3. 130, 622, 6. 582, "locum loco si compares, pudendam invenies differentiam;" 9. 104, "iusiurandum vero ex alio Homeri loco sumpsit, ut translationis sterilitas hac adiectione compensaretur;" 9. 181, "minus gratam fecit Latinam descriptionem;" 9. 551, "vides in angustum Latinam parabolam sic esse contractam ut nihil possit esse ieiunius . . . in tanta ergo differentia pæne erubescendum est comparare;" 10. 360, "quanta sit differentia utriusque loci lectori aestimandum relinquo;" 11. 751, "his prætermisiss quæ animam parabolæ dabant, velut exanimam in Latinis versibus corpus remansit." And so on Aen. 4. 176, 10. 270, on which line Servius, as if quoting from a hostile critic, says "hoc autem iste violentius posuit, quod ille stellæ tantum facit comparisonem, hic etiam stellæ pestiferæ;" and on 7. 785, 8. 620, 10. 101, 12. 149, 725. On the last passage Servius seems to be making a defence: "sciendum locum hunc a Vergilio esse translatum ut in Homero lectus est." But with the exceptions just mentioned Servius touches on none of the verses so roughly handled in Macrobius except 9. 106 (Dan.), 10. 361, and 11. 751.

To these instances I add the remark in Macrobius 5. 3. 1: "νεύρη"

μὲν μαστῶ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σιδήρον. Totam rem quanto compendio lingua ditior explicavit: vester, licet periodo usus, idem tamen dixit? *Adduxit longe capita,*" &c.

Servius on Aen. 1. 92 (Dan.): "reprehenditur sane hoc loco Vergilius quod improprie hos versus Homeri transtulerit . . . nam frigore soluta membra longe aliud est quam λύτρο γούνατα, et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas molle, cum illud magis altum et heroicae personae, πρὸς δὲν μεγάλητορα θυμόν. Praeterea quis interdiu manus ad sidera tollit, aut quis ad caelum manus tolleus non aliud precatur potius quam dicit?" 4. 367 (Dan.), "sane quidam absurde putant Caucasum et tigres a Didone memoratas, quia nec Didoni perturbatae venire in mentem Caucasus (*Caucasi*?) potuit, nec tigres iuxta eum cognitae, et hoc Hyrcanae: nam quod ait genuit *Caucasus*, elaboravit dicendo genuit incredibilis facere de monte masculini generis, sed hic imitatur Graecos, qui magis proprie γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκτε θάλασσα." And, although Pindar, not Homer, is in question, we may here quote the severe criticism on Virgil's description of Etna in eruption (Gellius 17. 10 = Macrobius 5. 17. 7): "Ille Graecus (Pindarus) quidem fontes imitus ignes eructare et fluere amnes fumi et flammarum fulva et tortuosa volumina in plagas maris ferre, quasi quosdam igneos amnes, luculente dixit. At hic vester atram nubem turbine piceo et favilla fumante ῥόον καπνοῦ αἰθωνα interpretari volens crasse et immodice conguessit, globos atque flammarum, quod ille κροννοῦς dixerat, duriter posuit et ἀκίπως. Hoc vero vel inenarrabile est quod nubem atram fumare dixit turbine piceo et favilla candente. Non enim fumare solent neque atra esse quae sunt candentia, nisi forte candente dixit pervulgate et improprie pro ferventi, non pro relucenti, nam candens scilicet a candore dictum, non a calore. Quod autem scopulos eructari et erigi eosdemque ipsos statim liquefieri et genere atque glomerari sub auras dixit, hoc nec a Pindaro scriptum nec unquam fando auditum, et omnium quae monstra dicuntur monstruosissimum est." *

There is a great deal of neutral criticism on Virgil's translations from Homer in the third chapter, and on to the tenth of Macrobius' fifth book, which I cannot suppose to have come from the same source as the acrimonious remarks above quoted. It is not at all improbable that it is derived directly or indirectly from the ὁμοιώτηρες of Q. Octavius Avitus (Suetonius, Vita Vergilii 45), a work in eight volumes, which "quos et unde versus transtulerit continent." One is struck at once with the close resemblance between these words and those of Macrobius, 5. 7. 7, "capita locorum, ubi longa narratio est, dixisse

* The whole question of translation from Greek poets into Latin is discussed in Gellius 9. 9, where a criticism of Probus is quoted on the passage about Diana in the first Aeneid. Compare also Gellius 13. 27.

sufficiet, ut *quid unde natum sit lector inveniatur*:" and 5. 8. 1, "si vultis me et ipsos proferre versus ad verbum paene translatos." I will proceed, as shortly as possible, to compare the passages cited by Macrobius under this head with the corresponding notes in Servius.

Macrobius 5. 3. 2, Aen. 11. 860. Hostile criticism already quoted. Servius: "Homerica est ista descriptio."

5. 3. 3: Aen. 3. 192: Servius is silent.

5. 3. 4: Georg. 4. 361: Servius is silent.

5. 3. 5: Aen. 6. 578: Servius (Dan.): "et sic Homerus de Tartaro."

5. 3. 7: Aen. 11. 794: Servius is silent.

5. 3. 8: Aen. 3. 97: Servius is silent.

5. 3. 9: Aen. 1. 92: Servius (Dan.) adds the hostile criticism quoted above, which is not in Macrobius.

5. 3. 10: Aen. 11. 483: Servius: "haec omnis oratio verbum ad verbum de Homero translata est."

5. 3. 11, 12: Aen. 4. 177, 6. 522: Servius is silent.

5. 3. 13: Aen. 12. 206: Servius: "Homeri locus verbum ad verbum."

5. 3. 18: Aen. 1. 159: Servius is silent.

Macrobius goes on to quote Aen. 1. 65, 71, 81, 306, 326, 372, 411, all of which are unnoticed by Servius; and so the case stands with Aen. 1. 498, 588, 595; 2. 1, 3, 31, 250, 274, 341, 355.

Macrobius 5. 5. 11: Aen. 2. 379: Servius (Dan.) "Homerus δράκοντα dixit."

5. 5. 12: Aen. 2. 471: Servius (Dan.) βεβρωκὸς κατὰ φάτμοκα.

5. 5. 13, 14: Aen. 2. 496, 792: Servius is silent.

5. 6. 1: Aen. 3. 192: Servius is silent.

5. 6. 2: Aen. 3. 486: Servius is silent.

5. 6. 3: Aen. 3. 270: Servius (Dan.) "hae omnes insulae Graeciae sunt quas Homerum secutus . . . de Graeco in Latinum transtulit."

5. 6. 4: Aen. 3. 420: Servius: "Homerus hanc dicit immortale monstrum fuisse."

5. 6. 7: Aen. 3. 489: Servius: "quo sermone etiam Homerus in simili utitur significatione."

5. 6. 8, 9: Aen. 3. 566, 4. 691: Servius is silent.

5. 6. 11: Aen. 4. 238: Servius is silent.

5. 6. 13: Aen. 4. 441: Servius is silent.

5. 6. 15: Aen. 4. 584: Servius is silent.

5. 7. 1: Aen. 5. 8: Servius is silent.

5. 7. 2, 3, 4: Aen. 5. 98, 259, 315: Servius is silent.

5. 7. 5: Aen. 5. 426: Macrobius does not mention Apollonius, but Servius (Dan.) says, "est totus hic locus de Apollonio translatus."

5. 7. 6: Aen. 5. 485: Servius (Dan.): "ex Homero transtulit."

5. 7. 7: Aen. 5. 487: Servius is silent.

On Aen. 5. 740, 6. 214, 232; 7. 197, 108; 8. 560; 9. 18, 138, 146, 808, 782; 10. 467; 11. 191, Servius is silent; but he agrees with Macrobius in noticing Aen. 6. 278 (Dan.), 362 (where he quotes another line, Iliad 1. 4), 595 (Dan.), 625; 7. 14, 699 (Dan.); 8. 182, 455 (Dan.), 589 (Dan.); 9. 307, 319, 328 (Dan.), 459 (Dan.); 10. 270 (Dan.); 11. 484; 9. 435 (Dan.)

So far we have seen that Servius omits some, but notices many of the passages quoted by Macrobius; but on the following passages he or his ancient interpolator have notes which are not found in Macrobius: Aen. 2. 7, 278, 503, 604; 3. 98, 138, 246, 590, 623, 635, 678; 4. 33, 367, 496, 613, 647; 5. 1, 85, 468, 487, 556, 594; 6. 1, 56, 251, 436, 468, 532, 650, 894; 7. 1, 20, 26, 225, 282, 550, 641; 8. 250, 274, 461; 9. 1, 106, 264, 269, 348, 359, 437, 502, 709, 767, 804; 10. 115, 361, 488, 842, 900; 11. 90, 101, 183, 381, 492, 664, 739, 863; 12. 84, 102, 116, 142, 206, 212, 266, 309, 546, 691, 725, 896, 908, 952.

These lists are sufficient to show the minute diligence with which Virgil's translations from Homer had been hunted up. With regard to Servius and Macrobius, they tend, I think, to support the hypothesis which I have already put forward, that neither of these commentators is borrowing from the other, but that both are drawing on common sources. These sources may very probably have been the *ἀποδείξεις* of Octavius Avitus, and the *furta* of Perellius Faustus, or extracts from both.

V.

The sixth book of the *Saturnalia* opens with a collection of passages borrowed by Virgil from Latin poets, Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius, and others. The introductory remarks have the air of a reply to some hostile observations such as may, perhaps, have been made by Perellius Faustus in his collection of *furta*. "Etsi vereor ne dum ostendere cupio quantum Vergilius noster ex antiquiorum lectione profecerit, et quos ex omnibus flores vel quae in carminis sui decorem ex diversis ornamenta libaverit, *occasionem reprehendendi vel imperitis vel malignis ministrem, exprobrantibus tanto viro alieni usurpationem, nec considerantibus hunc esse fructum legendi, aemulari ea quae in aliis probes, &c.*"

Comparing Servius and Macrobius on this point also, we find that none of the passages touched upon in the first chapter of the sixth book of the *Saturnalia* are noticed by Servius, except Aen. 1. 530, 9. 422 (Dan.), 528 (Dan.), 12. 552. In the second chapter Lucretius and Virgil are compared in detail. Servius' notes (which only mention the fact of the borrowing) correspond on Georg. 3. 287, and on the passage at the end of the third Georgic describing the pestilence: but in §§ 15 and onward come a number of passages on which Servius

has no remark. In § 31 the words of Macrobius partly correspond with those of Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 1. 198, "*totus hic locus de Naevii Belli Punici libro (i. ?) translatus est:*" and on Aen. 1. 170, Servius (Dan.) again mentions Naevius.

In the third chapter some passages are examined which had been first translated from the Greek by a Roman poet, and afterwards handled afresh by Virgil. The only one of these which Servius notices is Aen. 11. 492 foll., and this is only to mention the parallel passage in Homer.⁹

VI.

In the eighteenth and following chapters of the fifth book of the *Saturnalia* Macrobius has elaborate comments on passages in which Virgil is said to have drawn upon recondite Greek sources. Let us briefly compare these with the corresponding notes, where there are any, in Servius.

Georg. 1. 17, *pocula Acheloia*: Servius (Dan.) has a very brief abstract of these remarks.

Aen. 7. 689, *vestigia nuda sinistri Instituire pedis*: Servius says merely "*traxit hoc a Graeciae more.*"

Aen. 4. fin. *nondum illi flavum*, &c. Servius (Dan.), again merely abridging, says, "*Euripides Alcestim Diti sacratum habuisse crinem dicit, quod poeta transtulit ad Didonem.*"

Aen. 4. 513, *falcibus ahenis*: Servius is silent.

Aen. 9. 584, *ara Palici*: the same story is mentioned by Servius.

Georg. 1. 100, *umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas*, &c. Here the whole note of Servius (Dan.) is virtually identical with that of Macrobius, though not so clear or accurate. The paraphrase in Macrobius 5. 20. 14, "*cum ea sit anni temperies, ut hiemps serena sit, solstitium vero imbricum, fructus optime proveniunt,*" is identical in both commentators: and both also quote the rustic verse, "*hiberno pulvere, verno luto, grandia farra, camille, metes.*"

Georg. 4. 380, Aen. 3. 66: *carchesia, cymbia*. These comments are not in Servius.

Aen. 11. 532, *Opis*. Servius (Dan.) has the same words about Alexander Aetolus.

Aen. 1. 42, *ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem*. This note is not in Servius.

⁹ Ennius is often quoted by Servius and the later commentators in illustration of points of grammar or language, and so it is with other older Latin poets. Although the literary debt of Virgil to Lucretius was fully recognized by the ancient critics (Gellius 1. 21. 7), Servius generally quotes Lucretius only for the purpose of illustrating points of grammar or philosophy.

Georg. 3. 391, *munere sic niveo lanae*. Not Servius but Philargyrius has this comment in a shorter form: "huius opinionis auctor est Nicander: nec poterat esse nisi Graecus."

The conclusion which I draw from this comparison is again that Servius,¹ Philargyrius and Macrobius are drawing upon the same source. And that this source was one work, not several, is, I think, rendered probable by the uniformity of style which characterizes the whole of these notes as given in their fuller form by Macrobius. Add Macrobius. 1. 3. 10 on *torquet medios nox umida cursus* (Aen. 5. 738).

VII.

I now come to a number of remarks in the third book of the *Saturnalia*, in which Virgil's knowledge of religious antiquities is discussed. As before, I shall compare Macrobius and Servius on each note.

Macrobius 3. 1: this note, on purification by a running stream, is abridged in Servius on Aen. 4. 635.

3. 2. 1: Aen. 5. 237: *porriciam* and *proiciam*: again abridged in Servius.

3. 2. 6: *voti reus*: "*vox propria sacrorum est*," &c. So Servius.

3. 2. 7: Aen. 4. 219: *aram manibus apprehendere, ara* and *asa*. Much of this note is in Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 4. 219 and 6. 124.

3. 2. 10: *vitulari; laetum paeana*: Aen. 6. 657: Servius is silent.

3. 2. 15: *faciam vitula*: Ecl. 3. 77: Servius in a note independent of Macrobius says, "*ut faciam ture, faciam agna*."

3. 2. 17: Aen. 1. 373, *et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum*: Aeneas pontifex: Servius (Dan.) has the same note, but in a fuller form.

3. 3. 2: *sacrum, sanctum, profanum*: Servius (Dan.) has the gist of this note on Aen. 12. 779.

3. 3. 8: *religiosus, religio*: Servius (Dan.) has the same note, but without mentioning Festus, on Georg. 1. 269.

3. 4. 1 foll.: *delubrum*: Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 4. 56 has the same quotation from Varro, and on 2. 225 he quotes another note from Masurius Sabinus (Dan.).

3. 4. 6: *Penates*: so Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 1. 378, 3. 119, 2. 296, 325, 3. 12, 134.

3. 5. 1: *hostiae*: so Servius on Aen. 2. 119 (Dan.), 3. 231, 456, 5. 483.

3. 5. 4: *litare*: so Servius on Aen. 2. 119 (Dan.)

¹ Or rather his ancient interpolator. I do not however think it necessary to suppose that this writer is borrowing directly from Macrobius, as in other places he either ignores him or is quite independent of him. (See note on p. lvi. below.)

3. 5. 7: *ambarvalis hostia*: so Servius on Ecl. 3. 77, 5. 75, Georg. 1. 345.

3. 5. 8: *invita hostia*: so Servius on Georg. 2. 395, Aen. 9. 627.

3. 5. 9: *contemptor divum Mezentius* } These notes are not in Servius.

3. 6. 1: Ἀπόλλων γενέτωρ

3. 6. 9: *Hercules victor*: so Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 8. 363.

3. 6. 12: *domus Pinaria*: so Servius (Dan.) on 8. 270.

3. 6. 16: *sedili*: so Servius, but shortly, on Aen. 8. 176.

3. 6. 17: *aperto capite*: so Servius on Aen. 3. 407.

3. 7. 1: *Pollio*: so Servius (Dan.) on Ecl. 4. 43, nearly word for word.

3. 7. 3 foll.: *telisque sacrarunt Evandri*: so Servius (Dan.), partly word for word, on Aen. 10. 419.

3. 8. 1: *ducente deo*: Servius (Dan.) has a note of nearly equal fulness on Aen. 2. 632, with a passage from Sallust which is not in Macrobius.

3. 8. 4: *in astris*: Servius is here silent.

3. 8. 6: *Camille*: so Servius (Dan.), word for word, on Aen. 11. 543.

3. 8. 8: *mos*: on Aen. 7. 601, Servius has a note quite independent of this, and indeed says that Virgil is not correct in his facts.

3. 9. 1: *excessere omnes*, &c.: this is abridged by Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 2. 351.

To these criticisms may be added the following remarks in Servius: Aen. 4. 29 (Dan.): “sane caerimoniis veterum Flaminicam nisi unum virum habere non licet, quod hic ex persona Didonis exequitur . . . nec Flamini aliam ducere licebat uxorem, nisi post mortem Flaminicae uxoris, quod expeditur quia post mortem Didonis Laviniam duxit.”

Aen. 4. 103 (Dan.): “sciendum tamen in hac conventione Aeneas atque Didonis ubique Vergilium in persona Aeneae flaminem, in Didonis flaminicam praesentare.”

Aen. 4. 137 (Dan.): “veteri caerimoniarum iure praeceptum est ut flaminica venenato operta sit.” A long note follows on the dress of the *flaminica*.

Aen. 4. 166: “*prima et Tellus*: satis perite loquitur. Nam secundum Etruscam disciplinam nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli dicitur. Quidam sane Tellurem praeesse nuptiis tradunt, nam et in auspiciis nuptiarum vocatur,” &c. There is more of the same kind in the notes on Aen. 4. 262—3 (Dan.), 339 (Dan.), 374, 518 (Dan.), 646 (Dan.); 6. 210 (Dan.); 7. 190; 8. 106 (Dan.), 363 (Dan.), 550, foll. (Dan.); 11. 76 (Dan.).

But in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters of Macrobius' third book we have some hostile criticisms in the style of which so many specimens have been already quoted under other heads. On Aen. 3.

21, it is remarked: "Ecce pontifex tuus apud quas aras mactetur ignorat, cum vel aedituis haec nota sint et veterum non tacuerit industria." The attack is replied to; and both attack and reply are abridged by Servius on Aen. 3. 21 as follows: "contra rationem Iovi taurum sacrificat . . . ubique enim Iovi iuvenum legimus immolatum . . . adeo ut hinc putetur subsecutum esse prodigium."

Macrobius 3. 11. 1: *miti dilue Baccho: in mensam laeti libant.* The attack and reply are given in a shorter form in Servius on G. 1. 344 and Aen. 8. 279 (Dan.), "quaeritur sane cur in mensam et non in aram libaverint," &c. But Servius has not the remarks on *mitis* and on *mulsum* in §§ 9 and 10.

3. 12. 1: Aen. 8. 285: on this alleged *geminus error* of Virgil Servius (Dan.) has a note in substance much the same as that of Macrobius.

3. 12. 10: Aen. 4. 57: Virgil is said "toto caelo errasse cum Dido sua rem divinam pro nuptiis faceret *Legiferae Cereri*, &c. Et quasi experfactus adiecit *Iunoni ante omnes*," &c.

Serv. A. 4. 57 (Dan.): "Alii dicunt hos deos quos commemoravit nuptiis esse contrarios, Cereremque propter raptum filiae nuptias execratam, &c. &c. Male ergo invocat hos Dido, quae sibi nuptias optat Aeneae," &c. The note is very long and full, but I suspect that Macrobius, a fragment only of whose comment remains, has more of the original wording.

Compare also Macrobius 1. 15. 10, with Servius on Aen. 8. 654; Macro. 1. 17. 4, with Serv. on Aen. 1. 8.

The result of the foregoing comparisons between Servius and Macrobius is this: that in the great majority of cases where Servius and Macrobius have identical notes, those of Macrobius are far the fuller, clearer, and more logical; that in the collections of parallel passages from Homer Macrobius has some which Servius has not, Servius many more which Macrobius has not, and there are many in common. Hence the natural inference is not (as Ribbeck thinks) that Macrobius was using a fuller form of the actual commentary of Servius than that which we now possess, but that both Macrobius and Servius were drawing upon older commentaries and criticisms.

Is it possible to say with any degree of certainty to whom these works or any of them can be assigned?

Taking the hostile criticisms in Macrobius and Servius first, with the exception of those which can with certainty be assigned to Cornutus and Hyginus (see pp. lix.—lxi.), I would observe that there are a number of precisely the same character and often worded in the same vigorous and acrimonious style; I mean those which deal chiefly with minute points of logic or narrative and less often with points of expression. Such are (1) the unfavourable remarks upon the order of the narrative in the Aeneid (p. xxxv. foll.); (2) those in which Virgil is

blamed for want of invention in his incidents, or for observing a wrong order and adopting an artificial style in his catalogues, or for forgetful repetitions of the same name, or inconsistency in his narrative, or divergence from Homer, or false taste, or bad mythology, or other minor faults akin to these (pp. xxxvii.—xlili.); (3) those in which Virgil is declared to have fallen below Homer in similar and other passages borrowed from him (pp. xlv. xlv.); (4) those in which he is charged with ignorance of religious antiquities (p. l. foll.).

Now if I am right in saying that these criticisms are expressed in the same venomous but idiomatic style; if it be true, as it is so far as I have observed, that they are all directed against passages in the *Aeneid* (the only exception is an apparent one, *Macrob.* 3. 11. 1, where *Georg.* 1. 344 is quoted; but this is instantly followed by a line from the eighth *Aeneid*: *in octavo*)—it is natural to infer that they come from the *Aeneidomastia* of Carvilius Pictor, which is quoted by Servius on *Aen.* 5. 521.

Besides this, two other works of hostile criticism are mentioned by Suetonius: the *vitia* of Herennius and the *furta* of Perellius Faustus.

It is possible, though I do not like to say more, that the criticisms quoted on p. xxx. foll. were taken from the work of Herennius. As to the *furta*, it is very difficult to pronounce with any amount of assurance what was the scope and extent of the work. It may or may not have included collections of Virgil's plagiarisms from Homer and the Greeks, as well as of passages taken from Latin authors. But I am inclined in any case to suspect that the passages from Latin authors collected in the sixth book of Macrobius came directly or indirectly from this work. It is remarkable that in this book there are apologetic remarks on the propensity of the ancient writers to steal from one another: 1. 3, "*exprobrantibus tanto viro alieni usurpationem, nec considerantibus hunc esse fructum legendi, aemulari ea quae in aliis probes,*" &c. Compare 6. 2. 33, "*nec Tullio compilando, dummodo undique ornamenta sibi conferret, abstinuit*": a hostile remark admitted inadvertently, as so often, by Macrobius into a context where it is out of place. Now these general remarks about plagiarism would have been better in place at the head of the passages from Homer collected in the fifth book: and I am tempted therefore to suppose that they were suggested by observations on this question which Macrobius found in the works from which he got the instances quoted in Book VI. This work may or may not have been the *furta* of Perellius Faustus. But it seems in any case to have been a work which Servius did not much use, for (except in the case of Ennius) he quotes from Latin authors mainly for the purpose of grammatical, or historical, or philosophical illustration.

The passages of neutral tone, in which Virgil's obligations to Homer

are simply pointed out, it is natural to assign to the *ἀποδείκνυται* of Octavius Avitus; whether this is also the case with the passages in which Virgil is said to have drawn upon recondite Greek sources is, I should think, doubtful, nor am I at present able to offer any hypothesis on this point.

Turning to the passages where Virgil is defended against hostile criticism, it is natural to suppose that when his alleged plagiarisms from Homer, or alleged mistakes or want of management in his narrative are in question, the ultimate source of the notes both in Servius and Macrobius is the work of *Asconius contra obtractatores Vergilii*.

It is less easy to conjecture what were the sources of the minute verbal criticisms on which we dwelt at length in previous pages; but there is considerable presumption that some of them at least are as old as Verrius Flaccus. I have drawn out the following lists with a view of eliciting the points common to Macrobius with Nonius, Festus, Gellius, Servius, Philargyrius, and the Verona scholia.

Macrobius 6. 4. 2, *addita: adfiza et per hoc infesta*. Hoc iam dixerat Lucilius in libro XIV. his versibus "Si mihi non prætor siet additus atque agitet me."

Servius A. 6. 90, *additus: est autem verbum Lucilii*.

§ 3. *Vomit undam: agmen* of a river. These notes are only found in Macrobius.

§ 5. *Crepitantibus flammis*. Macrobius illustrates only from Lucretius. Nonius, p. 255, quotes the passage in Virgil in a note on *crepare*.

§ 6. *Ferreus hastis Horret ager*. Macrobius illustrates from Ennius. Serv. A. 11. 601: *Horret, terribilis est: est autem versus Ennianus vituperatus a Lucilio dicente per irrisiōem, eum debuisse dicere horret et alget*.

Tremulum lumen. Macrobius only.

§ 8. *Umbraculum*. Macrobius illustrates from Varro and Cicero (de Legibus and Brutus). Servius E. 9. 41 (Dan.) has a different quotation from Cicero, "umbraculisque silvestribus."

§§ 9, 10, 11. *Transmitto, defluo, discludo*. Macrobius only.

§ 12. *Deductus*. Macrobius says *deductum* pro *tenui et subtili* eleganter positum est, illustrating from Afranius, Cornificius, and Pomponius. Schol. Veron. E. 6. 5, *deductum* carmen, tenue, gracile, subtile. Serv. *ib. deductum* . . . tenue: translatio a lana, quæ deducitur in tenuitatem. Nonius, p. 289 (s.v. *deducere*), *deductum* dicitur molle et suave: Vergilius Bucolicis . . . "deductum dicere carmen." The expression *deductum carmen* is praised by Quintilian 8. 2, as "proprie dictum, id est, quo nihil inveniri possit significantius."

§ 14. *Proiectum*. Macrobius illustrates from Sisenna, and quotes the subst. *proiectus*—*ūs* from Lucretius: si secundum veteres, porro *iacta*.

Nonius, p. 373, s.v. *proicere*: *proiectum*, longe iactum, extensum: M. Tullius de Signis "sed quod erat eiusmodi loco, atque ita proiecta in altum." Vergilius Aeneidos lib. III. "proiectaque saxa Pachyni Radimus;" and other instances are given from Cicero. Servius, A. 3. 699 (Dan.) *proiecta*, porrecta, extensa, ut (A. 10. 587) "proiecto dum pede laevo," a passage quoted by Macrobius.

§ 16. *Tempestiva pinus*. Macrobius only.

GREEK WORDS.

§ 17. *Lychnus*. Macrobius quotes Ennius, Lucretius, and Lucilius. Serv. A. 1. 776, *lychni*; Graeco sermone usus est, ne vile aliquid introferret.

§ 19. *Aethra*. Illustrated only by Macrobius.

§ 20. *Daedala Circe*. This note I have shown (p. lvii.—viii.) comes from Verrius Flaccus.

§ 21. *Reboant*. Macrobius illustrates from Lucretius: Nonius, p. 79, s.v. *bount*, quotes the passage under discussion, G. 3. 223, illustrating also from Pacuvius and Varro, and remarking *bount* a boum mugitibus. Servius, G. 3. 223, says of *reboo*, est autem Graecum verbum. Nam apud Latinos nullum verbum est quod ante o finalem o habeat, excepto *inchoo*; quod tamen maiores aliter scribebant, aspirationem interponentes duabus vocalibus, et dicebant *inchoho*. Festus, p. 30, *boare*, id est *clamare*, a Graeco descendit, p. 107, *inchoare* videtur ex Graeco originem trahere, quod Hesiodus omnium rerum initium esse dixerit *chaos*: see on *cohū*, p. 39. Diomedes, p. 365 K. *inchoo inchoavi*: sic dicendum putat Iulius Modestus, quia sit compositum a *chao*, initio rerum. Sed Verrius Flaccus in postrema syllaba aspirandum probavit: *cohū* enim apud veteres *mundum* significat, unde subtractum *incohare*.

It would seem from these notices that two etymologies were suggested for *boo* and *inchoho*, a Latin (*boves*, *cohū*) and a Greek one (*βοῶν*, *chaos*); and I should be inclined to infer that both words were discussed fully by Verrius Flaccus, from whom Macrobius may directly or indirectly have derived his note.

§ 22. *Pausa*. Nonius, p. 158, illustrates this word from Accius and Lucilius.

The remaining Greek words are discussed in Macrobius only.

FOREIGN WORDS.

§ 23. *Urus*. Macrobius only.

Camurus. This note, as I have shown (see p. lviii.), comes, or may come, from Verrius Flaccus.

EPITHETS.

Macrob. 6. 5. 3. *Petulcus*: this note (see p. lviii.) may come from Verrius Flaccus.

§ 4. *Liquidus*, as an epithet of fire. Macrobius illustrates from Lucretius, adding *liquidi simul ignis pro puro vel lucido, seu pro effuso et abundantis*. Servius, E. 6. 33, *liquidi simul ignis, puri, id est aetherei*; (Dan. adds) *quem Cicero ignitum liquorem dixit*. Lucretius, "devolet in terram liquidi color aureus ignis." A. 6. 202, *liquidum* (aëra) *pro puro* dixit. Nonius, p. 334, has a long note on *liquidus*, which he explains as = *suavis* or *dulcis*, *purus*, *mollis* or *fluxus*. The three notes all seem to come from the same source, which is probably not later than the age of Trajan (see p. lxviii. foll.).

§ 5. *Tristis* = *amarus*. Macrobius illustrates from Ennius: so Servius (Dan.) on G. 1. 75: comp. Servius and Philargyrius on G. 2. 126. Nonius, p. 409, *triste, amarum*: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I. "tristisque lupini Sustuleris fragiles calamos."

§ 6. *Auritus* (*auritos lepores*, G. 1. 308). Macrobius illustrates the word from Afranius, "aurito parente." Servius, G. 1. 308, *auritos, maiores habentes aures*. Horatius aliter ait "Doctum et auritas fidibus canoris Ducere quercus," sensum audiendi habentes: comp. Nonius, p. 129, *inauritum*, quod non audiat. Festus, p. 8, *auritus* a magnis auribus, ut sunt asinorum aut leporum. It may be that Verrius Flaccus in his original note had quoted both Afranius and Virgil.

§ 7. *Turicremus* (Aen. 4. 453, "turicremis aris"). Macrobius illustrates from Lucretius: Servius (Dan.) says "nomen mire compositum."

§ 10. *Velivolus*. Macrobius quotes Livius Andronicus and Ennius: Serv. A. 1. 224, has a note nearly identical with his, but quoting Ennius only.

§ 11. *Vitisator*. Macrobius illustrates from Accius: Serv. A. 7. 179, says *vitisator*: non inventor vitis, sed qui vitis genus demonstravit Italis populis.

§ 12. *Noctivagus*. Macrobius illustrates from Egnatius. Servius, A. 10. 206 (Dan.), says "nomen mire compositum."

§ 13. *Nubigena*. This word (like *arcitenens* and *silvicola*) is discussed by Macrobius only.

Before leaving these lists I would call attention to the fact that they show signs of having been extracted from alphabetical series: *additus*, *agmen*, *crepito*, *horre*, *tremulus*, *umbraculum* (*transmitto*): *defluo*, *cludo*, *deductus*, *proiectus*, *tempestivus*: (*lychnus*) *aethra*, *daedalus*, *reboo*: *camurus*, *Mulciber*, *petulcus*: (*liquidus*, *tristis*, *auritus*): *turicremus*, *velivolus*, *vitisator*: *arcitenens*, *silvicola*: *noctivagus*, *nubigena*. There is also a slight tendency to put words from the same authors together:

thus *agmen*, *crepito*, *horreo*, *tremulus*, are all illustrated from Ennius; so *lychnus* and *aethra*; *daedalus* and *reboo*, *petulcus* and *liquidus*, from Lucretius: *arcitenens* and *silvicola* from Naevius.

These facts alone might fairly lead us to suspect that Macrobius is drawing upon glosses or philological works of respectable antiquity. But the suspicion becomes something stronger when we find that some of the notes are traceable to Verrius Flaccus (*daedalus*, *camurus*, *petulcus*, *auritus*, and perhaps *reboo*), that others are common to Macrobius and Nonius, and others again to those two writers, with Servius and other later commentators. For I have endeavoured to show further on (p. lxviii. foll.) that the Virgilian notes which are common to Nonius and the later commentators cannot be assigned to a later date than the age of Trajan. And the conclusion to which we are led in the case of the *scholia*, whose origin we can directly or indirectly trace, it is natural to extend to those of whose sources we are ignorant.

NOTE.

It was not until after these sheets had been sent to press that I was able to procure two pamphlets, by Drs. Linke and Wissowa, "*De Macrobiani Saturnaliorum fontibus*," Breslau, 1880. Dr. Linke, who goes much more fully than Dr. Wissowa into the question of the sources of the Virgilian criticisms in Macrobius, has come to the conclusion (1) that the additional notes in Daniel's Servius are ancient interpolations: (2) that the Servius of our commentary stands in no relation of dependence to the Servius of the *Saturnalia*; (3) that the ancient interpolators of Servius borrowed, in a great many instances, directly from Macrobius; (4) that there are some cases, nevertheless, where this cannot have been the case: (5) that Macrobius 3. 1—12 is taken from two different manuals, of uncertain date, each of which probably contained information borrowed ultimately from Verrius Flaccus.

With regard to (1) and (3) I would observe that the additional notes in Daniel's Servius may be interpolations, but that whether they are so or not, they are, in my opinion, taken not from Macrobius, but from a continuous commentary. For (1) they often extend without a break over continuous lines; (2) they sometimes give information which is not found in Macrobius; (3) they sometimes, in a very striking way, ignore what is to be found in him, as notably in the case of his sixth book (see p. xlvii.—lx.). I entirely agree with Dr. Linke as to the relation between our Servius and the Servius of the *Saturnalia*; with regard to Macrobius 3. 1—12 I am not convinced that he is right, as chapters 10, 11 and 12 may come from the *Aeneidomastix*.

THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

It was not long before the poems of Virgil began to afford matter for discussion to lexicographers, grammarians, and writers on antiquity. The first scholar who actually lectured upon Virgil was Quintus Caecilius Epirota, for information about whom we are entirely dependent upon Suetonius (*De Grammaticis*, 16). He was, it appears, a freedman of Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, and was born at Tusculum. His *cognomen* suggests that he may have been the child of Epirot parents, brought over, perhaps, from the estates of Atticus in Epirus. The daughter of Atticus was married to Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and Caecilius was tutor to this lady. On account of a suspicion which arose against him with regard to his conduct in this relation he left the family of Agrippa, and lived henceforth on terms of intimate friendship with the poet Cornelius Gallus. His character was so unfavourably regarded by Augustus that this intimacy was the occasion of one of the gravest charges brought against Gallus by the emperor. After the condemnation and death of Gallus, Caecilius opened a school for a few young men, to whom he lectured on Virgil and other contemporary poets. Whether this was before Virgil's death or not there is no evidence to decide. A verse written upon him by Domitius Marsus—

“Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum,”

seems to be pointed at the real or supposed effeminacy of his character.

Verrius Flaccus, the compiler of the first Latin lexicon ever written, must have paid a great deal of attention to Virgil. His work *De Verborum Significatu* has, as is well known, survived only in the abridgments of Festus and Paulus. Even in these, a considerable number of quotations from Virgil is to be found; and I am inclined to think that several of the original glosses of Verrius may be partially reconstructed from later writers, notably from Nonius and Macrobius, who seem to have preserved them in a fuller form than Paulus or even Festus. Thus Paulus has preserved the following gloss on *daedalus* (p. 68, Müller), *Daedalam a varietate rerum artificiorumque dictum esse apud Lucretium terram, apud Ennium Minervam, apud*

lviii THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

Vergilium Circen, facile est intellegere. Macrobius 6. 4. 2 remarks that Virgil says *daedala Circe* because Lucretius had said *daedala tellus*. It seems from this that Verrius must have had an article in which the *daedala tellus* of Lucretius and the *daedala Circe* of Virgil were quoted together. The case was probably similar with Verrius' article on *camurus*. Fest. p. 43 says *camara* and *camuri boves a curvatione ex Graeco κάμνη* dicuntur. Nonius, p. 30, has the following note: *camurum* obtortum, unde et *camerae* tecta in curvitatē formata. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. (v. 55), "Et *camuris* hirtae sub cornibus aures." Commenting on this line Macrobius 6. 4. 23 says *camurus* peregrinum verbum est, id est in se redeuntibus. Et forte nos quoque *camaram* hac ratione figuravimus. Servius, in his note on the passage of the third Georgic, says, *camuris*, id est *curvis*. Unde et *camerae* appellantur, and Philargyrius brings us very near to the gloss in Paulus, *camuri boves sunt qui conversa introrsus cornua habent*. I conjecture that these remarks all represent parts of a full note in Verrius Flaccus, in which *camuri boves*, *camurae aures*, and *camera* were discussed together.

On p. 206 Festus has a note on *petulcus* which he illustrates from Virgil's fourth Georgic (*haedique petulci*), from Lucretius, and from Afranius. It is instructive to find that Macrobius, in his comment on the line in the fourth Georgic, also quotes the same line of Lucretius in illustration of the word.

I have little doubt that had the work of Verrius *De Verborum Significatu* been preserved in its original extent, it would be possible to multiply these examples of comments drawn from articles in his lexicon in which Virgil was quoted. It is much easier to collect instances in which the *De Verborum Significatu* was used by late commentators for general purposes of illustration. Take for instance the note in Festus p. 298 on the word *summusi*. *Summusi* dicebantur *murmuratores*. Naevius: "Odi, inquit, *summusos*; proinde aperte dice, quid siet quod times." Ennius in sexto Annalium: "Intus in occulto *mussabant*," et Ennius in *Andromache* . . . *Mussare silere* est: nam [Iuventius in *Anagnorizomene*], "quod potes sile cela occulta tege tace *mussa* mane." Philargyrius on Georg. 4. 188, *mussant*: hic *murmurant*. Quae vox ponitur in tacendi significatione, ut apud Ennium in XVII., "non possunt *mussare* boni qui facta labore Nixi militiae peperere." Interdum autem pro *dubito*, ut (A. 12. 657) "*mussat* rex ipse Latinus, Quos generos vocet." *Mussant* autem *murmurant*. Ennius in X. sic ait, "Expectans si *mussaret* quae denique pausa Pugnandi fieret." Serv. A. 12. 657 *mussat*, modo dubitat; Dan. adds, . . . Veteres *mussat* pro timet. Ennius *mussare* pro tacere posuit. Clodius Tuscus: "*mussare* est ex Graeco; comprimere oculos

Graeci μῦθον dicunt." And Nonius, p. 427, distinguishes *mussare* and *murmurare*.

Paulus, p. 368, on *vescus*. *Vescus* fastidiosus. *Ve* enim pro, *pusillo* utebantur. Lucretius *vescum* dixit edacem, cum ait "nec mare quae impendent vesco sale saxa peresa. Gellius 16. 5. 6 has words to the same effect, but Nonius, p. 186, seems to preserve a better form of this gloss, in which it is clear that Paulus or Festus have confused quotation and interpretation: *Vescum* minutum, obscurum. Lucilius lib. XXVI. "quam *fastidiosum ac vescum* cum Falcidio videre." Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. (175) "nec *vescas* salicum frondes." Afranius in Sororibus, "At puer est *vescis* imbecillus viribus." Turning now to Philargyrius on Georgic 3. 175, we find *Vescas*: teneras et exiles. Nam *vescum* apud antiquos significabat *macrum*, et quasi quod escam non reciperet. Afranius in Sororibus, "At puer est *vescis* imbecillus viribus." Sed vide ne *vescas appetibiles* dixeris. Lucretius certe pro *edace* posuit, ut "vesco sale saxa peresa." Serv. G. 3. 175, *vescas frondes*, siccas et teneras. Nam *vescum* hoc est proprie, unde et telae araneorum *vescae* nominantur, comp. Serv. G. 4. 130.

Paulus, p. 321, *pagani* a *pagis* dicti. *Pagi* dicti a fontibus, quod eadem aqua uterentur. Aquae enim lingua Dorica *παγαι* appellabantur. Serv. G. 2. 381: primi ludi theatrales ex Liberalibus nati sunt: ideo ait *veteres ludi* . . . *Pagos et compita circum*: id est, per quadrvia, quae *compita* appellantur, ab eo quod multae viae in unum confluant, et villas, quae *pagi ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν* appellantur, id est a fontibus, circa quos villae consueverant condi. Unde et *pagani* dicti sunt quasi ex uno fonte potantes.

Did space permit I could give many more examples of this phenomenon, the existence of which was first revealed to me by a minute comparison between Festus and Paulus on the one hand, and Servius, Philargyrius and the Verona scholia on the other. But to pursue this question into all its details is a task which hardly falls within the scope of the present essay: and I proceed therefore to speak of another eminent scholar of the same period who gave some attention to Virgil, C. Iulius Hyginus.¹

Hyginus was, as we know from Gellius 16. 6 and 1. 21, the author of a special work upon Virgil: *commentarii in Vergilium*, or *libri de Vergilio facti*, as Gellius calls it. There is no evidence that this work was a regular continuous commentary on Virgil; and had it been of this nature, there can hardly be any doubt that Hyginus' name would have appeared far more frequently than it has in the commentaries of Servius or Philargyrius, or the Verona scholia.

We may conveniently divide the remarks of Hyginus which have been preserved by Gellius and the later commentators into those which

¹ Suetonius De Illustribus Grammaticis, 20.

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refer (1) to the text, (2) to interpretation of language, (3) to history and antiquities, religious or political.

(1.) In Aen. 12. 120 he defended from Virgil's own manuscript the reading "*velati limo*:" and in Georgic 2. 247 *amaror*, appealing in like manner to a good MS. Gellius, 1. 21. 5, who gives us this information, remarks, "*non enim primus finxit hoc verbum Vergilius insolenter, sed in carminibus Lucretii inventum est, nec est aspernatus auctoritatem poetæ ingenii et facundiae præcellentis.*" An observation for which he may be indebted either to Hyginus or to Verrius Flaccus, in whose works it is probable that there was a not inconsiderable amount of common matter.

(2.) Gellius 16. 6. 15 preserves a note of Hyginus upon the word *bidens*, which he interprets as meaning a sheep with the two prominent teeth which mark its full growth. Whether this interpretation was due to Hyginus or to Verrius Flaccus, whether either of them borrowed it from the other, or both adopted it independently, cannot be ascertained with certainty: but it is worth notice that the explanation adopted by Hyginus is identical with that given in Paulus p. 33, s. v. *bidental*. In Aen. 6. 15, he found fault with the expression *præpetibus pennis*.² His objection is not expressly noticed in the commentary of Servius, who, however, appears to be tacitly replying to it. And in 7. 187, he criticised the zeugma *lituo et succinctus trabea*.³

(3.) Hyginus, who had made considerable studies in Roman history, was not slow to observe the error by which Virgil in the sixth Aeneid (837) confuses the conquerors of Macedonia and of Greece.⁴ Servius, again without mentioning Hyginus, is at the pains to attempt a solution of the difficulty which cannot be called successful. The same is the case with Hyginus' remark on Aen. 6. 359, that Velia was not founded at the time when Aeneas is represented as coming thither;⁵ and with his observation that Theseus is spoken of at one time as remaining in hell for ever, and in another as an instance of a hero who had returned thence (Aen. 6. 122, 617). As the name of Hyginus is not mentioned in these cases by Servius, it is natural to infer that his criticisms were only known to the later commentator at second or third hand. There are instances, however, in which Servius mentions Hyginus by name. Thus he is quoted on Aen. 1. 277, 530, on points connected with the early history of Rome and Italy; and so on Aen. 2. 15, and 7. 47. His work *De Urbibus Italicis* is mentioned in general terms by Servius on Aen. 7. 678, and that *De Familiis Troianis* on Aen. 5. 389. Both works were probably much used by the later commentators on Virgil, and much of their contents may have found their way into the notes of Servius.

² Gellius 5. 8.

³ *Ibid.* 10. 16.

IULIUS MODESTUS.

Ribbeck conjectures that this scholar, the freedman of Hyginus (Suetonius *De Illustribus Grammaticis* 20), who commented on Horace, made also some scattered remarks upon Virgil. I am not aware, however, that any Virgilian notes are in existence which can with certainty be referred to him. The name of Aufidius Modestus occurs (if the reading be certain) in a note by Philargyrius on the words *coniurato Histro* (Georg. 2. 497); but can we be certain that the same person is intended? Ribbeck thinks that the long note in Nonius, p. 377, on *tenu* and *protinus* comes from the *quaestiones confusae* of Iulius Modestus. And undoubtedly Philargyrius on Georg. 3. 53 (*crurum tenu*) remarks, Modestus *tenu* pro *fine* accipit, and Nonius says *ipsum tenu* . . . maxime finem terminumque designat. It is, however, at least as probable that both Modestus and Nonius owed their information to Verrius Flaccus, for in Festus, p. 367, we read *tenu* significat *finem*, ut cum dicimus *hactenus*. And more of this note on *tenu* I suspect is to be found in the note of Servius on Aen. 6. 62, *hactenus, hucusque: id est hic sit finis. Nam tenu* est proprie extrema pars arcus, ut Plautus ostendit (Bacch. 4. 6. 23) "ita intendi tenu," unde tractum est ut *hactenus hucusque* significet.

However the case may really have stood, we have here again, as in the instance of the note on *bidens*, a valuable specimen of the scholarship of the Augustan age.

L. ANNAEUS CORNUTUS.

Cornutus, the contemporary and friend of Silius Italicus, and the revered tutor of Persius, was banished by Nero A.D. 68. He was the author of *commentarii Aeneidos*, which are mentioned by Charisius, pp. 100 and 102, and apparently of remarks on the Eclogues. A few of his notes are quoted in the Verona scholia and in the commentary of Servius. In Aen. 1. 45, he would have preferred "infixit" to "infixit" as more forcible (*vehementius*): in Aen. 1. 150, he defended *volant* against *volunt*, and in Aen. 9. 348, he read for "multa morte recepit" "multa nocte recepit." These specimens do not impress us very deeply with a sense of his critical power; nor does he always appear to much advantage as an interpreter. In Aen. 9. 675, for instance, he took "commissa" as equivalent to "clausa"; an interpretation improbable in itself, and which is wholly ignored in the note on this passage in Nonius p. 249. A few other notes of Cornutus, hardly worth quoting here, may be found in Servius and the Verona scholia.

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Several objections of his to points of detail in Virgil's language and in his management of his story have been preserved by Gellius and Macrobius. He took exception to the word *verasse* in Ecl. 6. 76, where Servius appeals to Probus in the poet's defence (comp. Gell. 2. 6.). He found fault with the conclusion of the fourth Aeneid: "unde haec historia, ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus, ignoratur," are his words quoted in Macrobius 5. 19. 2. It was naturally replied that Virgil was simply following the Alcestis of Euripides. Not much more attention need be paid to his complaint that Virgil in Aen. 5. 488 has made Aeneas shoot a bird sacred to his own mother, or to his criticisms (preserved by Gellius 9. 10.) of the wording of Aeneid 8. 405.

AEMILIUS ASPER.⁴

It is uncertain whether this distinguished scholar lived before or after Probus. The fact that no mention is made of him by Suetonius in his work *De Illustribus Grammaticis* makes very strongly in favour of the later date; nor can there be said to be any positive evidence for the earlier one. It is true that in a note of the Verona scholia on A. 9. 373, Asper is said to have raised a question with regard to the word *sublustris* which was answered by Probus: but this need prove no more than that Asper, if he knew of the answer given by Probus, was not satisfied by it. Nor can anything be inferred from the fact that on A. 10. 539 Asper's reading *armis* is mentioned before that preferred by Probus, *albis*. The conjecture of Bergk, who would read "Ασπερος for "Απερος in Suidas' notice of Heraclides Ponticus, could only be accepted were it certain on other grounds that Asper lived in the reign of Claudius. Nothing again can be concluded from the fact that the commentary on the Eclogues and Georgics which bears the name of Probus quotes Asper as an authority; for (as we shall see below) this commentary is probably in great part spurious.

However this may be, Asper was the author of a regular commentary not only on Virgil but on Terence and Sallust. A considerable number of his notes are preserved, apparently in their original form, in the Verona scholia. Others are to be found in Philargyrius and Servius; and I have little doubt that much more of Asper's work is embodied in the commentary of Servius than its author chooses to acknowledge. For if we compare the notes which the Verona scholia expressly assign to Asper with the corresponding notes in Servius, we constantly find that the latter has virtually the same comment in an abridged form, and without any hint of its source. From this fact we

⁴ Jerome, c. Ruf. 472 "Aspri in Vergilium et Sallustium Commentarios." "Asper, Cornutus, et alii innumerabiles requiruntur ut quilibet poeta possit intellegi," says Augustine, Util. Cred. § 17.

may infer almost with certainty that had the Verona scholia or any other commentary of equal fulness come down to us unimpaired, we should have found that Servius was indebted to Asper to a far greater extent than we should otherwise have been led to suspect. Many of the numerous quotations from Terence and Sallust scattered through the notes of Servius are, I can hardly doubt, taken from Asper, who, as we shall see in a moment, was fond of illustrating his notes from Sallust.

The remarks of Asper, whether they refer to matters of textual criticism or of interpretation, are for the most part scholarlike and interesting even when they fail to carry conviction. In Aen. 10. 539, he preferred to read *insignibus armis* to *insignibus albis*, basing his preference on a quotation from Sallust. But there can hardly be a doubt that Probus was right here in reading *albis*. In Aen. 10. 673 he was clearly right in reading *quosue*, not *quosve*, and in line 737 of the same book as clearly wrong in reading *viris* for *virī*. In 11. 801 I should be inclined to infer from the note in Servius that Asper was led from an apparent parallel in Sallust to read *auras*, the old genitive singular, for *aurae*. In G. 4. 238, he (as we learn from the Berne scholia) rightly defended *in vulnere* as against *in vulnera*.

Of Asper's sense and insight as an interpreter all remaining indications would lead us to think highly. In Aen. 9. 418, for instance, he pointed out that *per tempus utrumque* must be taken as = *inter tempus utrumque*; in Georg. 2. 324 (*vere tument terrae*) his good sense told him that *terrae* was nom. pl., not (as Donatus took it three centuries afterwards) the gen. sing.; in Aen. 9. 386 he took *imprudens* as = *ignorans se evasisse*. Other explanations of his appear more ingenious than sound: as, for instance, when in 10. 188 he took *crimen vestrum* to mean *causa vestrae mutationis*: or when in Aen. 2. 305 he explained *montano flumine* as = *magno flumine*: or in Aen. 4. 146 *picti Agathyrsi* as *stigmati*, tattooed, an opinion from which Servius dissents: or in 9. 678 *armati ferro* as = *ferrea corda habentes*. Some of his notes on points of interpretation appear to have come from Verrius Flaccus. Thus he says on Aen. 10. 6 (see Scholia Veronensia) that *quianam* is an archaic word. Servius, whose note does not name Asper but is probably indebted to him, quotes *quianam* from Ennius. Now this was also the case with Verrius Flaccus' note on the word (Festus, p. 257), though the instances quoted by Festus and Servius are not identical. So also perhaps with the note on *sinum lactis* in the Verona scholia on Ecl. 7. 33 "Asper. *Sinum* est vas vinarium, ut Cicero significat, non, ut quidam, lactarium. Plautus in Curculione (1. 1. 75), *Cedo puere sinum*. Et respondetur. *Quasi tu lagoenam dicas in qua Chium vinum solet esse*. *Sinus* ergo vas patulum . . . e *sinus* vocitatum . . . Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I. *lepistam vas dicebant ubi erat vinum in*

mensa positum, aut galeola aut sino. Tria enim hæc similia sunt, pro quibus nunc *acratophoron* ponitur." With this note, which is also given in Servius (Dan.) without acknowledgment, must be compared that in Nonius p. 547. *Sinum et galeolas, vasa sinuosa.* Vergilius in Bucolicis (7. 33) "*sinum lactis, et hæc te liba, Priape, quotannis Expectare sat est.*" Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I. "*ubi erat vinum in mensa positum aut galeola aut sino.*" *Lepista, vas aheneum.* Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I. ut fere habent aheneum (? alii) qui venditant oleum. *Lepistæ* etiamnunc Sabinorum fanis pauperioribus plerisque aut fictiles sunt aut ahenæ." Now the note on *lepista* probably comes from Verrius Flaccus, for Paulus, p. 115, says, "*lepista* genus vasis aquarii": and many other notes in the fifteenth book of Nonius, *De genere vasorum vel poculorum*, can be shown to have been derived from that author: those namely on *aula, pelvis, patella, cymbia, orca, catinus, calpar, armillum, and creterrae*. (Compare Paulus, pp. 23, 247, 248, 51, 180, 169, 65, 53.)

On Aen. 7. 485, Asper, as quoted in the Verona scholia, remarks: "*nomen Tyrrhi ab historicis traxit—Tyrrhum enim aiunt fuisse pastorem apud quem Lavinia delituit tum cum Ascanium timens fugit in silvas—Hic Latini vilicus traditur fuisse.*" This note Ribbeck (Prol. p. 134) thinks may have come from Cato.

Notes of Asper on the character of Mezentius as *contemptor divum*, and on the Potitii and Pinarii, are quoted by Macrobius Sat. 3. 5. 9. Of the first of these Servius has nothing, but of the second he has a great deal in his comment on Aen. 8. 270.

I will conclude by giving a list of the notes which are expressly assigned to Asper by the Verona scholia, or Philargyrius, but which are given by Servius, sometimes in an abridged form, without acknowledgment of their source. These are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that on *sinum lactis*, Ecl. 7. 33; on *infelicis Ulixi*, Aen. 3. 691; on *Camarina*, Aen. 3. 701; on *ezin*, Aen. 7. 341; probably on Aen. 9. 360 and 363; on *sublustris*, Aen. 9. 373; on *imprudens*, Aen. 9. 386; on *quianam*, Aen. 10. 6, and on *non nullius numinis*, Georg. 4. 453.

M. VALERIUS PROBUS.

M. Valerius Probus, of the flourishing colony of Berytus in Syria, be- took himself to the study of scholarship, if we may believe Suetonius only after failing in an attempt to succeed in a more active profession ("*diu centuriatum (centurionatum?) petiit donec ad studia se con- tulit*"). The study of the ancient authors—and such was the self-confi- dence of the Augustan writers and their immediate successors, that Cicero, Lucretius, Catullus, and Varro were counted and perhaps half despised as ancients long before the first century had run its course—

soon began to languish at Rome. But these writers maintained their reputation out of Italy, and the curiosity of Probus was awakened by reading some of them with a provincial lecturer. The study of these authors inspired him to go on to others, and regardless of the fact that the pains he was spending was likely to gain him nothing but discredit, he determined to devote his life to the emendation, punctuation, and explanation of ancient texts. Among these he appears to have paid special attention to Terence, Lucretius, and Virgil. Probus published little of importance in his life-time, but left a considerable posthumous work in the shape of a "*Silva observationum sermonis antiqui*," from which a great deal, I suspect, has filtered into the work of the later grammarians.

Probus was alive, as we may infer from Martial's address to his third book (3. 2. 12, "*illo vindice nec Probum timeto*"), in 88 A.D.: but his merits had been recognized at Rome some thirty years before.* He did not open a school, or form pupils in the ordinary sense of the word. But he had admirers with whom, like Socrates in a higher path of speculation, he would converse, and perhaps did more in this way than he would have done by direct teaching to stimulate the love of antiquity which marks the scholars of the generation which followed him. His influence is very marked in the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, who had known and conversed with friends of Probus.

Judging from the remains of his notes which have been preserved in Servius and other later writers, one would be inclined to assign to him without question the first place among the commentators on Virgil. His remarks on the text of the poet are of the utmost value, whether we regard them as based on his own conjectures, or (as I am more inclined to suppose) on the inspection of excellent manuscripts now lost. That Probus did not spare himself the labour of consulting the oldest accessible documents we know from Gellius 13. 21. 4, where he is said to have examined a manuscript of the first *Georgic* corrected by the hand of Virgil himself, with the view of settling the question whether the acc. pl. of *urbs* should be spelt *urbis* or *urbes*. He had probably also looked at good copies of the *Aeneid* before he appealed to *Aen.* 2. 224, 460 and 3. 106 on the matter. His common sense is as notable as his industry. The question, he maintained, would have been decided by Virgil not in pedantic accordance with a fixed rule, but according to the judgment of his ear.

In *Aen.* 7. 773 the undoubtedly true reading *Phoebigenam*, which is found in none of our manuscripts, is due to Probus. It is difficult to believe that he hit upon this by conjecture, or (to put the same statement

* Jerome to A.D. 56, "*Probus Berytius eruditissimus grammaticorum Romae agnoscitur.*"

in another way) that Varius and Tucce would have allowed the meaningless reading *Poenigenam*, which has taken possession of the existing copies, to remain in the text of Virgil. The same remark applies to his defence of *floros crines* against *flavos crines* in Aen. 12. 605. *Floros* he defended by an appeal to ancient authors; and it is worth noticing that Nonius, p. 109, has a note on *florus* illustrated from Naevius. Is Nonius drawing upon the notes of Probus, as Ribbeck is inclined to think he is in his seventh book, or are both dependent on some earlier lexicographical authority?

In Aen. 10. 539, Probus was doubtless right in reading *insignibus albis*, not *insignibus armis* with Asper. More questionable is his judgment in the case of Aen. 1. 44, where he would have us read *transfixo tempore*, not *transfixo pectore*. In Aen. 1. 441 he rightly defended by an example from Sallust *laetissimus umbrae* against *laetissimus umbra* (compare Servius (Dan.) on Aen. 11. 338). In 8. 406 he (and after him Carminius) wished to read *infusum* for *infusus*. In 9. 814 he defended *aeger anhelitus* as against *acer anhelitus*. In G. 1. 277 he read *Horcus*, not *Orcus*. These are instances of his power as a textual critic: let us now consider some examples of his notes on grammar and interpretation. Servius on the first line of the first Aeneid informs us that Probus (following Cicero and Caesar) laid it down that *Troia*, *Graios*, *Aiax*, should be written with *ii*: a scholar's canon which is not supported by the evidence of good inscriptions. From this fact Ribbeck thinks it possible that Gellius, when in 4. 17 he defends the orthography *imice*, *subiicit*, *obiicibus*, may be following in the track of Probus (Prol. p. 139). On Aen. 1. 194, he made a distinction between the active and passive forms of *partio* and other verbs of the same kind. It should be observed that Nonius in treating of these words (pp. 472, 474) makes no distinction between the two forms: a fact which suggests that he and Probus followed independent sources, or that Probus made the distinction on his own judgment. The same is the case with regard to Nonius in the note quoted from Probus on Aen. 4. 359, *nemo haurit vocem*. Nonius, p. 319, quotes Virgil's words "*vocemque his auribus hausi*" as a good instance of metaphorical expression, just as does Quintilian 8. 3. 54.

In Aen. 3. 3 Probus took *fumat* not as the present but as the contracted perfect. On 6. 473 he apparently had a dissertation on the word *pristinus* ("de hoc sermone quaerit Probus et alii," says Servius). It would be interesting to know what relation this discussion bore to the notes of Verrinus Flaccus on the same word (Fest. pp. 226, 253). In 10. 303 he ingeniously remarked that *vadi dorso* was equivalent to *vado*, as *dorso nemoris* (G. 3. 436) to *nemori*. To the words *aequore iusso* (Aen. 10. 444) he put the sign *alogus*, implying that they defied

a rational construction. On Aen. 12. 174, he explained *altaria* as meaning "ea quae in altaria funduntur" (comp. the Schol. Veron. on Aen. 5. 93). In E. 6. 76 he defended the word *vezasse* against the objections of Cornutus (Serv. ad. 1., comp. Gell. 2. 6 = Macrob. 6. 7. 4): and it is not at all improbable, as Ribbeck suggests, that the whole of the sixth chapter of Gellius' second book is taken from the commentary of Probus. On A. 9. 373 he defended "sublustri noctis in umbra" by the example of Horace's "nocte sublustri" (Schol. Veronensia), a parallel which Servius borrows without acknowledgment.

Not that Probus was blindly partial to his author. "Probo displicet *salsus sudor*," say Servius and the Verona scholia on A. 2. 173; he would have preferred the omission of A. 4. 418, "puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas"; of the story about Camilla in A. 11. 554 he said that it was *ἀπίθανον πλάσμα*, an incredible fiction. Gellius, 9. 12, tells us that he was very severe upon Virgil's description of Dido as compared with that by Homer of Nausicaa, which Virgil is copying. Of A. 9. 369 ("equites ex urbe Latini Ibant, et regi Turno responsa ferebant") the Verona scholia tell us that Probus and Sulpicius Apollinaris (that is, probably, Probus as quoted by Sulpicius Apollinaris) complained that it was inconsistent with 7. 600, "saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas."

Such are some of the scanty relics of one of the most important commentaries, perhaps the most important commentary on Virgil that antiquity produced. Of the existing commentary which bears the name of Probus it would be rash to say that it contains nothing which can be traced to the hand of the master; but that the bulk of it can be his it is impossible to suppose. To say nothing of the gross historical blunder with which the commentary on the Eclogues opens—assigning as it does the confiscation of Virgil's estate to the time which followed the battle of Actium—it must be observed that the general character of the work corresponds in no way with what we should expect from the account given of Probus by Suetonius (Ill. Gramm. 24), according to which it was almost entirely to questions of grammar and criticism that he devoted his attention. The remains of Probus' commentary on Virgil which have been preserved by later writers bear out, as will have been seen from the specimens which I have quoted, the observation of Suetonius. Very few of them touch on questions of history or antiquities: one only, on Aen. 10. 18 ("hominum divumque aeterna potestas"), contains matter of a quasi-philosophical character. Now if there is one thing noticeable about the commentary on the Eclogues and Georgics which bears the name of Probus, it is that it is concerned almost entirely with points of mythology, history, geography, and theosophy. Nor can its quality as a

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whole, though here and there it gives us a valuable remark, be pronounced at all worthy of what might have been expected from the great scholar of Berytus.⁶

RELICS OF COMMENTARIES PRESERVED IN THE "DE COMPENDIOSA DOCTRINA" OF NONIUS.

I strongly suspect that a great many of the observations made by Probus in his commentaries on ancient usage, as well as other remains of the work of scholars of the first century A.D., may be recovered from later writers, and notably from Nonius Marcellus, the well known African scholar of the third century. The *De Compendiosa Doctrina* of Nonius is a medley of mutilated scholarship which, for the sake of convenience, we may distribute under three heads: first, lexicographical: Books I. II. IV. V. VI., and part of XII.; second, grammatical: Books III. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. and part of XII.; third, antiquarian: Books XIII.—XX.⁷

Of the lexicographical and antiquarian books I could, did space permit, show that much is ultimately due to Verrius Flaccus, although I suspect that it came to Nonius through the hands of other scholars, such as Caesellius Vindex, and Suetonius. The fourth book (*De Varia Significatione Verborum*), which occupies more than a third of the whole treatise, and is also in point of matter the most important part of it, is remarkable for the enormous number of quotations from Virgil which it contains. It may indeed be said without exaggeration that there are very few articles in this section in which Virgil is not quoted. This fact seems to point to the conclusion that the writer, whoever he was, from whose works the fourth book of Nonius was taken, was a great student of Virgil, as well as (in his way) a lexicographer.

But in the case of the grammatical books of Nonius, we can go further,

⁶ It should be observed that the opening remarks on the supposed origin of bucolic poetry are in substance identical with those of Diomedes, p. 488 foll., and also with those of Servius at the beginning of his commentary. Now the whole section of Diomedes in which these observations occur is supposed by Keil (and very plausibly) to come from Suetonius. If this be the case, the commentary attributed to Probus is at once stamped as spurious.

The grammatical treatises (*Catholicon* and *Instituta Artium*) which bear the name of Probus are not now, so far as I know, attributed by any scholar to Probus of Berytus: see Keil's preface to the fourth volume of his *Grammatici Latini*.

⁷ The antiquity of the authorities followed by Nonius is sufficiently established by the single fact that, with four or five exceptions, he quotes no author of later date than the Augustan age.

and assert that much of them is, in the last resort, distinctly traceable to Pliny and Probus. Taking the third book (*De Indiscretis Generibus*) first, we may observe that the subject of doubtful gender had occupied the attention of grammarians in the first century A.D. So much may be inferred from the language of Quintilian (9. 3. 6), who speaks as if he had manuals before him in which the subject was treated. One of these may have been the book of Probus, *De dubiis generibus* (probably part of his *Silva Observationum*), cited by Priscian (1, p. 169, 171 Keil). Let us proceed to consider the relation between this work and the third book of Nonius.

Priscian, in the passage already quoted, gives a list which he took, as he says, from the treatises of Caper and Probus *de dubiis generibus*. This list is partly alphabetical. "Vetustissimi in multis, ut diximus, supra dictarum terminationum inveniuntur confudisse genera, nulla significationis differentia coacti, sed sola auctoritate, ut hic et haec aspergo, alvus, arcus, adeps vel adipēs, charta, cardo, cinis vel ciner, cervix, collis, cruz, calx, cupressus, platanus, populus, laurus, aquila, crinis, carbasus, colus, hic et haec cassis, clunis, hic et haec conscia (?), callis, fornax, frutex, grex, frons frontis, hic et haec humus, imbrex, latex. Accius "non calida latice lautus:" lembus, linter, lepus, agnus, leo, pampinus, perdix, hic et haec palumbes, hic et haec faex, rudens ὁ πρότονος, socrus, supparus περιώμιον et hoc supparum, senex, stirps, torris ὁ δαλός, tiaras, Tībris, amnis, torques, trames, vesper, hi et hae vepres. This list is alphabetical, with three exceptions. After *cupressus* come *platanus*, *populus*, *laurus*, *aquila*: after *lepus*, *agnus*, and after *Tībris*, *amnis*: a fact to which I shall recur in a moment.

This list only includes instances of confusion between the masculine and feminine genders. Priscian goes on to give instances of confusion between the masculine and neuter, or the masculine, feminine, and neuter: guttur, murmur, glomus, fretus, dorsus, gelus, Hister, Rhenus, Tanagrus, Metaurus, Iberus, Vulturinus, Oceanus, iubar, liquor, papaver, penus, pecus, retis, sexus, specus, sal.

These lists are (with the exceptions noticed) alphabetical, and so far resemble the third book of Nonius. And of the words thus catalogued by Priscian in this passage, thirty-one out of seventy-two are to be found in Nonius. I might have said thirty-one out of sixty-eight, for the words *platanus*, *populus*, *laurus*, and *aquila* (which are absent in Nonius), are intruded in Priscian in a place where, alphabetically, they have no right to stand, the alphabetical order proceeding properly from *cupressus* to *crinis*.

Priscian distinctly tells us that he has taken his lists from Caper and Probus: and it would, therefore, be easy to infer that the third book of Nonius also comes from the same sources. But the question is

somewhat complicated by the relations of the third book of Nonius to Charisius, which must now be briefly considered.

Charisius, pp. 70—109, has a section in which, among other instances of anomaly and doubtful usage in grammar, the question of words with a double gender is discussed. The main characteristics of this section are, (1) that the words are not arranged in alphabetical order, but in small groups which are sometimes alphabetical, sometimes formed according to the meaning of the words, but often, as far as we can see, quite casual; (2) that stress is constantly laid on the difference in meaning of similar words, or different genders, or different forms, of the same word; (3) that Persius is the latest author quoted; (4) that the latest authority quoted is Pliny's work *dubii sermonis*: while Verrius Flaccus, Iulius Modestus, and Varro are not seldom cited.

On comparing this section of Charisius with the third book of Nonius, we find that upwards of forty words discussed are common to both works: and that in a considerable number of instances a passage quoted in Charisius by way of illustration is also cited to illustrate the same word in Nonius. This is the case, for instance, with *alvus*, *anguis*, *balteus*, *cinis*, *contagio*, *calx*, *caseus*, *frenus*, *forum*, *grex*, *intubus*, *praesepe*, *panis*, *palumbes*, *penus*, *papaver*, *sezus*, *sibilus*, *sanguis*, *stirps*, *tapete*, *vulgus*.

It must be added, however, that it seldom, if ever, happens that this coincidence in the passages cited extends to more than one quotation among several adduced.

The section of Charisius differs, however, from the third book of Nonius in three important particulars. In the first place, it does not treat merely of the question of gender, but of other difficulties of form as well, as of anomalies in declension, the comparison of adjectives, the formation of adverbs, and the derivation of nouns; secondly, it is not arranged alphabetically; and thirdly, it considers differences of gender very often as indications of difference in meaning, while Nonius confines himself almost entirely to the question of form.

It is reasonable, then, to infer that this section of Charisius was drawn from some work which dealt with anomaly in formation in a sporadic and miscellaneous way, not by way of lists strictly drawn up in alphabetical order, or confined to particular branches of the subject.

Proceeding now to compare this part of Charisius with the corresponding parts of Priscian, we find the same kind of relation existing between Charisius and Priscian as between Charisius and Nonius, namely, that Priscian seems in contrast to Charisius to be drawing upon a strictly grammatical work or works. Some of the words (about fourteen, I think) are treated by all three writers, Nonius,

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Charisius, and Priscian : these are *alvus*, *charta*, *clunes*, *cinis*, *calx*, *crines*, *grex*, *palumbes*, *penus*, *papaver*, *sezus*, *sal*, *sanguis*, and *stirps*.

Returning, then, to Nonius, we find that his alphabetical arrangement, his grammatical treatment, and the considerable number of instances common to both writers, suggest a close relation between his third book and the sources of Priscian I, pp. 169—71, and a relation of some kind, though not nearly so close, between this book and the sources of Charisius, pp. 70—109.

We know that Probus and Caper treated separately of the question of doubtful gender (*de dubiis generibus*). I think it, then, extremely probable that Nonius' third book is neither more nor less than an extract from the work of one or the other of these writers.⁹ Charisius, on the other hand, in the section which we have been considering, was, I believe, drawing either directly or indirectly upon Pliny's books *dubii sermonis*. This I think probable, not merely from the express mention of Pliny's name, but also from the range of the quotations. And the coincidences between Charisius and Nonius I would explain by supposing that Probus either drew upon Pliny's treatise, which he may well have done, as he outlived Pliny by some years, or that he used the same authorities. (Comp. Prisc. I, p. 393, *Plinium et Probum*.)

Before quitting this part of my subject, I would observe that there are various points of contact between the third book of Nonius and Verrius Flaccus. It is remarkable, also, that Verrius is often cited by Charisius in the section so often alluded to. The natural inference is that Probus and Pliny both drew largely upon the lexicon and the grammatical treatises of Verrius.

BOOK VII.

DE CONTRARIIS GENERIBUS VERBORUM.

This book mostly consists of notes upon verbs, which in old Latin were used both as actives and as deponents, or (in other words) verbs whose deponent form was also used as a passive.

There are also remarks on other rare or antiquated verbal forms, as *reddibo* for *reddam*, *fite* the imperative of *fio*, and the like. There is a remarkable coincidence between the lists of deponent verbs illustrated by Nonius, and parts of the eighth book of Priscian. We are confronted here by a phenomenon similar to that noticed in the last section with regard to Charisius. Priscian has two sections succeeding

⁹ For the relation between Caper and Probus, see Keil's preface to the last volume of his *Grammatici Latini*.

each other, and dealing with precisely the same subject, and to a considerable extent using the same instances. The first of these begins l, p. 378, beginning at the words "et ex his quaedam eadem voce utrumque significant, id est actionem et passionem." After giving one or two instances of such verbs, and a few of ordinary deponents, Priscian proceeds, "ex his multa antiqui tam activa quam passiva significatione protulisse inveniuntur," and then gives a list which is on the whole alphabetical from the letter *a* to *o*: *auxilior*, *adminiculator*, *auguror*, *adhortor*, *apiscor*, *abominor*, *consequor*, *amplector*, *adorior*, *abutor*, *admiror*, *antestor*, *aggredior*, *aspernor*, *architector*, *assector*, *argumentor*, *reor*, *vereor*, *solor*, *arbitror*, *blandior*, *consolor*, *conspicor*, *comminiscor*, *complector*, *calumnior*, *carnificor*, *despicor*, *demolior*, *dominor*, *depeculor*, *delargior*, *ementior*, *exordior*, *experior*, *frustror*, *hortor*, *for*, *meditor*, *obliviscor*, and then *metor* and *adulor*. Instances from classical authors are then quoted of the following verbs: *auxilior*, *adulor*, *adminiculator*, *adhortor*, *auguror*, *apiscor*, *abominor*, *consequor*, *amplector*, *complector*, *adorior*, *abutor*, *admiror*, *testor*, *antestor*, *exsecror*, *machinor*, *polliceor*, *adgredior*, *aspernor*, *architector*, *adsector*, *argumentor*, *arbitror*, *blandior*, *consolor*, *conspicor*, *comminiscor*, *consequor*, *contestor*, *consector*, *complector*, *calumnior*, *carnificor*, *dignor*, *detestor*, *despicor*, *demolior*, *meditor*, *dominor*, *depeculor*, *delargior*, *ementior*, *exordior*, *experior*, *frustror*, *hortor*, *for*, *obliviscor*, *metor*, *tutor*, *vador*, *venor*, *velificor*, *vociferor*, *veneror*.

It is to be observed that the list in which the words are illustrated by examples, although it purports to be identical with the unillustrated list, is not entirely so. The lists with examples is fuller and also more strictly alphabetical than the other: *adulor*, for instance, occurs in its place among verbs beginning with *a*. The three words *reor*, *vereor*, and *solor*, which interrupt the alphabetical order in the first list, recur in the second, but without any instances. The impression left on my mind after reading the two lists is, that the author of the first had copied from the author of the second, but not quite accurately in respect of the arrangement. In other words, that Priscian is making extracts from two manuals, both of which depend on a common source.

After some further remarks on the confusion of voices, in which on p. 391 the beginning of a fresh alphabetical list is quoted from Caper (*adiutor*—*delapidor*), Priscian, on p. 392, starts the subject again with another long list which is in the main alphabetical: *testo*, *opino*, *cuncto*, *convivo*, *contemplo*, *consolo*, *commoro*, *auxilio*, *auguro*, *auspico*, *commento*, *crimino*, *molio*, *digno*, *execro*, *epulo*, *eiulo*, *lucto*, *luctito*, *luxurio*, *laeto*, *ludifico*, *misereo*. These words are given without any instances: and then follow some more which are illustrated from classical authors: *horto*, *largo*, *aucupo*, *alterco*, *medico*, *amplexo*, *amplecto*, *complecto*. Of these usages, Priscian adds, examples may be found in Pliny (that is,

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presumably, in the *libri dubii sermonis*), as well as in Caper and Probus.

After a digression on active words used passively (p. 393—396), the alphabetical list interrupted on p. 392 is resumed at the word *munero*, and we have a list from *m* to *u* (*munero*—*utor*), to which are finally added a few more words (*murmuro*, *praesagio*, and *opino*).

Comparing the lists given on pp. 392—3 and 396 with the former lists (pp. 379—387), it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that they are derived (the first at second-hand) from two independent works treating of the same subject. Were the two lists supplementary to each other, did each confine itself to words which the other omitted, it would of course be natural to argue that both came from the same treatise. But this is not the case. The second list contains a considerable number of words already included in the first; a sure sign that Priscian is using two distinct works, each of which had its own list, though the catalogues to some extent covered the same ground.

Priscian mentions three writers as his authorities, Pliny, Probus, and Caper: “eorum et superiorum omnium usus tam apud Caprum quam Plinium et Probum invenies”—“quorum auctores apud Caprum legant qui eos scire desiderant.” In some way or other, then, we must suppose that the honour of these lists must be divided between these three writers, or rather, between Pliny and Probus.

Let us now compare the lists of Priscian with that in the seventh book of Nonius.

A large number of words are common to the lists of Nonius and Priscian: between sixty and seventy, if I am not wrong, out of a hundred or rather more. The majority of the instances in Nonius coincides with the second list in Priscian: the others correspond mostly with the first, but in some cases with notes in other parts of Priscian.

This general coincidence would naturally lead us to infer a common origin for the lists of Nonius and Priscian; and there are minor indications which point in the same direction. A few of Nonius' instances are to be found in Quintilian: this is the case with the notes on *adsentio*, p. 469, *punior* and *fabricor*, p. 471, and *luxurior*, p. 481, forms which are commented on by Quintilian, 9. 3. 6. Of some other notes in this part of Nonius, we know that they are due to Caper, that is, in all probability, to Probus: this is the case with the note on *paenitebunt*, p. 475 (see Prisc. 1, p. 561), *copulantur*, p. 476 (Prisc. 1, p. 393), *adiutatur*, p. 477 (Prisc. 1, p. 391). The note on *auguro*, p. 469, may have been due to Pliny, for Servius, on A. 7. 273, quotes a note from Pliny distinguishing between *auguro* and *auguror*.

So far as these indications go, they seem to warrant the conclusion to which the general resemblance between Nonius and Priscian has

already pointed. The coincidences between Nonius and Quintilian are important, as indicating the existence of some work or works on these doubtful verbs in Quintilian's own time: for Quintilian was not himself a grammarian, but used the collections of professed scholars when he had to touch on technical points of this kind. And Quintilian may well have consulted either Pliny or Probus, or both.

In his Prolegomena to Virgil Ribbeck throws out a hint that the whole of the seventh book of Nonius may, in his opinion, be borrowed from Probus. I feel rather inclined to infer that it is derived, directly or indirectly, from two sources. This conclusion is, I think, warranted by the fact that even in so short a space the same note several times occurs twice. This is the case with *partiret*, which is illustrated on p. 472 from Lucilius, and on p. 475 from Afranius; with *punior*, illustrated on p. 471 from Cicero, and on p. 479 with one of the same passages in a fuller form; with *manducor*, pp. 477 and 479; with *copulor*, pp. 476 and 479; with *miro*, pp. 474 and 480; with *ruminor*, pp. 471 and 480; with *moderant*, pp. 471 and 472; with *lucto*, pp. 468 and 472. This phenomenon has already met us in the two lists of Priscian, and it seems natural to account for it in the same way, viz., by supposing that there were two works in which the same facts were dealt with and illustrated perhaps to a great extent by the same examples. From these two works the latter grammarians made up their chapters on nouns and verbs, without taking the pains to avoid treating of the same word twice. We know that two such works can be ascribed to Pliny and Probus, and that Priscian drew largely upon these two authors. The general resemblance between Priscian's chapters on doubtful verbs and the seventh book of Nonius makes it natural to infer that it was from Pliny and Probus that it was mainly compiled.

A fragment of the same lists is preserved by Diomedes, pp. 400—1, who mentions *frustro*, *patio*, *moro*, *demolio*, *auxilio*, *populo*, and *digno*: and Keil has shown that Diomedes, in his section on the verb, followed Probus.

The other grammatical books of Nonius (VIII. IX. X. and XI.) can be in like manner traced to Pliny, Probus, and Caper, or at least to scholars of the first or early second century.

The point of this digression will now at length, I hope, be apparent. If it can be made highly probable that in two long grammatical sections of his work Nonius was to a large extent, directly or indirectly, indebted to Probus, is it not also highly probable that in cases where his remarks on Virgil coincide with notes found in the later commentators, as the Verona scholia, Servius, Philargyrius, and the Berne scholia, the agreement is to be explained by a similar hypothesis? It is impossible to suppose that the later Virgilian commentators borrowed from Nonius.

Such an idea is excluded partly by their sometimes differing from him, sometimes by their adding to what he says, oftener by the general style of their remarks as compared with his. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that there must have been common sources from which the identical notes in question were derived. Now I am far from asserting that all the Virgilian notes common to Nonius and the later commentators can be traced to Probus or to any authority who can be certainly identified. But there is no reason to suppose that the works from which Nonius drew his information are to be assigned to writers later than the age of Trajan : and the Virgilian notes in question must therefore be allowed the character of high antiquity, and importance in proportion.

At the risk of being tedious I will mention in detail some of the most important examples which I have observed of agreement between Nonius on the one hand, and Servius, the Verona scholia, and Philargyrius on the other.

NONIUS, BOOK I.

P. 3, *hostimentum* est *aequamentum*, &c. *Plautus Asinaria*, "par pari datum *hostimentum*."

Serv. A. 2. 156 (Dan.), *hostia* vero *victima*, et dicta quod di per illam *hostiantur*, id est *aequi* et *propitii* reddantur, unde *hostimentum* *aequationem*. So on A. 4. 424, where the same passage from the *Asinaria* is quoted. (This note is from *Verrius Flaccus*: see *Paulus s. v. hostis*.)

P. 3, *capulum* dicitur quicquid aliam rem intra se capit. Nam *sarcophagum*, id est *sepulchrum*, *capulum* veteres dici volunt quod corpora capiat. *Capulum* and *capularis* are then illustrated from *Plautus*, *Novius*, *Lucilius*, and *Varro*.

Serv. A. 6. 222, *capulus* dicitur a capiendo : unde ait *Plautus capularis senex*, id est *capulo vicinus* : the same note recurs on A. 11. 64. (*Verrius* : *Festus*, pp. 102, 270.)

P. 4, *temulenta* est *ebriosa*, &c. Serv. A. 12. 463, *temulentum* qui temeto plenus est.

P. 6, *exercitum* dicitur *fatigatum*, &c. *Virg. A. 3. 182* is quoted. Serv. there says, *exercite*, *fatigate*, *exercitate*. So on A. 1. 431 (Dan. as well as vulg.), 4. 623.

P. 6, *tenuis* est *laqueus*, dictus a *tendicula* : *Plautus Bacchidibus* . . . ita intendi *tenuis*. Serv. A. 6. 62, *tenuis* proprie est extrema pars arcus, ut *Plautus* ostendit, unde tractum est ut *hactenus hucusque* significet. (*Verrius* : *Fest.* p. 367).

P. 12, *exules* dicuntur extra solum, &c.

Servius, A. 3. 11, *exul* quasi trans solum (*salum?*) missus, aut extra solum vagus.

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P. 13, *crepera* res proprie dicitur dubia, unde et *crepusculum* dicitur lux dubia, et senes decrepiti dicti, &c.

Servius, A. 2. 268, de *crepusculo* vero, quod est dubia lux (nam *creperum* dubium significat), quaeritur. (Verrius : Paulus, p. 71.)

P. 14, *Avernus* lacus idcirco appellatus est quia odor eius avibus infestissimus. Huius rei manifestator est Lucretius lib. VI. "Principio quod Averno vocantur, nomen id ab re Impositum est, quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis." Unde et Vergilius lib. VI. "Inde ubi venere ad fauces graveolentis Avernus, Tollunt se celeres," et postea in eo libro, "Quam super haud aliae," &c.

Serv. A. 3. 442, *Avernus* autem in plurali *Averna* facit, ut *Tartarus Tartara* : unde est *Averna sonantia silvis*. Sane hic lacus ante silvarum densitate sic ambiebat, ut exhalans inde per angustias aquae sulphureae odor gravissimus supervolantes aves necaret, unde et *Avernus* dictus est, quasi *ἀορνος*.

P. 14, *extorris* dicitur extra terram vel extra terminos, &c. Serv. A. 4. 616, *finibus extorris* : extra suas terras remotus.

P. 15, *torrus* dicitur *fax* : unde et *torridare* dicimus *comburare*. Illustrated from Accius.

Servius, A. 12. 298, *Torrem* : erit nominativus *hic torris*, et ita nunc dicimus. Nam illud Ennii et Pacuvii penitus de usu recessit, ut *hic torrus, huius torri* dicamus.

P. 18, *rumen* dicitur locus in ventre quo cibus sumitur et unde redditur, &c.

Serv. E. 6. 54, *ruminatio* autem est a *ruma*, eminente gutturis parte : per quam demissus cibus a certis revocatur animalibus. Comp. ib. A. 8. 90.

P. 21, *cernuus* dicitur proprie *inclinatus*, quasi quod terram cernat. Lucilius Saturarum lib. III. "cernuus extemplo plantas convertit honestas." Vergilius lib. X. "eiectoque incumbit cernuus armo." Lucilius Saturarum lib. XXVII. "modo sursum, modo deorsum, tamquam collus cernui." Varro de Vita P.R. lib. I. "etiam pelles bubulas oleo perfusas percurrabant, ibique cernuabant," &c.

Servius, A. 10. 894, *cernuus* dicitur equus qui cadit in faciem, quasi in eam partem qua cernimus. Unde et pueri quos in ludis videmus, ea parte qua cernunt stantes *cernui* vocantur : ut etiam Varro in Ludis Theatralibus docet.

P. 21, *stricturae* dicuntur proprie scintillae quae de ferro ferventi eunt, &c. Vergilius lib. VIII. Lucilius Saturarum lib. III.

Servius, A. 8. 420, *strictura* est terra ferri in massam coacta.

P. 22, *gliscit* est congelascit et colligitur, vel crescit, vel ignescit. Among other instances from Turpilii, Accius, Pacuvius, Sallust, and Cicero (*Hortens. gliscit illa ut ignis oleo*) is quoted Virg. A. 12. 9,

where Servius says, *gliscit* crescit . . . unde et *glires* dicti sunt, quos pingues efficit somnus. In Daniel's Servius are added the words, *veteres gliscit* incremento ignis ponebant (? imponebant), bene ergo hoc verbo utitur de quo ait *ultra implacabilis ardet*.

P. 23, *procacitas* a procando vel poscendo, unde et *proci* dicti sunt matrimoniorum petitores, &c.

Servius, A. 1. 536, *procacibus* austris, perseverantibus. Et *procax* proprie *petax* est, nam *procare* est *petere*, unde et *proci* dicuntur.

(Verrius: Paulus, pp. 224, 249.)

P. 23, *Kalendarum* vocabulum proprium Varro complexus est, De Vita P.R. lib. I. "itaque Kalendis kalabantur, id est vocabantur, et ab eo *kalendae* appellatae, quod est tractum a Graecis, qui *καλεῖν* vocare dixerunt."

Servius, A. 8. 654 (curia Calabra) . . . quod cum incertae essent Kalendae aut Idus, a Romulo constitutum est ut ibi patres vel populus calarentur, id est vocarentur; ut scirent qua die Kalendae essent vel etiam Idus.

P. 25, *seditionis* proprietas a M. Tullio manifestata est in libro de Republica VI., "eaeque dissensio civium quod seorsum eunt alii ad alios, seditio dicitur." Serv. A. 1. 149 (Dan.) has the same words and the same instance.

P. 28, *fulgura* dicuntur coruscationes, a fulgore. Varro *περὶ κεραυνῶν* "cognitio enim trium, fulgetrae, tonitrus, et fulguris, a fulmine orta."

Servius, A. 8. 431, *fulgores* . . . quas *fulgetras* dicunt: so 8. 524, *fulgor*, id est *fulgetra*.

P. 29, *calces* a calcando, quod est *proterendo*, non a calcitrando: nam de omnibus pedibus et de hominum et universorum animantium dici potest. Nam sunt calces extrema pars pedum terrae proxima. Vergilius lib. V. "ecce volat, calcemque terit iam calce Dioces." Here (5. 324) Servius says *calcem* dicimus unde terram *calcamus*.

P. 30, *antes* sunt quadraturae, unde et *antae* dictae sunt quadrae columnae. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II. "iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes."

Serv. G. 2. 417, *antes* alii extremos vinearum ordines accipiunt, alii macerias quibus vineta clauduntur: . . . dicuntur autem *antes* a lapidibus eminentioribus, qui interponuntur ad maceriam sustentandam: nam proprie *antes* sunt eminentes lapides, vel columnae ultimae, quibus fabrica sustinetur. Et appellantur *antes* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντεστηκέναι, ad quam etymologiam etiam extremos ordines vinearum possumus trahere qui (quia ?) ante stant.

Philargyrius *ib.*: *antes*: Cato de Re militari, "pedites quattuor agminibus, equites duobus antibus ducas." Sunt autem extremae quadrarum partes.

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(Verrius Flaccus: Paulus, p. 16.)

P. 30, *camurum* obtortum; unde et *camerae*, tecta in curvitatē formata. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. "et *camuris* hirtae sub cornibus aures."

Servius, G. 3. 55, *camuris* . . . id est *curvis*. Unde et *camerae* appellantur.

Philarg. *ib.* *camuri* boves sunt qui conversa introrsus cornua habent, &c.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 43.)

P. 30, *immunis* dicitur sine officio, sine munere. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV. "immunisque sedens aliena ad pabula fucus."

Philarg. G. 4. 244: *immunis* otiosus, piger, et qui munere non fungitur.

Servius, A. 12. 559, *immunis* est qui nihil praestat, quasi sine muniis.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 109.)

P. 30, *dirum* est triste, infestum, et quasi deorum ira missum. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. . . . et Aeneidos lib. IV. "ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae."

Servius, A. 4. 453 (Dan.), *dira* enim *deorum ira* est: so on 6. 373.

(Verrius: Paulus, pp. 109, 143).

P. 30, *exordium* est initium, &c. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV. . . . "quae primum exordia sumat?"

Serv. A. 4. 284, *exordia*, orationem . . . sed *exordium* in duo dividitur, in principium et orationem, sicut in Rhetoricis legimus.

P. 31, *sudum* dictum est quasi semiudum, ut est aer post pluvias liquidus et serenus. Vergilius lib. VIII. "arma inter nubes caeli regione serena Per sudum rutilare vident," &c.

Servius, A. 8. 529, *sudum* est quasi *sub udum*, serenum post pluvias, ut (G. 4. 77) "ver nactae sudum." Alii *sudum* semiudum volunt dici, cum per nubes ad nos perveniat solis ictus non integer.

Philarg. G. 4. 77, *sudum* est serenum *subumidum*: proprie autem *sudum* pars serena inter nubes, quasi *semiudum*.

P. 32, *arcanum* dicitur secretum vel absconditum, quod quae in arca sunt celata sint et abscondita. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV. . . . "arcanos etiam libi credere sensus:" et Aeneidos lib. I. "longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo."

Servius, A. 1. 262, *arcana* secreta, unde et *arca* et *urx* dictae quasi res secretae.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 16.)

P. 32, *monumentum* proprietatem a *monendo*. Illustrated from Cicero and Virgil, A. 5. 571.

Servius, A. 3. 486, *monumenta* memoria. *Monumenta* autem a mentis admonitione sunt dicta: so on A. 6. 512 monumentum . . . quod moneat mentem.

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P. 32, *gestire* significat laetum esse; dictum a gesticulis facili-
oribus. Terentius in Eunuchio . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I. "et
studio incassum videas gestire lavandi."

Servius, G. 1. 387, *gestire* est laetitiam suam corporis habitu signifi-
care, nam ut homines verbis laetitiam suam exprimunt, ita aves corporis
gesticulatione.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 96).

P. 33, *involare* est inruere, insilire: aut a volatu, aut a *vola*, id est
media manu dictum. Illustrated from Terence and Lucilius.

Servius, A. 3. 233 . . . aut *intra volam* [interiorem manus] amplec-
titur praedam: unde et *involare* dicimus intra volam tenere, unde et
pira quaedam volema dicuntur. So on G. 2. 88.

P. 33, *ignavum est segne*, torpidum, feriatum, et *sine igni*. *Ver-
gilius*, "ignavum fucos pecus a praesepebus arcent." (This is appa-
rently a confusion between two glosses, *ignavum* est torpidum, feriatum,
and *segnis*, sine igni.)

Serv. A. 1. 423, *segnem*, id est *sine igni*: and so elsewhere several
times, and Schol. Ver. A. 4. 149.

Servius, A. 1. 435, *ignavum* inutile, non aptum industriae, nam indus-
trios *navos* dicimus. This is on the same line as that quoted by
Nonius, "ignavum fucos pecus a praesepebus arcent."

P. 35, *angina* genus morbi, eo quod angat, et Graece *σνάχη*
appellatur. Lucilius lib. XXX. "insperato abiit, quem una angina
sustulit hora."

Servius, G. 3. 497, *angit* autem bene ait. Nam *angina* dicitur
porcorum morbus qui occupat fauces. Plautus, "Vellem me in
anginam verti, ut huic aniculae fauces praeoccuparem."

(Paul. p. 8, s. v. *angor*, has the same quotation from Plautus.)

P. 37, *sedulo* significat sine dolo. Lucilius lib. XXVII. . . .
totumque hoc studiose et sedulo. Servius, A. 2. 374 (Dan.), mentions
this etymology.

P. 42, *pecuniosorum* et *locupletum* proprietatem aperuit M. Tul-
lius de Republica lib. II., a pecore pecuniosos, et a possessionibus
locorum locupletes appellatos adserens: "Multaeque dictione ovium
et boum, quod tunc res erat in pecore et locorum possessionibus: ex
quo pecuniosi et locupletes vocabantur." Comp. Servius on E. 1. 33.

P. 44, *prodigia* sunt porro *adigenda*. Plautus Amphitruone . . . te
prodigiali Iovi . . . comprecatam oportuit.

Servius, A. 3. 366 (Dan.). Varro sane haec ita definit: ostentum,
quod aliquod hominibus ostendit, *prodigium* quod porro *dirigit*, mira-
culum, quod mirum est, monstrum, quod monet.

(Fest. p. 229, derives *prodigium* from *prodicere*.)

P. 45, *cassum* veteres *inane* posuerunt. Et arbitrandum est eius

verbi proprietatem magis ab arancarum cassibus dictam, quod sint leves et nullius ponderis, non, ut quibusdam videtur, quasi *quassum*. Plantus Aulularia, "Virginem habeo grandem, dote cassam atque inlocabilem."

Servius, A. 2. 85 (Dan.), *cassum* est quasi *quassum* et nihil continens: nam et *vas quassum*, quod umorem in se non continet et est vacuum; unde et *retia casses*, quod multum in se vacui habeant.

P. 45, *investes* dicuntur impuberes, quibus propter teneram aetatem nulla pars corporis pilat. Hoc et Aeneidos lib. VIII. videtur sensisse Vergilius: "Aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis."

Servius, A. 8. 659, *aurea vestis*, hoc est *barba*. Unde contra *investes* dicimus *imberbes*: unde est (v. 160) "tunc mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventa."

(Paul. p. 368 s. v. *vesticeps*.)

P. 48, *silicernium* pessime intellegentes ita posuisse *Terentium* putant quod incurvitate silices cernat senex. *Silicernium* est proprie convivium funebre quod senibus exhibetur. Varro Meleagris: "Fusus exsequiati, laute ad sepulcrum antiquo more silicernium confecimus, id est *περίδαινον*: quo pransi discedentes dicimus alius alii *Vale*."

Servius, A. 5. 92, leviter gustavit epulas . . . quae *silicernium* dicuntur quasi *silicernium*, super silicem positae. In the Servius of Daniel are added the words, quae peractis sacris senibus dabantur, ut se cito morituros cognoscerent.

P. 50, *fures* significationem habere a *furvo*, quod Romani veteres *furvum* atrum appellaverint; et quod per obscuras atque atras noctes opportuna sit eis mali effectio, eos dictos fures, Varro (ostendit) Rerum Humanarum lib. XIV.: "*furem* ex eo dictum quod *furvum* atrum appellaverint, et *fures* per obscuras noctes atque atras *furentur*."

Servius, A. 9. 350, *fures* ideo dicti sunt quid *furvo* id est nigro tempore furta committunt.

G. 3. 407, *fur* autem a *furvo* dictus est, id est *nigro*. Nam noctis utitur tempore. Horatius (Carm. 2. 13. 21) "quam paene vidimus furvae regna Proserpinae." Aut certe a Graeco venit, nam fur φῶρ vocatur.

P. 51, *peni*, *penus*, vel *penoris*, sic enim a pluribus declinatum, proprietatem docti veteres hanc esse voluerunt, quod quae in ea sunt, quasi penitus et in penetralibus recondantur. Hoc et in antiquis libris et philosophorum tractatibus invenitur.

Servius, A. 2. 508 (Dan.), sane *penetralia* proprie deorum dicuntur, non nunquam etiam imae et interiores partes privatarum domorum vocantur, unde et *penum* dicimus locum ubi conduntur quae ad vitam sunt necessaria.

Servius, A. 1. 703, inter *penum* et *cellarium* hoc interest, quod *cella-*

rium est paucorum dierum, unde et in cellam dicitur imperatum frumentum, *penus* vero temporis longi. Sane dicimus et *hic* et *haec* et *hoc penus*: sed a masculino et a feminino genere quarta est declinatio, a neutro tertia, quo modo *pecus pecoris*. Unde Horatius "portet frumenta penusque:" masculino vero genere Plautus "nisi mihi annuus penus datur," feminino Lucilius posuit, ut "uxori legata penus." Quartae autem declinationis esse Persius docuit, ut "in locuplete penu defensis pinguibus Umbris."

Servius, A. 3. 12 (Dan.), nam et ipsum penetral *penus* dicitur, ut hodie quoque *penus Vestae* claudi vel aperiri dicitur. (See Fest. p. 250, *penus Vestae*.)

Gell. 4. 1, quotes from Lucilius, "legavit quidam uxori mundum omne penumque": alludes (§ 14 foll.) to Virgil's *longam penum instruere*: quotes from Q. Scaevola, "quae ad edendum bibendumque in dies singulos prandii aut cenae causa parantur, *penus* non sunt: sed ea potius quae huiusce generis longae usionis gratia contrahuntur et reconduntur, ex eo quod non in promptu sint sed intus et penitus habeantur, *penus* dicta sunt."

Charis. p. 74 K., *penus* quo modo debeat declinari incertum est. Nam Plautus in Pseudolo eodem fere loco et masculino genere dicit *hic penus* et neutro *hoc penus*. Vergilius autem etiam feminino *longam penum*.

Iulius Romanus ap. Charis. p. 140 K., *penu* Pomponius (so rightly K.) . . . "careo tam pulchra penu," *penus peni* si femininum, *penoris* ut *pecoris*, si generis neutri sit, ut quidam putant.

Prisc. 5, p. 163 K., *penus* invenitur et masculinum et femininum et neutrum. Vergilius in I "cura penum struere:" Terentius in Eunuchio "Cum in cellulam ad te patris penum omnem congerebam clanculum." Horatius in I epistularum "annonae prosit, portet frumenta penusque." Ib. p. 170 *hic* et *haec* et *hoc penus* et *hoc penum*. Plautus in Pseudolo . . . "annuus penus:" Lucilius, "Magna penus parvo spatio consumpta peribit": Plautus in Captivis . . . "aliud penus": Caesar Strabo in oratione qua Sulpicio respondit "deinde propinquos nostros Messalas domo deflagrata penore volebamur privare." Afranius in Talione " . . . intra penum Erile." This is repeated nearly *totidem verbis* on the authority of Donatus and Caper, in Prisc. 6, p. 260 K. (It is clear in this instance that the oldest form of the note is preserved in Priscian: and that the note is at least as old as Gellius and Iulius Romanus.)

P. 51, *laevum* significari veteres posuerunt quasi a *levando*. Vergilium quoque sub hac ostentatione posuisse voluerunt Georgicorum lib. IV. "si quem Numina laeva sinunt:" Ennius Annalium lib. III. "Olli de caelo laevum dedit inclutus signum."

Servius, A. 2. 54, *laeva* modo contraria. Et sciendum *laevum*, cum de

humanis rebus est, esse contrarium, cum de caelestibus, prosperum, ut "intonuit laevum." So on 2. 693 *laevum* sinistrum, prosperum, quia caeleste est, ut diximus supra: and so on G. 4. 6.

P. 53, *vestibulum*: this note resembles that in Gellius 16. 5. Serv. A. 6. 273 (the line quoted by Gellius l. c.), *vestibulum*: ut Varro dicit, etymologia non habet proprietatem, sed fit pro capto ingenii. Nam *vestibulum* ut supra diximus (2. 469) dictum ab eo quod ianuam vestiat. Alii dicunt, ab eo quod nullus illic stet. In limine enim solus est transitus: quomodo *vesanus* dicitur non sanus, sic *vestibulum* quasi *non stabulum*. The etymology is the same as that given by Gellius and Nonius, but the interpretation of *ve* is different. Gellius is evidently extracting from a commentator on Virgil: Nonius as evidently not, for he only quotes Cicero.

P. 53, *bidentes* qui existimant ob eam causam oves a Vergilio dictas quod duos dentes habeant, pessime ac vitiose intellegunt: nam nec duos dentes habent, et hoc quidem genus monstri est. Et melius intellegi potest si *biennes* dixerint, auctoritate Pomponii in Atellana, "Mars, tibi voveo facturum, si umquam redierit, Bidenti verre." Laberius in Paupertate, "Visus hac noctu bidentes . . . propter viam Facere." Et Nigidius Figulus dicit *bidental* vocari quod bimae pecudes immolentur.

Serv. A. 4. 57=6. 39: *bidentes* autem dictae sunt quasi *biennes* . . . Sunt autem in ovibus duo eminentiores dentes inter octo qui non nisi circa bimatum apparent: nec in omnibus, sed in his quae sunt aptae sacrificiis inveniuntur.

From Gell. 16. 6. 14, it appears that Servius' note is from Hyginus and Nigidius, both of whose notes were probably in Verrius Flaccus: see Fest. p. 33 and 35.

P. 55, *tropaei* significationem propriam Varro Bimarco ostendit. "Ideo (?) fuga hostium Graece appellatur τροπή. Hinc spolia capta fixa in stipitibus appellantur *tropaea*." Serv. A. 10. 775, *tropaeum* dictum est ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέπεισθαι, id est ab hostium conversione, unde qui hostem fugasset merebatur *tropaeum*.

P. 58, *testudines* sunt loca in aedificiis camerata, ad similitudinem aquatiliū testudinū, quae duris tergoribus sunt et incurvis. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. "In foribus divae, media testudine templi." Sisenna Historiarum lib. IV. &c.

Servius, A. 1. 505, *testudine*, camera incurva, quae secundum eos qui scripserunt de ratione templorum, ideo sic fit ut simulacro caeli imaginem reddat, &c. Much more is added in Daniel's Servius. Isid. 15. 8. 8, has a note which is taken from the same sources as that of Servius.

P. 58, *adolere* est verbum proprie sacra reddentium, quod significat votis vel supplicationibus numen auctius facere: ut est in

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isdem *macte esto*. Et intellegi debet ab eo quod est *adolevit*, id est *crevit*, et *adultum*, quod est *auctum*, &c. Illustrated by four instances from Virgil.

Serv. A. l. 704, *adolere* proprie est *augere*.

P. 62, *calorum* quoque proprietas haec est, quod ligna militibus subministrant: *κἄλα* enim Graeci *ligna* dicunt, ut Homerus, ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα κἄλ' ἐπέθεντο.

Servius, A. l. 39, and more fully 6. l, *calas* . . . dicebant maiores nostri fustes quos portabant servi sequentes dominos ad proelium: unde etiam *calones* dicebantur. Nam consuetudo erat militis Romani ut ipse sibi arma portaret et vallum: *vallum* autem dicebant *calam*, sicut Lucilius "Scinde *calam* ut caleas."

P. 66, *manum* dicitur *clarum*, &c. Compare generally Serv. A. l. 110, 139: 2. 268: G. l. 437. These notes may be either independent, or have originally constituted parts of the same note.

NONIUS, BOOK II.

P. 79, *bipennis* manifestum est dici *quod ex utraque parte sit acutum*: nam nonnulli gubernaculorum partes tenuiores ad hanc similitudinem *pinnas* vocant eleganter. Then follow three quotations from Varro.

Scholia Veron. A. 2. 479, *correpta dura bipenni*. . . *acutum* vocant, unde et *bipennis* dicitur *ex utraque parte acuta*.

Servius, A. 11. 651 (Dan.), *bipennis* autem dicitur quod ex utraque parte habet aciem, quasi duas pinnas quas veteres dicebant.

P. 103, *errabundus* pro *errans*. Vergilius (Buc. 6. 57), "si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris Errabunda bovis vestigia." Gellius 11. 15 says that this was a mistake of Caesellius Vindex (under Trajan, 96—117). The note appears to be preserved in a fuller form by Servius (Dan.) l. c. . . . *errabunda*, errantia, ut *ludibundus* ludens: Cicero; "omnia ludibundus conficiens." Comp. Gellius l. c. quod idem (Caesellius) esse putaverit *ludens* et *ludibunda*, *ridens* et *ridibunda*.

P. 106, *equitem* pro equo. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. "atque equitem docuere sub armis Insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos." Ennius Annalium lib. VII. "an non quadrupedes equites." Lucilius is then quoted on the word *equitare*. Gell. 18. 5. 4 quotes from Ennius "denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephanti Proiciunt sese," and quotes in illustration the passage in the third Georgic, and also that in Lucilius.

Philargyrius G. 3. 116: hic *equitem* sine dubio *equum* dicit, maxime cum inferat *insultare solo*. Ennius Annalium VII. "denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephantum Proiciunt sese." Servius has the same note in an abridged form.

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Gellius says of this view (18. 5. 12), "*sed eadem ipsa post etiam in pervulgatis commentariis scripta offendimus.*" Are these *pervulgati commentarii* commentaries on Virgil, or treatises on the use of words? In either case this discussion on the word *eques* must have been considerably older than the time of Gellius.

P. 109 [*Flora, florida*]. Naevius Lycurgo: "*ut videam Volcani haec opere flammis flora fieri.*"

Serv. A. 12. 605, *flavos Lavinia crines*. Antiqua lectio *floros* habuit, id est *florulentos, pulchros*: et est sermo Ennianus. The following words are added in Daniel's Servius: Probus sic adnotavit: "*Neotericum erat flavos, ergo bene flores, nam sequitur Et roseas laniata genas*. Accius in Bacchidibus, *nam flori crines viden ut propezi iacent*. In iisdem, *Et lanugo flora nunc demum inrigat*. Pacuvius Antiopa, *Cervicum flores dispendite crines.*"

P. 114, *frons pro frondis*: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II. "*praecipue cum frons tenera imprudensque laborum.*" Varro de Re Rustica lib. I., "*quod Cato ait, circum fundum ulmos et populos, unde frons ovibus et bubus sit:*" so p. 486, without the instance from Varro. .

Servius, G. 2. 372, *frons tenera*: *frondis* est vera lectio et antiqua (?) Lucretius (I. 19), "*frondiferasque domos avium.*" Apud antiquiores enim singularis nominativus erat *frondis*: hodie vero et a *fronte* et a *fronde* unus est nominations *frons*, sicut etiam *lens* a *lente* et a *lende*, capitis brevioris pediculo.

(The note in Servius seems corrupt. Ribbeck thinks *frondis* stands for *fronds*.)

P. 126: *indulgitate* pro *indulgentia*. Sisenna Historiarum lib. III. "*Bassus adsiduitate, indulgitate victus.*"

Philargyrius G. 2. 345, et nove *indulgentia* dixit. Veteres enim *indulgitatem* dicebant, ut Caelius in VII "*consuetudine uxoris, indulgitate liberum.*"

P. 134, *latrocinari*, militare mercede. Plautus Cornicularia "[qui regi] *latrocinatus annos decem [Demetrio] Mercede*" . . . in Tiberio: "*qui apud regem in latrocinio fuisti, mercedem acceptitasti.*" Ennius, "*fortunasque suas coepere latrones Inter se memorare.*"

Servius, A. 12. 7, *latronis* . . . modo *venatoris*, et est Graecum, nam *λατρεύειν* dicunt obsequi. . . . Varro tamen dicit hoc nomen posse habere etiam Latinam etymologiam, ut *latrones* dicti sint quasi *laterones*, quod circa latera regum sunt. . . Una tamen significatio, licet in diversa etymologia. Plautus in Pyrgopolinice aperte ostendit quid sint *latrones*, dicens "*rex Seleucus misit ad conducendos latrones,*" &c.

Comparing this note with that in Festus, p. 118, *latrones* eos antiqui dicebant qui conducti militabant, ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας, at nunc viarum

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obsessores dicuntur, quia a latere adoriuntur, sive quod latenter insidiant, we might be disposed to infer that in the notes of Nonius and Servius we have the fragments of an original gloss of Verrius Flaccus. Compare also Varro, L. L. 7. 52.

Nonius p. 180 has a note on *transenna*, which he explains as = *fenestra*, and illustrates by quotations from Cicero and Sallust.

Servius, A. 5. 488, explains *transenna* as = *traiectus funis*, quoting the same passage from Sallust as Nonius, "*transenna demissum Victoriae simulacrum cum machinato strepitu tonitruum coronam capiti imponebat.*"

P. 184, *viscus* positum pro viscere. Lucretius lib. I. "*visceribus viscus gigni, sanguenque creari.*" [Pro visco?] Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I. "*Tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco Inventum.*" Id est, tactu visci. Lucilius Saturarum lib. XIV. "*Idne aegri est magis, an quod pane et viscere aprino? Quod viscus dederat, tu quidem hoc in viscera largi.*"

In this note Nonius has evidently, whether by his own fault or no, confused and misrepresented his authorities. Some light is thrown on the original intention of the note by a comparison of Servius G. 1. 139, *fallere visco*, ad aucupium. Item ad venationem, *et magnos canibus circumdare saltus*. Male autem de aucupio quidam respuunt, totum referentes ad venationem, et dicunt *fallere visco* pro *visceratione* positum. Constat enim luparios carnibus tinctis veneno lupos necare; quod ideo non procedit, quia *hoc viscum huius visci* facit, sicut *templum templi*. Unde est *fallere visco*. *Viscus* vero, id est caro, *visceris* facit, ut *pecus pecoris*. Lucretius, "*permixtus viscere sanguis.*" Item ipse "*viscus gigni sanguenque creari.*"

Here Servius appears to have preserved the real sense of the note which is so blurred and corrupted in Nonius. Nonius has a quotation from Lucilius which is wanting in Servius, while on the other hand Servius has one from Lucretius which is wanting in Nonius, and both have the line Lucr. 1. 837 in common. Part of the note recurs in Serv. A. 1. 211: *viscera nudant*. *Viscera* non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quicquid sub corio est, ut "*in Albano Latinis visceratio dabatur,*" id est caro. Est autem nominativus *hoc viscus huius visceris*, ut Lucretius "*viscus gigni sanguenque creari.*"

The quotation from Lucretius (1. 837) recurs in Nonius' note on *sanguis* p. 224 (comp. Priscian 1, p. 250), which, as we have seen, there is reason to suppose came from Probus. Is it then possible that the discussion on *viscus* is also from Probus?

NONIUS, BOOK III.

P. 194, *bubo* generis feminini. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV. "solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo." Genere masculino. Asellio Historiarum lib. I. "et quod bubo in columna aedis Iovis sedens conspectus est."

Serv. A. 4. 462, *sola* contra genus posuit. Lucanus "et laetae iurantur aves bubone sinistro." Item Ovidius "infandus bubo." Et hoc est in usu, sed Vergilius mutavit, referens ad avem.

Comp. Priscian 1, p. 206. Is the note from Caper or Probus?

P. 196—7, *clunes* feminino. Horatius, "quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix." Masculino, Plautus Agroico, "quam si lupus, ab armis valeo, clunes defectos gero."

The source of this note is ultimately Verrius Flaccus; Festus, p. 61, *clunes* masculino: Plautus "quasi lupus, ab armis valeo, clunes defectos gero." But it must have been recast and augmented by later scholars before it was used by Servius (A. 2. 554), *clunis* Iuvenalis bene dixit, "tremulo descendant clune puellae," Horatius male "quod pulchrae clunes." Priscian 1, p. 160, illustrates by the same line from Horace and one (the same?) from Juvenal: Charisius, p. 101, by the same Horace, and passages from Scaevola and Laberius. The gloss in its final form as given by Servius would seem to be later than Probus, unless indeed it is possible that he could have quoted from Juvenal.

P. 200, *calor* generis masculini. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II. "Si non tanta quies iret caelumque caloremque Inter." Neutri: Plautus Mercatore, "neque calor neque frigus metuo."

Philargyrius, G. 2. 344 (*frigusque caloremque Inter*): fuit autem prior lectio *frigusque calorque*: ut Plautus "neque frigus neque calor metuo neque ventum neque grandinem."

P. 202, *crocum* generis neutri. Sallustius Historiarum lib. II. "iter vertit ad Corycum, urbem inclutam pastibus atque nemore in quo crocum gignitur."

Masculini: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV. "et glaucas salices, casiamque crocumque rubentem."

Servius, G. 4. 182, Sallustius in historiis ait "in quo crocum gignitur," genere neutro secundum artem usus.

P. 209, *insomnium* generis neutri. Feminini; Caecilius Plocio, "consequitur comes insomnia."

Charis. p. 101 quotes Pacuvius in support of the feminine form, and Virgil A. 4. 9: Servius on this passage says, sciendum . . quia si *terret* (*insomnia*) dixerimus, antiqua erit elocutio. *Insomnia* enim, licet et Pacuvius et Ennius frequenter dixerint, Plinius tamen exclusit et de usu removit.

P. 225, *scrobes* feminino genere. Masculino, Plautus Amphitruone,

"ibi scrobes fodito sexagenos in dies." Idem Anulularia, "ego effodiebam denos in dies scrobes."

Priscian l. p. 168 quotes the same passages from Plautus: Servius on G. 2. 50 says, nos *scrobes* genere dicimus masculino, licet Lucanus dixerit contra artem *exigua posuit scrobe*. And on G. 2. 288, *scrobes* masculini sunt generis. Nam Cicero in Oeconomicis sic dicit: et Plautus ait *sexagenos in dies scrobes*. Minor autem est Lucani et Gracchi auctoritas. Nam Lucanus ait *exigua posuit scrobe*. Gracchus, *abunde fossa scrobis est*: quod exemplum in Terentiano est. This Gracchus may be the tragedian of the Augustan age. Here the fullest form of the note seems to have been preserved by Terentianus Maurus.

Nonius p. 230 says that *vulgus* has two genders, neuter and masc.; the latter usage he illustrates from Accius and Varro, and also from Virg. A. 2. 98, "spargere voces In vulgum ambiguas."

So Servius, A. 1. 149, *vulgus* et masculini generis et neutri lectum est: generis neutri hoc loco, alibi masculini, ut "in vulgum ambiguas." Charis. p. 74 quotes the same passage from Virg.

P. 231, *Vepres* generis masculini. Vergilius "sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres." Feminini . . . Lucretius lib. IV. "nam saepe videmus Illorum spoliis vepres volitantibus auctas."

Philargyrius, G. 3. 444, *vepres* in masculino genere. At Lucretius in feminino "Illorum spoliis," &c.

P. 231, *Vadum* generis neutri. Vergilius Aeneidos I. "in vada caeca tulit." Masculini; Sallustius Historiarum lib. I. "et mox Fufidius adveniens cum legionibus, postquam cantes asperas, haud facilem pugnantibus vadum, cuncta hosti quam suis opportuniore videt."

Servius, A. 1. 112 (Dan.), quotes *vadus* from Varro de ora maritima lib. I. Comp. Prisc. 1. p. 264.

NONIUS, BOOK IV.

Coming now to the fourth book of Nonius, which is lexicographical (De Varia Significatione Verborum), I have noticed the following important coincidences between his notes and those of the commentators on Virgil:

P. 245, *aura* splendor. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. VI. "discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit."

Servius, A. 6. 204, *aura auri*, splendor auri. Horatius, "tua ne retardet Aura maritos," i.e. splendor.

P. 257, *componere* finire. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. "ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo." Et in Bucolicis, "non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites." *Componere* reficere, recreare . . . Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. "nunc placida compositus pace

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quiescit." *Componere* disponere, constituere: Vergilius Aeneidos lib. III. "quam tuta possis urbem componere terra." M. Tullius de Officiis . . . *Componere* rursus significat comparare. Accius . . . Lucilius . . . Sallustius . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV. "non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis" . . . *Componere* coniungere. Vergilius lib. VIII. "componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora." Lucilius . . . Sallustius.

Servius, A. 1. 374, *componet* finiet, ut "oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum." The Cassel MS. adds, et "non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites." Alibi pro *disponere*, ut "nec componere opes norant," alibi pro *coniungere*, ut "componens manibusque manus," alibi pro *comparare*, ut "sic parvis componere magna solebam," alibi pro *fundare*, ut "placida compostus pace."

P. 261, *circumferre* lustrare. Plautus in Amphitruone, "quin tu istanc iube Pro cerrita circumferri."

Servius, A. 6. 229, *circumtulit*, purgavit. Antiquum verbum est; Plautus: "pro larvato te circumferam." Nam *lustratio* a circumlatione dicta est vel taedae vel sulphuris. Iuvenalis, "si qua darentur Sulpura cum taedis."

P. 261, *confidentia* . . . temeritas, audacia. Lucilius . . . Turpilius . . . Accius . . . Afranius . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV. "Nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras Iussit adire domos?" Terentius in Andria "nescio qui senex venit modo . . . confidens, catus."

Philargyrius, G. 4. 445, *confidentissime* pro *audacissime*. *Confidentiam* enim veteres pro impudenti audacia dicebant, ut Terentius (Andr. 5. 3. 5) "O ingentem confidentiam."

P. 266, *capessere*, recipere (*capessere se, se recipere?*). Plautus in Amphitruone, "nunc pergam eri imperium exsequier, et me domum capessere."

Servius (Daniel), A. 4. 346, quidam *capessere* pro *ire* accipiunt, ut Titinius "Lucius domum se capessit."

Nonius, p. 277, *damnare* et *condemnare* pro *liberare* positum est: Titinius . . . Vergilius lib. XII. "quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere letum." Turpilius . . . Vergilius in Bucolicis "damnabis tu quoque votis." Sisenna.

Servius, A. 12. 727, *damnet*, liberet, ut "damnabis tu quoque votis."

P. 278, *da*, dic. Vergilius in Bucolicis, "Sed tamen iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis." Etiam lib. VI. "tuque O sanctissima vates, Praescia venturi, da, non indebita posco."

Servius, A. 1. 676, *accipe* audi, ut contra *da* dic; ut "da, non indebita posco" et "da, Tityre, nobis." Comp. Serv. (Dan.) on A. 3. 85, Serv. on A. 6. 66, E. 1. 19.

P. 298, *explere*, minuere. Vergilius lib. VI. "discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris."

Servius, A. 6. 545, *explebo est minuum*. Nam ait Ennius "navibus explebant sese, terrasque replebant." Quam Caper secutus cum de praepositione *ex* tractaret, hoc exemplum posuit. Did Nonius then take his example from Caper, or from some older source?

P. 307, *fatiscere* est *aperiri*.

Servius, A. 1. 123, *fatiscunt*, abundanter aperiuntur; *fatim* enim abundanter dicimus (unde et *adfatum*), *hiscere* autem *aperiri*.

P. 307, *ferus* iterum equus. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. II. "inque feri curvam compagibus alvum Contorsit." Accius Medea, "perite in stabulis frenos immittens feria." *Ferus* iterum significat *cervum*. Vergilius lib. VII. "pectebatque ferum, puroque in fonte lavabat."

The Verona scholia on A. 7. 489 quote a note of Velius Longus which (though the text is now mutilated) it is evident must have borne a general resemblance to that of Nonius, quoting as it does A. 2. 51 "inque feri curvam," &c.

P. 311, *fetum* significat *plenum*. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. "loca feta furentibus austris." Et lib. II. "scandit fatalis machina muros, Feta armis." Varro γῶθι σκαυρόν . . . *Fetum*, onere levatum. Vergilius lib. VIII. "fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lupam." Et Georgicorum lib. III. "nec tibi fetae More patrum nivea implebunt mulgaria vaccae."

Servius, A. 1. 51, *loca feta*, nunc *plena*, ut alio loco *feta armis*. Scien- dum est autem *fetam* dici et *gravidam* et *partu liberatam*, ut "fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lupam," &c.

P. 317, *habere*, satis esse (captus esse? Quicherat conj. *fatiscere*). Vergilius lib. XII. "hoc habet, haec melior magnis data victima divis." Terentius Andria "certe captus est, habet."

Servius, on A. 12. 296, *hoc habet*, id est, letali percussus est vulnere. Terentius, "certe captus est, habet."

Nonius, p. 319, has a long note on the various meanings of *haurire*. *Haurire* significat *exhaurire* vel *implere* . . . *avare sumere* . . . *defatigare* . . . *confodere* . . . *accipere* . . . *tenere*. For the sense of *avare sumere* he quotes Virg. A. 1. 738, "ille impiger hausit Spumantem pateram," for that of *confodere*, A. 10. 314, "latus haurit apertum," for that of *accipere* vel *audire*, A. 12. 25, "haec animo hauri," and 4. 359, "vocemque his auribus hausi."

Comp. Serv. A. 1. 738, *hausit modo accepit*, nec possumus intellegere *bibit*, cum hoc sequatur, "et pleno se proluit auro." Alibi *vidit*, ut "hausit caelum mentemque receptat," alibi *audivit*, ut "vocemque his auribus hausi," alibi *vulnerat*, ut "latus haurit apertum." Et multa alia pro loco significat. On A. 4. 359, Serv. (Dan.) says, *haurit* enim pro *percipit* ponebant veteres, et ideo qua potissimum parte sensus percipiant adiungunt, ut "simul hoc animo hauri," et "hauriat hunc oculis

ignem." Probus enim ait "nemo haurit vocem." Is the whole comment from a note of Probus?

P. 328, *interpretes* auctor. Vergilius Aeneidos IV. "tuque harum interpretes curarum et conscia Iuno."

Servius, A. 4. 608 (Dan.), sane *interpretes* quid sit secundum veteres ipse exposuit dicendo *conscia*: veteres enim *interpretem* conscium et auctorem dicebant. Plautus in Milite "quae mihi condicio nova et luculentior offertur per te interpretem." Idem in Curculione, "quod te praesente hoc egit teque interprete."

P. 332, *Legere* . . . colligere: Titinius . . . Vergilius lib. X. "extremaque Lauso Parcae fila legunt," et lib. V. "fractosque legunt in gurgite remos"—with other instances.

Servius, A. 5. 209, *legunt*: alii *praetereunt*, sed melius *legunt*, id est *colligunt*. A. 10. 815, *fila legunt* . . . *legunt colligunt* est, aut *transseunt*, ut "Litoraue Epiri legimus."

Nonius, *ib.*: *legere* praeterire Vergilio auctore dicimus, Aeneidos lib. III. "litoraue Epiri legimus." See Servius, A. 5. 209, quoted above, and 3. 127.

Nonius, *ib.*: *legere* est *navigare*, *praestringere*. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. II. "pars cetera pontum Pone legit."

Servius, A. 3. 127, *legimus* praeterimus, ut "litoraue Epiri legimus." Tractus autem sermo a nautis, quod furem legendo, id est colligendo, aspera loca praetereunt. Comp. Serv. G. 2. 44.

Nonius, *ib.*: *legere subripere* significat, unde et *sacrilegium* dicitur, id est de sacro furtum. Vergilius in Bucolicis "Nam quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper." Nonius illustrates further from Turpilius, Lucilius, and Plautus (Aulularia).

Servius, A. 10. 79, *legere*, furari, unde et *sacrilegi* dicuntur qui sacra legunt, id est furantur. Alibi "vel quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper." Comp. Serv. on E. 9. 21.

P. 339, *longe* est valde. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. V. "ante omnes stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat." Illustrated further from Cicero, Lucilius, Sisenna, and Terence.

Servius, A. 1. 13, illustrates the same meaning from Sallust, "longe alia mihi mens est, patres conscripti": comp. Serv. A. 2. 711, 5. 406.

P. 340, *laetum* pingue. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II. "glande sues laeti redeunt." Serv. A. 3. 220, *laeta* pinguis: so G. 1. 74, *laetum* pecus, id est pingue.

Nonius, p. 345, treats *merere* and *maerere* under the same article: *meret* militat . . . *maeret* rursus dolet.

Servius, A. 4. 82, *maeret* si diphthongum habeat, ut hoc loco, *tristis* est significat: aliter *militat* significat.

P. 357—8, *olim* trinam habet significationem temporum. Prae-

teriti; "meos olim si fistula dicat amores." *Olim* temporis futuri. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. "hunc tu olim spoliis Orientis onustum Accipies secura." Lucilius . . Turpilius . . Afranius.

It will be observed that Nonius, after promising to give instances of three meanings, gives instances only of two. But the note, or the sketch of it, is completely given by Serv. A. 1. 20, *olim* quandoque. Et tria tempora significat: praeteritum, ut "olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro Inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis": praesens, ut "tumidis quod fluctibus olim Tunditur": futurum, ut "nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires."

P. 363, *prodere* . . . differre, vel excludere. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. . . . "unius ob iram Prodimur, atque Italiam longe disiungimur oris." Lucilius . . . Terentius.

Servius, A. 1. 252, *prodimur*: multa quidem hic sermo significat, sed modo *porro* damus, scilicet ab Italia. The gloss may have come from Verrius Flaccus: Fest. p. 229 *prodit*, memoriae *porro* dat: et *fallit*: item ex interiore loco *procedit*: item *perdit*, ut Ennius, &c.

P. 368, *pernix* significat *celer*. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. "talis et ipse iubam cervice effudit equina Coniugis adventu pernix Saturnus." Lucilius lib. XXVII. "fuimus pernices, aeternum id nobis sperantes fore." *Pernix, perseverans*. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. "et inter Dura iacet pernix instrato saxa cubili."

Servius, A. 11. 718, *pernicibus* . . . modo velocibus; alias *perseverantibus*. Nam *pernix* interdum *velox*, interdum *perseverans* significat, ut ipse in Georgicis "et inter Dura iacet pernix," &c. Serv. G. 3. 230, *pernix*, modo *perseverans*. *Pernix* autem *perseverans* a *pernitendo* tractum est. Horatius, "pernicis uxor Apuli." Philarg. *ib.* *pernix*: legitur et *pernox*; sed *pernix* melius, id est *pertinax*.

P. 370, *parcere* servare. Vergilius lib. X. "argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta Gnatis parce tuis." Lucilius lib. XXVII. "parcant illi mage cui possint, cui fidem esse existimant."

Servius, A. 10. 532 (comp. E. 3. 94), *parce* autem est secundum antiquos *serva*, ut apud Lucilium et Ennium invenitur.

P. 374, *poscere* provocare. Vergilius lib. VIII. "aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum." M. Tullius primo secundae actionis in Verrem: "poscunt maioribus poculis."

Servius, A. 6. 614, *poscere* provocare. Cicero, "poscunt maioribus poculis," id est provocant.

P. 377, *protinus*, valde. Vergilius in Bucolicis, "en ipse capellas Protenus aeger ago," ut sit animo et corpore valde aeger: aut si aliud enuntiat, refertur ad illud (i.e. the meaning *longe, porro* given just before) ut sit, *longe, porro ago*. At ipsum *tenuis*, licet, ut praepositionem acceperit, ita significatione varietur, tamen maxime finem

terminumque designat. Then *hactenus, laterum tenus, capulo, crurum, pube tenus* are quoted from Virgil.

Above p. 375 Nonius has remarked, *protinus* ubicumque lectum est contra usum intellectus communis quo *statim* significare creditur, positum invenitur ut sit *protinus* (*protenus*?) porro, ac sine intermissione, *continuo*: quod iunctum *tenus* eius significantiam confirmat adverbii. Vergilius namque, in quocumque loco *protenus* posuit, sub hoc sensu intellegendum reliquit.

Servius, E. 1. 13, *protenus*, porro *tenus*, id est, longe a finibus . . . The Servius of Daniel adds, nam *protenus* per *e* adverbium loci, per *i* *protinus* adverbium temporis id est *statim*.

With the note explaining *tenus* as=*finis* comp. Iulius Modestus ap. Philarg. G. 3. 53, Modestus *tenus* pro *fine* accipit: Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 367) *tenus* significat *finem*, ut cum dicimus *hactenus*: Serv. A. 6. 62, *hactenus*, hucusque, id est, hic sit *finis*. Nam *tenus* proprie est extrema pars arcus, ut Plautus ostendit.

P. 378, *restare* dicitur superesse: Terentius . . . M. Tullius . . . Vergilius . . . Aeneidos lib. IV. "hospes, Hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat." *Restare* resistere. M. Tullius de Finibus bonorum et malorum, "nullam quaerentes voluptatem Stoici restant."

Servius, A. 4. 324, *restat*, hoc est *superest*. Alii *restant* intellegunt *resistit*, id est, contrarium tibi est.

Nonius, p. 391, has a note on *stare*, to which he assigns the following meanings:

Consistere: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. "stare loco nescit:" Plautus.

Horrere: Titinius, Caecilius, Lucilius.

Erigi, prominere. Lucilius.

Fidem habere. Cicero.

Valere et constare, fixum esse. Varro: Vergilius lib. X. "stat sua cuique dies," II. "stat casus renovare omnes."

Plenum esse. Vergilius in Bucolicis "stant et inniperi et castaneae hirsutae": Aeneidos lib. XII. "iam pulvere caelum Stare vident."

Esse. Varro.

Servius, A. 1. 646, *stat, modo est* [ut "Graio stant nomine dictae," Dan.]. Alias *horret*, ut "stant lumina flamma," et "stabat acuta silex:" item *plenum est*, ut "iam pulvere caelum Stare vident": item *positum est*, ut "stant Manibus arae:" item *placet*, ut "stat conferre manum Aeneae" et "stat casus renovare omnes." Comp. also Serv. E. 7. 53, A. 12. 408 (Dan.), 2. 750.

P. 398, *supplicium* . . . supplicatio. Sallustius in Catilinae bello, "in suppliciis deorum magnifici." Accius . . . Afranius.

Servius, A. 1. 632, *supplicia* dicuntur supplicationes, quae sunt de

bonis supplicia passorum. Sallustius, "in suppliciis deorum magnifici."

Nonius, p. 400—1, assigns the following meanings to *subigere* :

Acuere: Vergilius lib. VII. "subiguntque in cote secures."

Exercere, mollire: Cicero, Virgil, Lucilius, &c.

Superare: Virgil, Sisenna.

Cogere: Vergilius . . . lib. VI. "subigitque fateri:" Lucilius, Plantus.

Servius, A. 6. 302: *subigit* . . . et *acuit* significat, ut "subiguntque in cote secures," et *compellit*, ut "subigitque fateri."

The note may ultimately come from Verrius Flaccus: Fest. p. 309, *subactus* modo significat *mollitus*, modo *victus*, modo *compulsus*, modo *coactus*.

P. 403, *secare* sequi: unde et sectatores bonorum *sectores* dicti sunt. Vergilius lib. X. "quaecunque est fortuna hodie, quam quisque secat spem."

Serv. A. 10. 107: *secat*, sequitur, tenet, habet, ut "Ille viam secat ad naves." Unde et *sectas* dicimus habitus animorum et instituta philosophiae circa disciplinam. Comp. Serv. A. 6. 900.

P. 404, *squalidum*, sicut plerumque, dicitur *sordidum*. Vergilius in Aeneidos lib. II. "squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines." *Squalidum*, fulgens. Vergilius lib. X. "per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum."

Servius, A. 2. 277 (Dan.), *squalentem* modo *sordidum*, alibi *lucentem*: "per tunicam squalentem auro," a squamis. From Gellius 2. 6 it seems that "tunicam squalentem auro" was an expression blamed by Cornutus. Gellius defends it as follows, l. c. § 20 foll.: "Id autem significat copiam densitatemque auri in squamarum speciem intexti. *Squalere* enim dictum a squamarum crebritate asperitateque, quae in serpentium pisciumve coriis visuntur. Quam rem et alii et hic quidem poeta locis aliquot demonstrat. "Quem pellis," inquit, "ahenis In plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat," et alio loco, "Iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus ahenis Horrebat squamis." Accius in Pelopidis ita scribit: "eius serpentis squamae squalido auro et purpura Per-textae." Quicquid igitur nimis inculcatum obsitumque aliqua re erat, ut incuteret visentibus facie nova horrorem, id *squalere* dicebatur. Sic in corporibus incultis squamosisque alta congeries sordium *squalor* appellabatur, &c.

The explanation of the word given by Gellius is somewhat different from that of Nonius and Servius. That of Gellius may have been based on a note of Verrius Flaccus: Fest. p. 328, *squalidum* incultum et sordidum, quod proxime similitudinem habet squamae piscium sic appellatum.

P. 416, *vanum* est mendax. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I. "ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes." Nonius illustrates further from Sallust and Cicero.

Servius, A. 1. 392 (Dan.), quidam *vani mendaces* tradunt. Sallustius in Iugurtha, "nam ego quidem vellem et haec quae scribo et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret." Terentius in Phormione, ubi adulescens lenonem mendacii arguit, "Non te pudet vanitatis"?

Gellius 18. 4 illustrates the same sense of *vanus* from another passage of Sallust, quoted neither by Nonius nor Servius. For the etymology of *vanus* he refers to Nigidius Figulus.

P. 420, *verrere* est trahere. Vergilius lib. I. "quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras."

Servius, A. 1. 59, *verrere* est trahere, a rete, quod verriculum dicitur. 1. 478, *versa* tracta, ut Plautus "inveniam omnia versa, sparsa." Venit autem ab eo quod est *verror*. So Isidore 19. 5. 3.

P. 421, *cupido* et *amor* idem significare videntur. Et (at?) est diversitas. *Cupido* enim inconsideratae est necessitatis, *amor* iudicii. Plautus Bacchidibus: "Cupidon tecum saevit, aune amor"? Idem in Curculione discrevit, et vim eiusdem diversitatis expressit, dicens, "quo Venus Cupidoque imperat, suadetque Amor." Afranius in Omine, "amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri."

Servius, A. 4. 194 (Daniel), has the same note and the same quotations: but the verse of Afranius is quoted from the *Neaera* as follows: "alius est amor, alius Cupido: amant sapientes, cupient ceteri."

From the remaining books of Nonius I quote the following instances:

P. 439, *simulare* est fingere scire quae nescias, *dissimulare* fingere nescire quae scias. Sallustius in Catilinae bello, "cuius libet rei simulator ac dissimulator."

Servius, A. 1. 516, *dissimulamus* nota, *simulamus* ignota; ut Sallustius, "simulator ac dissimulator."

P. 470, *dignavi* pro *dignatus* sum. Accius Meleagro: "remanet gloria apud me: exuvias dignavi Atalantae dare." Pacuvius Hermiona: "quom neque me aspicere aequales dignarent meae."

Servius, A. 11. 169 (Dan.), *digner*: alii *dignem* legunt, iuxta veteres, ab eo quod est *digno*. Calvus: "hunc tanto munere digna." Pacuvius in Hermiona: "quom neque me inspicere aequales dignarent." Hinc ipse Vergilius, "coniugio Anchisa Veneris dignate superbo." Comp. Serv. A. 3. 475.

P. 481, *potior* illam rem, pro illa re *potior*. Terentius Adelphis, "ille alter sine labore patria potitur commoda." Servius, A. 3. 278, quotes the same words from Terence in illustration of *potior* with the accusative.

Nonius, p. 487, notices the double forms, *vapor vapos, timor timos, labor labos, color colos*, illustrating from Lucretius, Naevius, Accius, and Varro. Servius, A. 1. 253, notices that Sallust always wrote *labos*. Compare Quint. 1. 4. 13, "*arbos, labos, vapos, etiam et clamor aetatis (usitata?) fuerunt.*"

P. 535, *lintres, naves fluminales*. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I. "*cavat arbore lintres.*"

Servius, G. 1. 262, *lintres, fluviatiles naviculas*.

P. 487, *Argus pro Argivus*. Plautus Amphitruone, "*Amphitruo natus Argis ex Argo patre.*" [*Dardanus pro Dardanius.*⁹] Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV. "*hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis at alto Dardanus.*"

Servius, A. 4. 662 (Dan.). *Dardanus pro Dardanius*. Plautus "*Amphitruo natus Argis,*" &c.

There are similar correspondences between Servius and Gellius, of which the following may be taken as a specimen :

Gellius 2. 13. 1, 2: *antiqui oratores, historiaeque aut carminum scriptores etiam unum filium filiamve liberos multitudinis numero appellarunt*. He then illustrates from Sempronius Asellio.

Servius, A. 10. 532: *liberos etiam unum dicimus filium, adeo ut Terentius etiam filiam dixerit, ut in Heecyra, "qui illum dignum decreverint, suos cui liberos committerent.*

FLAVIUS CAPER, VELIUS LONGUS.

Flavius Caper and Velius Longus belong to the age of Trajan. Of Caper, who is known only as a grammarian, not as a commentator on Virgil, very little need be said here, the less as the few remarks which are quoted from him by Servius can be shown to be, in all probability, borrowed from other sources. *Explebo numerum*, in Aen. 6. 545, Caper took to mean *minuam numerum*: an explanation which, as we have seen above, is given by Nonius, p. 298. There is, however, nothing to show that Nonius is borrowing from Caper here. And the same may be said of Caper's remark on A. 9. 709, that the neuter form *clipeum* and not the masc. *clipeus* should be read there, which coincides with Nonius, p. 195. Finally his observation (Serv. A. 10. 344, 788) on the forms *femur* and *femen* may be traced to Verrius Flaccus (Festus p. 92).

Besides his elegant treatise on orthography, which has been fortunately preserved, and a work *de usu antiquae lectionis*, Velius Longus was the author of a commentary on the Aeneid mentioned by Charisius pp. 88, 175. Of this work several notes are preserved in Macrobius

* These words are obviously required.

and the Verona scholia, and much probably has found its way into the commentary of Servius. For we find in several instances that where the Verona scholia quote Longus by name, the same note is given in Servius in an abridged form and without any mention of him: a phenomenon which must never be lost sight of in considering the question of the sources of the Servian commentary, whether the conclusion be that Servius is borrowing from Longus, or that the notes of both are derived from the same source. The principal notes of Longus preserved by the Verona scholia are:

(a) A. 3. 693 on the name Plemmyrium, which he (or his authorities) derived from *πλημύρειν* "ideo quod undique fluctibus undisque adluatur." This or a similar note is abridged in Servius without acknowledgment.

(b) A. 3. 705 on *palmosa Selinus*, *palmosa* being explained after Melissus (?) as meaning "the mother of many victors in the Olympic games."

(c) A. 4. 149. Longus derived *segnis* from *sine igni*, and explained it as = *deformis*, which again he took as coming from *de* and *formus*, hot: and so Servius, again without acknowledgment of the source of his note. So Nonius, p. 33.

(d) A. 5. 488. Longus replied to a carping criticism of Cornutus on this line. Again Servius gives the gist of this note without mention of his authority.

(e) A. 7. 489 on the word *ferus* for a stag. This note of Longus seems to be based on the same sources as that of Nonius p. 307, both quoting A. 2. 52, where *ferus* is used of a horse. Again Servius abridges this or a similar note without acknowledgment.

(f) A. 10. 1. Longus here had a valuable note on the words *domus Olympi*, in illustration of which he quoted *cenaculum caeli* from Ennius.

(g) A. 10. 551. Longus mentions and solves a difficulty about Faunus: how could he be mortal if born of a nymph? The question is also raised and solved by Servius. The gist of both notes is the same, but they are evidently independent, and probably derived from a common source.

(h) A. 10. 557. Longus illustrated the local adverb *istic* by two passages from the *Rudens* of Plautus.

(i) In A. 10. 245 it seems that Longus read *spectabis* for *spectabit*, saying that the word *venerit* should be supplied after *crastina lux*. Macrobius 3. 6. 6 has a note of Longus on A. 3. 84, which is also given, without any acknowledgment of its source, in the Cassel additions to Servius on the passage.

URBANUS.

I am not convinced by Ribbeck's argument (Prol. p. 167) from the mention of Urbanus in Servius' note on A. 5. 517, that this commentator was prior in time to Velius Longus. Longus, we have seen, made some remarks in answer to a criticism of Cornutus on Virgil's alleged mistake in making Aeneas devote to death a pigeon, the bird of Venus: and it seems that Urbanus had a note to the same purpose. But it would be rash, surely, to infer from this that Longus was indebted to Urbanus.

On two grounds I am disposed to think that too early a date has been assigned to Urbanus. First, there is not, so far as I am aware, any mention of him in the Verona scholia. It may be answered that the Verona scholia as we have them are merely a fragment, and that we cannot therefore be justified in arguing from their silence. True: yet even in their fragmentary condition they preserve quotations from a great number of commentators, Asper, Cornutus, Haterianus, Longus, Nisus, Probus, Terentius Scaurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris; and it would be strange, had the compiler of these scholia known of a commentary by Urbanus, that no mention of it should have survived even in a fragment of his work.

Secondly, the absurdity of the notes attributed to Urbanus seems to me to stamp them as belonging to a later age than that of Trajan or the Antonines. To take a single instance: in A. 4. 469, "*Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus*," Urbanus seems to have taken "*agmina*" as meaning the coils of the Furies' serpents. It is easy to imagine how Probus would have dealt with such a remark: or again with that on A. 4. 624, "*nullus amor populis, nec foedera sunt*," where Urbanus observed that Virgil had used a legal word, *sunt*, "*propter odia hereditaria*."

CAESELLIUS VINDEX, TERENCE SCAURUS,
SULPICIUS APOLLINARIS.

Caesellius Vindex, the compiler of a lexicographical work in fifty books entitled *Lectiones antiquae*, arranged in alphabetical order, is quoted by Gellius, 2. 16. 5, as giving a sensible explanation of *postuma proles* in the sixth Aeneid. He took *postumus* to mean not "*post patris mortem natus*," but "*postremo loco natus*," an interpretation for which he was taken to task by Sulpicius Apollinaris. It is easy to conjecture, though there is no positive proof of the fact, that the work of Caesellius Vindex may have been used to a far greater

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extent than now appears by Nonius, in whose writings, as we have seen, a great deal of lexicographical work is embedded.

The name of Terentius Scaurus, the author of a Latin grammar and a controversial treatise against Caesellius Vindex, as well as of commentaries on Plautus and Virgil, brings us into the reign of Hadrian. Gellius calls him (11. 15. 3) "*divi Hadriani temporibus grammaticus vel nobilissimus*." His grammatical works are cited by Gellius and the later grammarians: of his commentary on Virgil so little is expressly quoted that it would be rash to pronounce any judgment upon its merits. In A. 3. 484, "*nec cedit honori*," Servius tells us that Scaurus read "*honore*." The Verona scholia quote a note of his on Crete 4. 146, and another on 5. 95, in which a theory is advocated that snakes are born from the marrow of men: a notion which also appears in Servius' note on the passage.

The Carthaginian Sulpicius Apollinaris, the master of Aulus Gellius as well as of the unfortunate emperor Pertinax, paid considerable attention to Virgil. A note of his on "*Silvius Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles*," &c., in which he controverted the opinion of Caesellius Vindex, is mentioned by Gellius 2. 16. 8. Gellius, 7. 16. 12, says that he took "*praepetes aves*" as equivalent to Homer's *οἰωνοὶ τανυτέρπυες*: and 16. 5. 4 foll. quotes his opinion on the prefix *ve* in *vemens*, *vescus*, *vestibulum*. As far as *vescus* is concerned, Sulpicius seems merely to have quoted the opinion of Verrius Flaccus (see above p. lix.), as indeed he also did in the case of the word *postumus* (comp. Festus, p. 238).

POLLIO.

A scholar of this name with the *nomen* Asinius is mentioned by Servius on Aen. 2. 7 and elsewhere several times. The remarks attributed to him are foolish and hardly worth quoting. On the passage just alluded to, for instance, he seems to have observed that "*duri miles Ulixi*" was meant for Achaemenides. It is possible, of course, that the celebrated Asinius Pollio may have criticised Virgil, but that such notes can have come from him, or from any scholar of the Augustan age, is almost incredible, and I am therefore inclined to agree with Ribbeck (Prol. p. 116) that if the Pollio of Servius is to be identified with any known person, he was probably the scholar mentioned twice by Marcus Aurelius (Fronto, pp. 42, 63, Naber) as an excellent commentator on Horace.

IULIUS HATERIANUS.

Haterianus is mentioned as a commentator on Virgil by Macrobius (3. 8. 2), and several times in the Verona scholia. He is assumed by

the historians of Latin literature to be the Haterianus who is quoted as an authority by Trebellius Pollio in his history of the thirty tyrants (Script. Hist. Aug. XXX. Tyr. 6. 5), in which case he must belong to the last part of the third century A.D.

Macrobius (l. c.) quotes Haterianus as his authority for saying that the poet and orator Calvus used *deus* as a feminine noun; a usage which he illustrates also from Virgil and Sallust. The same instances from Virgil and Sallust are given in a note in Donatus on Terence Eun. 5. 2. 36; it may therefore be that Haterianus and Donatus are both drawing on an older source. The other remarks attributed to Haterianus do not give a high idea of his capacity; e.g. his proposal on A. 10. 242 ("quem dedit ipse Invictum Ignipotens") to read *igni* for *ipse*, and construct it with *invictum*, "unconquerable by fire."

THE VERONA SCHOLIA.

These scholia, written on the margin of the Verona palimpsest, are mentioned here on account of a quality which, as it immensely enhances their value, seems to me also to have some bearing upon their date. I allude to the fact that in the Verona scholia, far more than in the commentaries of Philargyrius and Servius, the names are given of the scholars from whose works the notes are derived. The names of Cornutus, Asper, Velius Longus, Terentius Scaurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, and Haterianus are mentioned far oftener, in proportion to the extent of the remaining fragments of these scholia, than in the later commentaries. This phenomenon seems to me to indicate that they are older than the time of Servius and Philargyrius, whose characteristic it is, on the whole, to say little or nothing of their authorities. I am inclined to attribute this not so much to deliberate intention on their part, as to the fact that in course of time the names of the older scholars who had originally gathered the stores of Virgilian learning gradually vanished from the commentaries. Philargyrius and Servius may have used as their immediate sources of information not the ancient commentaries themselves, but *compendia* or handbooks compiled from them. Nothing on the other hand strikes the reader so much in the fragments which remain of the Verona scholia as their air of genuine antiquity, their clearness, fulness, and sanity of view. Even in their fragmentary condition they embody a great deal of valuable information, evidently drawn from very good sources, on points of grammar and lexicography. To take a single instance: the lexicographical notes on *arma*, *cano*, *oras*, *altus*, *insignis*, at the beginning of the commentary on the Aeneid, are far fuller than the corresponding notes in Servius, and that on *insignis* fuller even than

the corresponding note in Nonius p. 331. It may fairly be said that wherever the Verona scholia have been preserved, it is the first duty of a modern commentator to consult them. Readers who have followed this essay so far will have already derived some notion of the quality of the Verona scholia from the quotations made in the sections on Asper and Velius Longus: and they have been cited in the course of the commentary wherever any light is to be derived from them.

Whether these scholia were compiled before the time of Donatus and Servius or not, their composition cannot be dated earlier than the last part of the third century A.D., as they mention Haterianus. The fact that the names of Servius and Donatus never occur in them is, so far as it goes, an argument in favour of supposing what their general character leads us to presume, that they were written before those commentators appear on the scene.

AELIUS DONATUS.

This scholar, whom Jerome mentions more than once as his teacher, lived and taught in the middle of the fourth century at Rome, where he held the post of *orator urbis Romae* and the title of *vir clarissimus*. It is unfortunate that we know nothing of his commentary on Virgil but what we learn from the remarks, mostly polemical, of Servius. He prefixed to his commentary the Life of Virgil which scholars are now agreed was the work of Suetonius.¹ This fact, as well as the character of his commentary on Terence, would have led us to expect a work of sound scholarship from Aelius Donatus: yet, if we may believe Servius, he was weak both in knowledge and in judgment. On A. 2. 798, for instance, he seems to have expressed an opinion that *ex Illo* might stand as a metrical equivalent for *exilio*; he thought that *citae* (A. 8. 642) could = *divisae*; that *litus* (A. 2. 557) could mean a spot before the altar, and could be derived from *litare*; that *Amsanctus* (A. 7. 563) was in Lucania; that "trahunt in moenia" (A. 12. 585) could mean "dilacerant in moenibus," and so on. It is difficult to suppose that the bulk of his commentary was not of better quality than this. Errors like those just mentioned (and Servius himself is not entirely guiltless of such mistakes) only show how surely the decline of scholarship had set in by the middle of the fourth century A.D., and indeed (if the work of Nonius may be taken as a specimen) much earlier.

¹ The Paris MS. 1011 has prefixed to this memoir the words *FL. (i.e. Ael.) Donatus L. Munatio suo salutem*. The memoir is also prefixed to the commentary of the younger (Ti. Claudius) Donatus.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DONATUS.

The commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on the *Aeneid*, written towards the end of the fourth century A.D. for the benefit of his son Tiberius Claudius Maximus Donatianus, differs in its scope and aim from notes such as those of the Verona scholia, Servius, or Philargyrius. This writer's main object is to bring out fully the meaning of his author by writing a lengthy paraphrase in prose, intended not only to explain the meaning of the poet, but to exhibit the rhetorical connection of the clauses. For instance, on *Aen.* 1. 291 he takes pains to show that the words of Jupiter, "*quin aspera Iuno . . . Consilium in melius referet*," are meant as a consolatory reply to the complaint of Venus "*unius ob iram Prodimur*." The commentator aims always at explaining the connection of ideas, and showing generally how Virgil's arrangement and the development of his narrative coincide with the fitness of things. Elementary points of mythology are noticed in this commentary, but, so far as I have observed, there is very little information on grammar and antiquities.

A modern reader will probably find the work of Tiberius Donatus dull and unprofitable to a degree quite unusual in the case of any commentary on a secular author. But his own professions with regard to it are interesting as throwing some light on the condition of scholarship and education in the fourth century A.D. He says in his preface¹ that he intends his remarks to be mainly educational. The schoolmasters give their scholars nothing of any value, while the commentators, writing for the purpose not of instruction but of research, however praiseworthy their zeal, have left their remarks in a comparatively inaccessible condition. He begs his son to compare his work with that of the older commentators, and to judge for himself what he prefers to follow in the one or the other.

This commentary was, according to its author's own statement,²

¹ "*Post illos qui Mantuani vatis mihi carmina tradiderunt, postque illos a quibus in Aeneidos libris quasi quidam solus ac purior intellectus expressus est, silere melius erat quam loquendo crimen arrogantis (arrogantiae?) incurrere. Sed cum adverterem nihil magistros discipulis conferre quod sapiat, scriptores autem commentariorum non docendi studio, sed memoriae suae causa quaedam favorabili studio, multa tamen involute reliquisse, haec, fili carissime, tui causa conscripsi, non ut sola perlegas, sed ut ex collatione habita intellegas quid tibi ex illorum, quidve ex paterno labore sequendum sit.*" (Preface to the Commentary).

² "*Incertum metuens vitae, quod magis senibus incumbit, et proximum est, cursim scripsi quae potui, relinquens plurima; et ea saltem edi volui quae tibi ad cetera intellegenda aditus ac viam aperirent; ut si quid mihi adversi accideret, haberes interpretationum mearum quod imitaberis exemplum. Verum quia ex communi voto contingit diutius vivere, hos libros interim legendos curavi; mihi enim certum*

written hastily and with many omissions. It was the work of his old age, and he therefore hastened to finish it, intending to make good its shortcomings in a future work. This was to include histories of the Virgilian heroes, accounts of the rivers, mountains, countries and towns mentioned in the Aeneid, and remarks on other points of antiquities or of general interest. It is very important to observe that these notes were to be taken from ancient commentaries. It is possible that the young Donatianus was content with the first instalment of his father's learning; but modern scholars will feel inclined, in their own interest, to regret that Donatus did not begin with his extracts from the older commentators. For these, it would seem, he never lived to complete.

IUNIUS PHILARGYRIUS.

The fragment of a commentary on the Eclogues, bearing the title *Philargyrii Explanationes*, is preserved in three manuscripts (*Laurentianus*, plut. XLV. cod. 14, 10th century; *Parisinus* 7,960, 10th century; *Parisinus* 11,308, of the same date). And an incomplete commentary on the Georgics, of excellent quality, but with large gaps, which gives the impression of the work as we have it being a series of extracts, has been since the time of Ursinus assigned likewise to Iunius Philargyrius. M. Thomas, in his essay upon Servius (p. 277), observes that the name of Philargyrius is not, in a single MS., prefixed to these scholia. This fact would of course, if taken by itself, be sufficient to throw grave doubt upon our right to assign the notes to Philargyrius. But it must also be observed that the Berne scholia, of which more anon, often quote from a *Iunilius Flagrus*, whom scholars usually identify with the Iunius Philargyrius of the commentary on the Eclogues. And the notes of Iunilius Flagrus very often⁴ coincide

est dehinc me non esse deserturum in te studium patris, ut tibi quantum potuero pari praeparem cura quae propter supra dictam causam videor omisisse. Sic enim fiet ut origines singularum personarum, quas Vergilius Aeneidos libris comprehendit, et quae in aliquo studio floruerunt, taut nullius fuerint meriti vel contraria deligendo depressae sint. Simul etiam cognoscas oppidorum insularumque rationem, regionum, montium, camporum vel fluminum, templorum ac fanorum, herbarum quin etiam et lignorum vocabula, et cetera his similia. Sed haec sic accipias velim, ut ex commentariis scias veterum me esse collecturum; antiqua enim vel fabulosa et longinquitatis causa, incognita nisi priscorum docente memoria non potuerunt explicari." (From the end of the commentary. I quote from the edition of Virgil by Fabricius of Chemnitz, Basel, 1547.)

⁴ I have observed the following instances of correspondence between the notes attributed to *Iunilius Flagrus* in the Berne scholia, and those found on the same passages in the commentary bearing the name of Iunius Philargyrius:

Ecl. 1. 20; Georg. 1. 58, 292—3, 295; 2. 160; 3. 5, 113, 280, 392, 408, 461 (?) 474 (?), 532; 4. 111, 131, 278, 520.

with those of the anonymous commentary on the Georgics. The argument is not conclusive, for it assumes on the one hand that Iunilius Flagrus is a corruption of the name Iunius Philargyrius, and on the other that the coincidence of the notes attributed to Flagrus in the Berne scholia with those which have hitherto been assigned to Philargyrius proves unity of authorship, whereas it need prove no more than unity of origin. Still the facts alleged tend to establish a probability, which I think justifies us in still quoting the notes in question under the name of Philargyrius.

The commentary itself is a good one, based on excellent sources, and quite worthy to rank with that of Servius. The date of its compilation is quite uncertain; but judging from its general style and tone, I should be disposed to think that it could not be placed later than the fourth century A.D. There is no mention in it either of Donatus or of Servius; but it might be rash to infer anything from this fact. It is also true that Servius, though he mentions Donatus, says nothing of Philargyrius. Does this prove that Philargyrius was his contemporary, or that he lived later?

The commentaries of Servius and of Philargyrius on the Georgics are independent of each other; but there is plenty of evidence to show that for all that constitutes, so to speak, the backbone of their work, for their grammar, lexicography, history, and antiquities, they are alike dependent on the stores of information gathered by the scholars of the first and the beginning of the second centuries. This could be easily shown by a comparison of their notes in detail with notes in Festus, Nonius, Gellius, and the grammarians, such as that of which I have attempted to give a specimen in the preceding sections.

SERVIUS.

The name of this commentator is given in all MSS. earlier than the fifteenth century simply as Servius; and Priscian in quoting his works knows of no *praenomen* or *cognomen*.⁵ The name Maurus Servius Honoratus is highly suspicious, occurring as it does only in fifteenth century manuscripts. A note of the pseudo-Acron on Horace, Sat. l. 9. 76, mentions a "Servius, magister Urbis," as offering an explanation of the word *antestari*. Whether we have any right to identify this person with our Servius is extremely doubtful.

Servius is introduced as one of the interlocutors in the Saturnalia

On G. 4. 89, the note of *Flagrus* is different from that of Philargyrius, and on G. 4. 565 they are independent.

As a rule, the notes in the Berne scholia give a short abstract of those in the Philargyrian commentary, though this is not always the case.

⁵ Thomas, *Essai*, &c., p. 133—4.

of Macrobius. Macrobius, who held high offices of state in 399, 410, and 422 A.D., probably wrote his *Saturnalia* at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. The dialogue, however, is in Platonic and Ciceronian fashion, thrown some twenty years back, being supposed to take place before the death of Praetextatus (385 A.D.). Servius is spoken of as at that time a man who had only recently adopted the profession of teaching, but who had already acquired a high reputation both for learning and modesty (Sat. 1. 2. 15). He is described further (*ib.* 6. 6. 1), as occupied every day in explaining Virgil to the Roman youth, and the duty of answering hostile criticisms upon Virgil is, to a large extent, assigned to him.

I am glad to find that M. Thomas has come to the same conclusion as that for which I have already contended, that the Servius of the *Saturnalia* stands in no real relation to the Servius of our commentary, except in so far as the notes on Virgil in Macrobius can be shown to be ultimately derived from the same sources as those in the commentary of Servius. The idea that Macrobius is quoting from the actual commentary of Servius cannot, I think, any longer be defended. All internal evidence points, as I have attempted to show, in another direction. Macrobius was himself, in all probability, using old commentaries and treatises now lost, which were the source of many a note in Philargyrius and Servius; and it was only natural, from a literary point of view, that he should pay Servius the compliment of assigning to him the duty of expounding this Virgilian learning.

Whether the commentary of Servius which we now possess was published at the time when the *Saturnalia* were written is a point which I do not think there is evidence to decide. If we take the language held in the *Saturnalia* as seriously affecting the question, we must conclude that in the year 380, or thereabouts, Servius was known not as a writer but only as a very learned teacher, and that his commentary was not published until after the publication of the *Saturnalia*. But the character of that dialogue makes it unsafe to build much upon its language in a matter of this kind. It may be that Macrobius knew our commentary, and yet purposely put fuller and clearer expositions into the mouth of his Servius. It is also possible that the commentary as we have it was not published until the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The existing commentary falls into two parts, one of which may for convenience be termed the Vulgate; while the other consists of certain additions to the Vulgate, found in manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries, and in quality equal either to the Vulgate or to the commentary of Philargyrius. These additions were published with the Vulgate in the year 1600 by Daniel, since whose time the

commentary thus enlarged has been generally known as the Servius of Daniel.⁶ Scholars seem now agreed that these additional notes were not part of the original commentary of Servius, but were copied into his work from a work of equal antiquity and pretensions. I offer no opinion on this question, which seems to me still open to discussion, as even the Vulgate of Servius is not so completely homogeneous as to exclude the hypothesis of its author having left his work in a comparatively undigested form.⁷

However the case may stand with these additions, there is no doubt that the Vulgate of the commentary bearing the name of Servius is on the whole a homogeneous work, not a mere congeries of notes accidentally bearing the name of a celebrated scholar. It is true that its author has sometimes allowed inconsistencies to remain, as, for instance, when in one passage, at the beginning of his notes on the Aeneid, he quotes *arma virumque cano* as the first words of the Aeneid, and two lines below says that Virgil began differently. The same *scholion*, too, is often repeated on different passages in almost the same words. Again, the author sometimes refers to a note which he either never wrote, or which has disappeared from our manuscripts. This case, however, is quite exceptional. The commentary constantly refers back to notes which really exist, an almost decisive mark of its coming from one hand.

It is plain, I think, that the commentary of Servius is the work of an adherent of the old religion. It is not merely that its author gives no sign of any leaning to Christianity, or knowledge of it, but that he shows a decided fondness for the forms and antiquities of the old Roman worship. Taking the commentary as a whole, I am inclined to characterize it as one of the works which, like the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, marks the reaction in favour of the past, which took place among the Roman *literati* at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A.D.

The commentary of Servius may, so far as its tone is concerned,

⁶ The additional notes published by Daniel are found in the following MSS.:

Ecl. 4.—G. 1. 278: the *Lemoviensis* (= *Vossianus* 80), and *Floriacensis* (= *Bernensis* 172).

A. 1—2: the *Parisinus* 1750, and *Fuldensis*. The *Fuldensis* is identified by Thilo with a MS. now at Cassel; but Thomas (*Essai*, &c., pp. 71—75), doubts whether the *Cassellanus* and *Fuldensis* are not distinct.

A. 3—5, 882: the *Floriacensis* of Daniel (= *Bernensis*, 172): to which Thomas adds the *Parisinus* 7930.

A. 6—12: the *Turonensis* (= *Bernensis* 165), containing A. 1—12, 918; and the *Parisinus* 7929 (A. 6. 14—12, 818).

⁷ Until the edition of Thilo and Hagen is complete, it will be impossible to distinguish the additions of Daniel at a glance.

almost deserve the name of classical, for it is clear that in the main it is constructed out of very ancient materials. For his information on points of history and antiquities Servius draws, very likely at second or third hand, on Cato, Varro, Nigidius, and other authors of the same stamp: for mythology on Hyginus, for grammar and philology on Varro and Verrius Flaccus. The views of these writers he probably learned from the scholars of the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries, as Asper and Probus, and the writers of the time of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. He quotes, indeed, writers of the third and fourth centuries, as Sammonicus Serenus, Juba, Solinus, Terentianus Maurus, Statius Tullianus, Titianus, and Catulinus; but since the age of the Antonines, if we may judge by the original remarks of so celebrated a scholar as Aelius Donatus (see on p. c.), little if anything that was both new and true had been added to Latin scholarship.

Of Titianus and Catulinus a word or two must be said before we leave this part of our subject. On Aen. 10. 18 Servius mentions these writers as the authors of a treatise which might in modern phraseology be entitled "Virgil as a Rhetorician": "Titianus et Catulinus, qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt ad dicendi usum." A fact most important as illustrating the decline both of scholarship and education. The curriculum of education is becoming more and more limited to the study of Virgil; the study of Virgil is becoming more and more scholastic and technical. Are there any actual remains of these base and degenerate efforts of analysis? The fourth book of Macrobius is an excellent specimen of what this method could effect. A mere fragment of the book remains, in which a thousand and one instances are given of Virgil's command over the resources of *pathos*. I have noticed a great many similar remarks in the commentary of Servius, of which the following may be taken as specimens:

A. 4. 31, et suasoria est omni parte plena: nam et purgat obiecta et ostendit utilitatem et a timore persuadet. Et usus est apto causae principio, nam et cum aliquid propter nos petimus, benevolum nobis eum qui audit facere debemus, &c.

A. 4. 361, oratorie ibi finivit ubi vis argumenti constitit.

A. 6. 104, sane sciendum adlocutionem hanc esse suasoriam cum partibus suis.

A. 7. 535, rhetorice viles trudit in medium; nobiles vero primo et ultimo commemorat loco.

A. 8. 127, et est rhetorica persuasio, nam principium ex utriusque persona sumpsit.

A. 8. 374, sane hoc rhetorica suasio est, nam principatum a verecundia sumpsit.

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A. 9. 131, et est oratorium quaestiones ita proponere ut facilem solutionis sortiantur eventum; compare on line 136.

A. 9. 481, et est conquestio matris Euryali plena artis rhetoricae. Nam paene omnes partes habet de misericordia commovenda a Cicerone in Rhetoricis positas.

A. 9. 614, utitur argumentis quae in Rhetoricis commemorat Cicero.

A. 10. 36, nunc per ἀντικατηγορίαν ad accusationem alterius transit: ib. 38, secundum artem rhetoricam rem unam in duas divisit.

Finally I may refer the curious reader to the long criticism on A. 11. 243 foll.

It would be interesting to know whether the fourth book of Macrobius, and remarks such as those which I have quoted from Servius, were taken from the book of our rhetorical worthies, Titianus and Catulinus.⁸ Whether this is the case or no, there can be no doubt that this style of criticism is one of which Probus or any of the older commentators would have been ashamed, and is the characteristic offspring of an age in which all creative effort has died out.

It is in all respects more profitable to study the material common to the Verona scholia, Philargyrius, Macrobius, and Servius: material which I suppose to be, so to speak, the deposit which the scholarship of the first and second century had left. In dealing with this matter it is noticeable that the commentary of Servius, as compared with the notes of Macrobius or the Verona scholia, tends to abbreviate, to curtail, and to omit the names of authorities. Servius is on the whole a sound, but he is not a full commentator; and we should be fortunate indeed could we exchange all his work for the Verona scholia in their complete form. The value of his commentary is derived almost entirely from what it preserves of the earlier Roman scholarship; and the amount of this, judging by what a comparative method enables us to detect, is not inconsiderable.

THE BERNE SCHOLIA.⁹

These scholia profess to be copied from Roman commentaries (*de commentariis Romanorum*) by a Scotchman named Adanan, whom Ribbeck and Teuffel assign to the eighth century. This writer names as the three commentators from whom he has made extracts, Titus Gallus, Gaudentius, and Iunilius Flagrus of Milan. Iunilius Flagrus, who is mentioned by the compiler as his chief authority, is now generally identified by scholars with Iunius Philargyrius; a conclusion

⁸ Dr. Lenke does not think this was the case.

⁹ Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica; ed. H. Hagen. In the *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. iv.

borne out by the general coincidence between the notes bearing the names of Philargyrius and Flagrus.

The compiler of these scholia was a Christian, and fond of allegorizing, a process to which Servius and the older commentators are generally averse. Of his authorities T. Gallus and Gaudentius, and their relations to the older commentators, it is very difficult to affirm anything with certainty. Comparing the notes attributed to Gallus with those of Servius, I find that while on G. 1. 3 Servius and Gallus take opposite views, the two usually correspond, though not so closely as to preclude the hypothesis that one is independent of the other. For instance, on G. 1. 13, Gallus adds a remark which is not in Servius, and so on G. 1. 81. On G. 1. 8. 149, their notes are to the same purpose, though expressed independently: elsewhere they are nearly identical.

Did Servius then borrow from Gallus, or Gallus from Servius? The fact that on one occasion their views are opposite, and that on others they are independently expressed, seems to point rather to their having both borrowed from the common store of Virgilian commentary which I have tried to show had been gathered by the end of the fourth century.

I am inclined to draw the same conclusion with regard to Servius and Gaudentius. Hagen thinks that Servius borrowed from Gaudentius as from Gallus; but although there are numerous instances where the notes of Gaudentius and Servius coincide, there are some where Servius is the fuller (E. 8. 21: G. 1. 277, 284: 4. 104, 111), others where, though Hagen sees traces of borrowing, I should be disposed to say that the comments were independent (E. 6. 79: G. 4. 122).¹

Add to this the fact that Servius is never mentioned by name in the Berne scholia, nor Gallus or Gaudentius in the commentary of Servius.

Another indication which points to the conclusion that the authorities of the Berne scholia are independent of Servius and Servius of them is the fact that they several times preserve quotations from writers of authority of which Servius has no trace. Thus, on G. 3. 147, they in common with Philargyrius quote Nigidius Figulus *De animalibus*, while Servius has quite a different note. In other places they quote a passage which, though absent in Servius and Philargyrius, serves to fill up and complete the notes of the latter. Thus on G. 3. 89 our

¹ E. 6. 79, *Gaudentius*: Quod fecit Procne, hoc dicit Philomelam fecisse, licentia poetica ut Gaudentius dicit. *Servius*, Atqui hoc Procne fecit, non Philomela: sed aut abutitur nomine, aut illi imputat propter quam factum est. G. 4. 122, *Gaudentius*. Cucumis, cucuminis, et huius cucumeris, dicitur, ut Gaudentius dicit. *Servius*, Cucumis cucumis: nam neoterici *huius cucumeris* dixerunt.

version of Philargyrius says "ut poetae Graeci fabulantur," the Berne scholia naming Alcman as the Greek poet. Here Servius again has quite a different note. Sempronius Asellio is cited by the Berne scholia alone on G. 3. 474, Caelius Antipater on G. 2. 197 (where Philargyrius' note is lost in our version), Asper on G. 4. 238, Nigidius Figulus on G. 1. 174, 428, 498 (in all of which passages, again, the notes of Philargyrius are lost), G. 2. 168, and Suetonius on G. 4. 564. For other instances where the Berne scholia have notes of value I must refer to the commentary, where I have quoted from them whenever they offered anything worth preserving.

Readers who have had the patience to follow this essay thus far will be prepared for the conclusion at which I am inclined to arrive, that a large body of Virgilian learning had accumulated by the end of the fourth century A.D., the greater and by far the most valuable part of which was at least as old as the age of Trajan, and much even older; and that from these materials it was that the author or authors of the Verona scholia, Philargyrius, Macrobius, Servius, and the authorities followed by the Berne scholia, drew their information independently of each other. This hypothesis will I hope be found to account for the considerable number of instances in which they agree, and the number, perhaps hardly less considerable, in which they exhibit independence or divergence.

THE TEXT OF VIRGIL.

THE text of Virgil has been handed down in the condition which might be looked for when we remember the fact that his poems had become a school-book within half a century after his death, and had thus been often copied and passed through the hands of innumerable scholars and schoolmasters; so that, literally and metaphorically, *totus decolor esset Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni*. Hyginus at the beginning, and Probus towards the end, of the first century A.D., were (as we have seen) already compelled to raise questions on the text of Virgil; a circumstance which may give us a fair idea of the fortunes which were already beginning to befall it.

The manuscripts on which our text of Virgil is mainly based are the Vatican fragment, the St. Gall fragment, the Medicean, the Palatine, the Roman, the fragments of the Verona palimpsest, and the so-called Augustean fragment.¹ All these manuscripts are written in uncial characters, and belong at latest to the fifth century A.D., though none of them,² it would seem, need necessarily be assigned to an earlier date. Indeed, the mistakes in which they all abound—mistakes which in many cases imply a defective knowledge of classical Latinity—point with much probability to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. I will give a specimen from a passage in the third Georgic (181—214) which is preserved in all the uncial MSS.

182, *equi*: *etqui* fragm. Aug.

183, *bellantum*: *bellatantum* originally fragm. Vat.

184, *audire*: *audere* Med. originally.

186, *plausae*: *plausa* Med. originally.

188, *audeat*: *audiat* Rom., and Med. corrected.

192, *compositis, sinuetque*: *compositi sinuetquae* Rom.

crurum: *currum* Med. originally.

¹ Neither the Medicean nor Palatine nor Roman are complete throughout.

² Not even the Augustean fragment, which was at first assigned to the Augustan age, and named accordingly.

- 193, *que*: *quae* Rom.
auras: *auris* Pal.
 195, *harena*: *arena* fragm. Vat.
 201, *fuga*: *fugas* Rom.
 202, *Elei*: *Aelei* Med.
 209, *ulla*: *vela* fragm. Aug.
 212, *in sola*: *insula* Pal.
relegant: *religant* Rom.
 213, *lata*: *nata* Med.

The Medicean and the Palatine contain many corrections, partly from the hands of the copyists who wrote them, partly from others of a not much later date. But did our text of Virgil depend on any one of the uncials, it would be full of corruptions. To take another instance, what can be worse than the error of Pal. in Georgic 2. 315, *persuadit acantho* for *persuadeat auctor*? Fortunately, however, the errors of one manuscript can often be corrected by the readings of another, or by the light of testimony afforded by the ancient commentators and grammarians.

I have already endeavoured to show that much of the material collected by Servius, Philargyrius, and the writers of the Verona and Berne scholia is ultimately derived from writings belonging to the first or early second century A.D. It follows that where these commentaries mention, as they not seldom do, readings which differ from any of those given in our manuscripts, those readings may very probably be entitled at least to serious consideration. Instances of this phenomenon are to be found in Georgic 1. 508, where the text known to Nonius and the author (whoever he was) of Servius' note on Aen. 12. 304 read *formantur*; in Georgic 2. 177 the text followed by Nonius had *mulgaria*, a reading mentioned by Philargyrius; in Georgic 3. 415, Nonius and Servius read *gravi nidore*, not *graves*; in Aen. 2. 62 Nonius read *versare dolo*, not *dolos*, a variant mentioned by Servius. In all these cases, and many others which are noticed in the commentary, the commentators approve or register a reading unknown to the manuscripts. In Aen. 7. 773 there can be no doubt that the reading of Probus, *Phoebigenam*, is to be preferred to that of the manuscripts.

Such variations between the commentators and the manuscripts add to the probability of the conclusion at which Ribbeck has arrived on other grounds, that our manuscripts are ultimately derived from one archetype, itself, no doubt, full of variants and corrections, but representing a text different from that followed, in some cases, by the authority or authorities from whom the notes common to Nonius, Servius, and the other ancient commentators, are derived. To decide

between these two recensions is often difficult, and sometimes (I think) impossible.

In the case of Latin manuscripts written prior to the Renaissance, there is not necessarily any magic in age, except in so far as the oldest copies may on the whole be trusted to preserve a better orthography. In other respects the manuscripts of Virgil are (as we have seen) not by any means free from gross blunders. But the concurrent testimony, on the one hand, of several fifth century manuscripts, and, on the other, of the recension or recensions used by good grammarians and commentators, has combined to preserve the text of Virgil from serious corruption. In most cases of doubt we have a choice between two or more readings, either or any of which might fairly be adopted without violation of grammar, sense, or taste; and thus the margin left for conjectural emendation is comparatively narrow.

Whether much matter of value is to be obtained from the countless manuscripts of Virgil written from the time of the Carolingian revival to the Renaissance, is very doubtful. The Gudian (ninth century), standing as it does in close relation to the Palatine, is useful where the latter fails us; and one of the Berne manuscripts (Ribbeck's *a*) seems to stand in a similar relation to the *Romanus*. But, so far as I have been able to observe, by far the greater number of valuable readings given by the cursive manuscripts are either to be found in the uncials and the notes of the ancient commentators and grammarians, or are such as might easily have been restored, if necessary, by conjecture.

NOTE ON THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF VIRGIL.

BY F. MADAN, ESQ., FELLOW OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND ONE OF
THE SUB-LIBRARIANS OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

There are forty-five manuscripts of Virgil in the Bodleian, of which three may be called first-rate cursives, ranking with the *a*, *b*, and *c* of Ribbeck, and nine good second-rate ones: the remaining thirty-three are of no appreciable importance. With respect to the date, three are of the tenth century, three of the twelfth, two of the thirteenth, seven of the fourteenth, twenty-nine of the fifteenth, and one of the sixteenth. The following is a short account of them, taken (roughly speaking) in the order of importance.

1. Auct. F. 1. 16. In parchment, fol., 208 leaves, in double columns of fifty-three lines to the column, of the tenth century, imperfect at the beginning, with marginal and interlinear glosses. It contains Georg. 2. 120—end, except in a few mutilated parts; the *Aeneid*, and Servius' commentary on the whole of Virgil. The writer was one Tibericus. This is the *codex Rottendorphianus tertius* of Heinsius, and has had a curious history. Lent by Rottendorph to Heinsius, it subsequently passed into Dr. Edward Bernard's hands, from whose widow the University purchased it in 1697. While in Heinsius' hands Francis Junius copied some Teutonic glosses from it, which were printed in 1787 from a transcript of a transcript of Junius' transcript: now the copy and the original rest side by side in the Bodleian after all traces of either, and all knowledge of their connection, had been lost for nearly two centuries. A fairly accurate collation of this and the succeeding *codex* is to be found in Burmann's edition of Heinsius' Virgil, Amstelod. 1746.

2. Auct. F. 2. 8. On parchment, fol., 226 leaves, in single columns of thirty lines, of the tenth century or possibly earlier, with glosses. It contains the Eclogues from l. 56, the Georgics, and the *Aeneid*. This is the *Mentelianus primus* of Heinsius.

3. Canon. Lat. 50. On parchment, large folio, 151 leaves, in single columns of from thirty-five to forty-three lines, written in a Lombard hand at the beginning of the tenth century. It contains the whole of Virgil, but some leaves are supplied by a later hand. A full description and generally very accurate collation of this MS. was published by the Rev. George Butler in 1854. This is the *codex Canonicianus* (o) of Ribbeck.

We now come to a less important class.

4. Auct. F. 4. 22: 101 leaves, written in the twelfth century. The *codex Sprotianus* of Heinsius. It contains the *Aeneid* as far as 12. 876.

5. Canon. Lat. 55, 147 leaves: fourteenth century. Containing the *Aeneid* and *Moretum*.

6. Canon. Lat. 63, 143 leaves: fourteenth century. Containing the *Aeneid*.

7. Canon. Lat. 61, 242 leaves: early fifteenth century. Containing all Virgil.

8. Auct. F. 1. 17, 90 leaves: fourteenth century. Containing all Virgil, with the smaller poems. This is Martyn's Bodleian codex.

9. Auct. F. 2. 6, 95 leaves: early twelfth century. Containing the *Aeneid* to 12. 903. This is the *codex Montalbanius* of Heinsius.

10. Auct. F. 4. 21, 273 leaves: late fifteenth century. Containing all Virgil. This is the *codex Menagianus prior* of Heinsius.

11. Auct. Add. A. A. 1, 176 leaves: early fifteenth century. Containing the *Aeneid* and *Catalecta*.

12. Ashmole 54, 199 leaves: fifteenth century. Containing all Virgil, and some of the *Catalecta*.

The following manuscripts do not deserve much notice:

13. Canon. Lat. 64: late fourteenth century. (Aen.)

14. Auct. F. 2. 5: fifteenth century. This is the *codex Venetus* of Heinsius. (Ecl., Georg., Aen.)

15. D'Orv. x. 1. 3. 39: fifteenth century. The *codex D'Orvillianus* of Burmann. (Aen.)

16. D'Orv. x. 1. 3. 42: thirteenth century. The *Codex Wallianus* of Burmann. (Aen. 2. 310—6. 149, except 5. 360—493.)

17. D'Orv. x. 1. 3. 40: fifteenth century. (Aen. 4. 91—6. 289.)

18. D'Orv. x. 1. 3. 41: fifteenth century. Probably the *codex Francianus alter* of Burmann. (Aen. 1. 516—6. 213.)

19. D'Orv. x. 1. 5. 14: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen.)

20. Auct. Digby C. 8: fifteenth century. (Aen. 3. 418—473; 4. 136—247; 5. 707—12. 818.)

21. Canon. Lat. 51: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen.)

22. Canon. Lat. 52: late fourteenth century. (Aen.)

23. Canon. Lat. 57: late fourteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen. 1. 63—12. 771.)

24. Canon. Lat. 59: fifteenth century. (Aen. 4. 252—541; 4. 658—11. 688.)

25. Canon. Lat. 62: fifteenth century. (Aen.)

26. Canon. Lat. 65: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen.)

27. Auct. Add. BB. 1: fourteenth century. (Aen.)

28. D'Orv. x. 1. 5. 12: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg.)

29. D'Orv. x. 1. 5. 13: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg.)

30. Auct. F. 2. 7: fifteenth century. (Aen. 5. 183—7. 195.)

31. D'Orv. x. 1. 5. 14: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen.)

32. Canon. Lat. 49: fifteenth century. (Aen. 1. 23—end of Aen.)

33. Canon. Lat. 53: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg.)

34. Canon. Lat. 56: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen. 1. 1.—10. 148.)

35. Canon. Lat. 58: fifteenth century. (Georg.)

36. Canon. Lat. 60: fifteenth century. (Ecl.)

37. Canon. Lat. 126: fifteenth century. (Ecl.)

38. Canon. Misc. 41: fifteenth century. (Ecl. 1. 1—5. 2.)

39. Auct. Add. B. B. 2: fifteenth century. (Aen.)

40. St. Amant 53: sixteenth century. (Aen.)

41. Auct. Rawl. G. 129: fourteenth century. (Ecl. Georg.) Twelfth century. (Aen.)
42. Auct. Rawl. G. 130: thirteenth century. (Aen. 4. 353—end of Aen.)
43. Auct. Rawl. G. 131: fifteenth century. (Ecl., Georg., Aen.)
44. Auct. Rawl. G. 97: fifteenth century. (Georg.)
45. Auct. Rawl. G. 98: fifteenth century. (Georg.)

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P. VERGILI MARONIS

B U C O L I C O N

LIBER.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of Pastoral Poetry shows us how easily the most natural species of composition may pass into the most artificial. Whatever may have been its earliest beginnings—a question¹ which seems to belong as much to speculation as to historical inquiry—it appears not to have been recognized or cultivated as a distinct branch till the Greek mind had passed its great climacteric, and the centre of intellectual life had been transferred from Athens to Alexandria. Yet as introduced into the world by Theocritus, if modern² criticism is right in supposing him to have been its real originator, it exhibits little of that weakness and want of vitality which might have been expected to distinguish the child of old age. It is a vigorous representation of shepherd life, with its simple habits, its coarse humour, its passionate susceptibility, and its grotesque superstition. But it was not long to retain this genuine character of healthy, dramatic energy. Already in the next age at Syracuse it began to show signs of failing power: and on its transference to Rome, these were at once developed into the unmistakable symptoms of premature constitutional decay. What it became afterwards is characteristically described in one of Johnson's sarcastic sentences. "At the revival of learning in Italy," he says in his life of Ambrose Philips³, "it was soon discovered that a dialogue of imaginary swains might be composed with little difficulty: because the conversation of shepherds excludes profound or refined sentiment: and for images and descriptions, Satyrs and Fauns, and Naiads and Dryads, were always within call; and woods, and meadows, and hills, and rivers supplied variety of matter, which, having a natural power to soothe the mind, did not quickly cloy it." Arcadia, more famous among

¹ The theories of its origin resolve themselves into speculations like those of Lucretius (5 1382 foll.), as Heyne remarks in his treatise "*De Carmine Bucolico*," prefixed to his edition. It is easy to see that music is a natural solace for a shepherd, and that the whistling of the wind through the reeds would suggest the use of the reed as a pipe.

² The names of the supposed pastoral poets who preceded Theocritus may be found in Heyne's treatise, or in the Dictionary of Biography, art. Theocritus. For a destructive criticism on their existence or claims to the title, see Nake's *Opuscula*, vol. i. pp. 161 foll.

³ *Lives of the Poets*, Cunningham's edition, vol. iii. pp. 262, 3.

the ancients, at least before the time of Virgil,⁴ for pastoral dulness than for pastoral ideality, became the poet's golden land, where imagination found a refuge from the harsh prosaic life of the present. Gradually the pastoral was treated as a sort of exercise-ground for young authors, who supposed themselves, in the words of an old commentator on Spenser,⁵ to be "following the example of the best and most ancient poets, which devised this kind of writing, being both so base for the matter and homely for the manner, at the first to try their habilities: and as young birds that be newly crept out of the nest, by little first prove their tender wings, before they make a greater flight." It was indeed little more than the form in which the poet made himself known to the world, the pseudonym under which it was thought decorous to veil his real style and title. His shepherds might preserve their costume, but their conversation turned on any thing which might be uppermost in his own mind, or in that of the public, the controversies of the Church,⁶ or the death of a royal personage. It was not to be expected that a thing so purely artificial could outlive that general questioning of the grounds of poetical excellence, which accompanied the far wider convulsions at the end of the last century. Whether it is now to be registered as an extinct species, at least in England, is perhaps a question of language rather than of fact. The poetry of external nature has been awakened into new and intenser life, and the habits of the country are represented to us in poems, reminding us of the earliest and best days of the *Idyl*: but the names of *Eclogue* and *Pastoral* are heard no longer, nor is it easy to conceive of a time when the associations connected with them are likely again to find favour with Englishmen.

For this corruption probably no writer is so heavily chargeable as Virgil. Changes of the kind, it is true, are attributable as much to the general condition of the intellectual atmosphere as to any individual source of infection; the evil too had begun, as has been already remarked, before pastoral poetry had migrated from Syracuse. But in Virgil it at once attained a height which left comparatively little to be done by subsequent writers, though their inferiority in the graces of expression was sure to render the untruthfulness of the conception more conspicuous. They might make their poetical Arcadia, to borrow again the words of Johnson,⁷ still more "remote from known reality and speculative possibility": but it was scarcely in their power to

⁴ See Keightley's note on Virg. *Ecl.* 7. 4.

⁵ Prefatory Epistle to Spenser's "*Shepherd's Calendar*," addressed to Gabriel Harvey.

⁶ The affairs of the Church are touched on in two of Spenser's Pastorals, those for May and September. Ambrose Philips has a Pastoral on the death of Queen Mary.

⁷ *Lives of the Poets*, vol. ii. p. 297. (*Life of Gay*.)

confound worse the confusion which blended Sicily and the *Martian* district into one, and identified Julius Caesar with that *Daphnis* whom the nymphs loved, and whose death drew groans from the lions.

There is something almost unexampled in the state of feeling which at Rome, and in the Augustan age in particular, allowed palpable and avowed imitation to claim the honours of poetical originality. *Pacuvius* and *Accius* are praised not for having called out the tragedy which lies, patent rather than latent, in Roman history and Roman life, nor even for having made the legends which they derived from Greece the subject of original dramas of their own, but specifically for having applied⁸ their wit to the writings of the Greeks, as to so much raw material, and adapted to the Roman stage the entertainments which had alternately delighted and terrified the populace of Athens. *Horace* invites attention to himself,⁹ as an independent traveller along untrodden ground, not as having discovered any measure peculiar to the Latin language, any melody to which the thoughts of his countrymen would naturally vibrate, but as having been the first to display to *Latium* the capabilities of the *Archilochian* Iambic, the *Alcaic*, and the *Sapphic*. So *Propertius*¹ speaks of *Thyrsis* and *Daphnis*, and the rustic presents which shepherd makes to shepherdess, names and things copied precisely from *Theocritus*, as if they were actually a new world to which *Virgil* had introduced him and his contemporaries of the great city. Striking as the phenomenon is, the circumstances of the case enable us readily to account for it. The Roman knew only of a single instance of a national literature in the world: it challenged his allegiance with an undisputed claim, and his only course seemed to be to conform to it, and endeavour so far as he could, to reproduce it among his own people. It seems as if no parallel to such a mental condition could exist in our larger modern experience, where the very number of the models set before us corrects our admiration by distracting it, and forces us, as it were, in

- ⁸ "Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,
Et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent."

(*Hor.* 2 Ep. 1. 161.)

- ⁹ "Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
Non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fudit,
Dux regit examen. Parios ego primus iambos
Ostendi Latio."

(*Hor.* 1 Ep. 19. 21.)

- ¹ "Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta *Galaesi*
Thyrsin et attritis *Daphnin* arundinibus,
Utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas
Missus et impressis haedus ab uberibus."

(*Prop.* 3. 26. 67.)

The coarseness of the second couplet is characteristic, showing the sort of charm which *Propertius* found in a poem of rural life.

spite of ourselves, to interrogate that nature which underlies the many varieties of art. Yet we may realize something of the feeling if we go back to the time when the office of a translator ranked as high in English estimation as that of an original poet—when he that drew Zimri and Achitophel was thought to have added to his fame by his versions of Juvenal and Virgil, and the preparation of the English Iliad and Odyssey occupied, perhaps not unworthily, ten of the best years of the mind which had produced the *Essay on Criticism* and the *Rape of the Lock*.

But whatever may be its susceptibility of explanation or illustration the fact is one which requires to be borne in mind by every student of the *Eclogues*. Without the spirit of allowance which we are ready to entertain as soon as we perceive that a peculiarity is not individual or occasional, but general, we should hardly be able to moderate our surprise at the numberless instances of close and indeed servile imitation which an attentive perusal shows us at once. It is one thing to accept broadly the statement that Virgil is a copyist, and quite another to follow him line by line and observe how constantly he is thinking of his guide, looking to him where a simple reliance on nature would have been not only far better, but far more easy and obvious, and on many occasions deviating from the passage immediately before him only to cast a glance on some other part of his model.² Tityrus, Galatea, Amaryllis, Corydon, Thestylis, Menalcas, Damoetas, Amyntas, Aegon, Daphnis, Thyrsis, Micon, Lycidas, are all names to be found in the muster-roll of Theocritus; and of those not included therein there is not one (if we except, what are really no exceptions, actual historical personages) which is not referable to a Greek, perhaps a bucolic original. Corydon addresses Alexis in the language used by Polyphemus to Galatea: boasts in the same way of his thousand sheep and his never-failing supply of milk: answers objections to his personal appearance in the same way by an appeal to the ocean mirror: paints in similar colours the pleasures of a rural life: glances similarly at the pets he is rearing for his love: and finally taxes himself for his folly, and reminds himself that there are other loves to be found in the world, in language which is as nearly as may be a translation from the eleventh Idyl. Menalcas and Damoetas rally each other in words borrowed from two neighbouring Idyls: two others supply the language in which they make their wagers: while a large proportion of the materials for their amoebean display is to be found in the same or other parts of Theocritus, scattered up and down. In the friendly rivalry of Menalcas and Mopsus the depreciation of Amyntas, the grief of the wild beasts for Daphnis, the apotheosis in

² References to the various imitations from Theocritus will be found in the Commentary.

most of its circumstances, the compliments which shepherd pays to shepherd, and the exchange of presents, are all modelled more or less closely after the Doric prototype. Corydon and Thyrsis are perhaps more original: yet even they owe something to Menalcas and Daphnis, as well as to one or two other Sicilian shepherds, not only in the antecedents, but in the contents of their songs; and the eminence to which Corydon is lifted by his success is similar, though inferior, to that attained by Daphnis. The dying Damon, or rather the lover whom Damon personates, recalls in the first part of his complaint the dying Daphnis, in the last the slighted Polyphemus: the enchantress who is represented by Alpheisiboeus is the same who in the second Idyl employs even more charms to bring back Delphis, though the success which this time crowns her efforts is new. Moeris and his companion, like Meliboeus and Tityrus, talk about a subject which, being part of Virgil's personal history, could not but be his own: yet even they supply us with reminiscences from Sicily, partly in the things which they say to each other, partly in their quotations from the poet's unpublished verses. The dying Daphnis reappears once more in the dying or despairing Gallus: the complaint of the lover is indeed his own, but the circumstances which surround him are copied minutely from that song which Thyrsis, the sweet songster from Aetna, sang to the goatherd in the hot noon under the elm. Even this enumeration must fail to give any notion of the numberless instances of incidental imitation, sometimes in a single line, sometimes in the mere turn of an expression, which fill up as it were the broader outlines of the copy. And yet there can be no doubt that Virgil ranked as an original poet in his own judgment no less than in that of his contemporaries, and that on the strength of those very appropriations which would stamp a modern author with the charge of plagiarism. His *Thalia*, he proudly reminds us, was the first who deigned to disport herself in the strains of Syracuse, as that was her first employment. And in the ninth Eclogue, where he grieves by anticipation, tenderly and gracefully enough, over the loss which the pastoral world would have sustained had he died prematurely, of the four fragments of his poetry which are singled out for admiration two are copies from Theocritus, and one of them, the first, so close a copy, and so slight, not to say trivial, in itself, that it can hardly have been instanced with any other view than to remind the reader of his success in borrowing and skilfully reproducing. It is, in fact, an intimation, made almost in express words, that he wished to be considered as the Roman Theocritus.

The impression left by such passages on the mind of a considerate reader is very much that which a modern author, writing without the restraint of verse, would seek to produce by a quotation or a direct re-

ference. It is the commonplace of the art, used by a young artist: the writing at the bottom of the picture for fear the picture should not be recognized; the tones of the master imitated by the pupil because he thinks that there is no other way of speaking correctly. Theocritus might talk generally of the Muses and of bucolic song: to Virgil the Muses must be the Muses of Sicily, and the song the song of Maenalus. Even Bion³ and Moschus, coming after Theocritus, had to appeal to Sicilian associations: how much more one not in possession of the links of sympathy imparted by a common country and common language, and an almost hereditary transmission of the poetical gift? And what is true of Virgil's relation to Theocritus is true to a certain extent of his relation to Greek writers generally and to the whole body of learning which he possessed. He had doubtless lived from boyhood in their world: and their world accordingly became a sort of second nature to him—a storehouse of life and truth and beauty, the standard to which he brought conceptions and images as they rose up within him, the suggestive guide that was to awaken his slumbering powers, and lead him to discover further felicities yet possible to the artist. This habit of mind perhaps strikes us most in cases where it is most slightly and, it would almost seem, unconsciously indicated. More than one writer has remarked on Virgil's practice of characterizing things by some local epithet, as a peculiarity by which he is distinguished from the earlier Latin poets. Doubtless in many instances there is some special reason for the choice of the word: it may point to some essential attribute of the thing, or some accidental connexion with time and place which has a real significance in the context. But there are others where it is not easy to perceive any such relevancy. What appropriateness can there be in describing the hedge which separates Tityrus' farm from his neighbour's as having its willow-blossoms fed upon by the bees of Hybla⁴, or in the wish that the swarms which Moeris has to look after may avoid the yews of Corsica⁵? The epithet here is significant not to the reader but to the poet, or to the reader only so far as he happens to share in the poet's intellectual antecedents: it appeals not to a first-hand appreciation of the characteristics of natural objects, such as is open to all, but to information gained from reading or travel, and therefore confined to a few. And from what we know of the facts of Virgil's

³ λῆς νύ τί μοι, Λυκίδα, Σικελὸν μέλος ἄδῃ λιγαίνειν,
 ἱμερόεν, γλυκύθυμον, ἐρωτικόν, οἷον δ' κύκλωψ
 ἔειπεν Πολύφαμος ἐπ' ἔσθῃ τῇ Γαλατείῃ;
 (Bion, 2. 1.)

ἔρχετε, Σικελικαί, τῷ πένθεος, ἔρχετε, Μοῖσαι.

(Moschus, 3. 8.)

Moschus, however, was himself a Syracusan.

⁴ Ecl. 1. 55.

⁵ Ecl. 9. 30.

life we may safely conclude that, at the time of the composition of the Eclogues at any rate, his associations were those of a student, not those of a tourist. Nor would it be just to stigmatize the predilection which this indicates as merely conventional. It may be narrow, but within its limits it is genuine. There are some minds which are better calculated, at least in youth, to be impressed by the inexhaustibleness of Art than by the infinity of Nature. They may lack the genial susceptibility which in others is awakened immediately by the sight of the world without, and they may not have had time to educate their imperfect sympathies into a fuller appreciation; but they respond without difficulty to the invitations of natural beauty as conveyed to them through an intervening medium, adapted by its own perfection for the transmission of the perfection which exists beyond. They see with the eyes of others, not with their own; but their soul nevertheless receives the vision. Over such minds the recollection of a word in a book has the same power which others find in a remembered sight or sound. It recalls not only its own image, but the images which were seen in company with it: nay, it may touch yet longer trains of association, and come back upon the memory with something like the force of the entire body of impressions originally excited by the work which happens to contain it. Even those who have held more direct intercourse with nature are not insensible to the operation of this secondary charm. Can any one who reads Milton doubt that the mere sound of the stately names of classic history and mythology exercised a real influence on the poet's fancy? And Mr. Tennyson has given us a testimony⁶ to the constraining magic of Virgil's own language, where he speaks of himself as haunted during his journey from Como not by the thought of the overflowing lake, but by the 'ballad-burthen music' of *Lari Maxume*.

It is not, however, the existence of imitation alone, considered merely as imitation, that makes us speak of the Eclogues as unreal. Imitation involves the absence of reality, just as translation does, simply because the thing produced is not original: but it need not imply its destruction. But with the Eclogues the case is different. It is not merely that Virgil formed his conception of pastoral poetry from Greek models, but that he sought to apply it to Roman life. In the vocabulary of poetry, as he understood it, a shepherd was a Sicilian, or perhaps an Arcadian; therefore an Italian shepherd must be spoken of as an Italian Sicilian, and pastoral Italy as Sicilian Italy. Instances of this historical and geographical confusion meet us in every page of the Eclogues. The very fact that the names of the shepherds are invariably Greek would naturally be sufficient to warn us what we are to expect.

⁶ In his poem "The Daisy."

The introduction of men called Meliboeus and Tityrus talking about Rome leaves us no room to wonder at any further mixture of incongruities. Yet the lengths to which this confusion is pushed have been overlooked by the majority of scholars; nor am I aware of any one, with the exception of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* and Mr. Keightley,⁷ who has set the matter in its true light. When Castelvetro, in the sixteenth century, asserted that the favourite trees of the Eclogues, the beech, the ilex, the chestnut, and the pine, do not grow about Mantua, subsequent critics were ready to reply⁸ that the features of the country may have changed in the lapse of centuries, and that surely Virgil must know best. But such reasoning will hardly avail against the absence of the green caves in which the shepherd lies, or the briary crags from which his goats hang, or the lofty mountains whose lengthening shadows remind him of evening. These are the unmistakable features of Sicily, and no illusion of historical criticism will persuade us that they have changed their places, strange as it is to meet them in conjunction with real Mantuan scenery, with the flinty soil of Andes, and the broad, lazy current of the Mincio. The actual Mantua is surrounded by a lake: its pastoral counterpart, like Shakspeare's Bohemia, seems to be on the sea, the stillness of whose waters enables the shepherds to sing undisturbed, as in Theocritus it forms a contrast with the unresting sorrow of the love-sick eucantress. The same rule, if rule it can be called, is observed in the manners and institutions of the shepherds: there is the Italian element, and there is the Sicilian, added, as it were, to make it bucolic. The Pales of the Italians and the Apollo Nomios of the Greeks, as Mr. Keightley again points out, retire together from the country, which the death of Daphnis has left desolate: the two high-days of the shepherds' calendar are the Greek festival of the Nymphs and the Roman Ambarvalia. It seems not improbable that a similar account is to be given of the social position of the shepherds themselves, who, though living on terms of Arcadian equality, appear to be sometimes slaves or hirelings, sometimes independent proprietors: but the status of their brethren in Theocritus is itself a point which is apparently involved in some uncertainty.

Such a systematic confusion of time, place, and circumstance, it will be readily admitted, goes far to justify the way in which Virgil has been spoken of in the opening of this essay as the great corrupter of

⁷ *Quarterly Review*, vol. iii. p. 93; Keightley, *Notes*, p. 15.

⁸ "Fagum dicit pro natura loci: prope Mantuam et in agris Virgillii erant veteres fagi. Cf. *Ecl.* 2.3., 9. 9. Haesserunt nonnulli, quod hodie nullae sunt prope Mantuam, ut Holdsworth et alii. Sed non meminerunt xviii saecula interjecta esse. In Libano hodie cedrorum exigua silva: olim omnis iis abundabat." Spohn, quoted by Wagner on *Ecl.* 1. 1.

pastoral poetry, if by pastoral poetry is meant a truthful dramatic representation of one of the simplest forms of life. How far it vitiates the character of the Eclogues as pure poetry, irrespective of the class to which they profess to belong, is a further question, and one which ought not to be decided till we have seen how much it may involve. If the Eclogues are to be condemned on this ground, it is hard to see how we are to excuse a work like *Cymbeline*. If the somewhat broad shield of the romantic drama is sufficient to cover the latter, room may perhaps be found under it for the former. No incongruity of which Virgil has been guilty can be so glaring or so fatal to those notions of reality which the very form of historical knowledge suggests as that produced by the juxtaposition of the modern Italian, not only with the legendary Briton, but with the Roman of the earlier empire. It is not that the laws of time and circumstance are simply violated, but that they are violated in such a way that the result appears to us inconceivable as well as false, two types, belonging to different periods of the same nation, and as such forming the subjects of an obvious historical contrast, being imagined for the moment to co-exist, not in the other world, as in the various Dialogues of the Dead, where this incongruity enters into the very idea of the composition, but in a world which, if not our own, resembles it in all its essential features as a theatre for human action and passion. Yet criticism seems now to be agreed that the very glaringness of such incongruities, though doubtless attributable as much to ignorance or recklessness as to any profound design, ought only to teach us to divest ourselves of all extraneous prepossessions, and examine the piece as a representation of human nature apart from the conditions of time, just as when we look at some of the early paintings our sense of beauty need not be ultimately disturbed by our consciousness that the actions portrayed in the two parts of the picture are obviously not simultaneous but successive. Virgil, of course, according to our ordinary nomenclature, is a classical, not a romantic poet; but the fact will hardly be held to exclude him from the benefit of a similar plea, if indeed it should not suggest fresh matter for consideration with regard to the laws generally, and probably with justice, supposed to distinguish the two great schools of Ancient and Modern Art.

This, however, is not the only kind of confusion by which the pastoral reality of the Eclogues is disturbed or destroyed. Not only is the Sicilian mixed up with the Italian, but the shepherd is mixed up with the poet. The danger was one to have been apprehended from the first. So soon as pastoral poetry came to be recognized as a distinct species, the men of letters who cultivated it, perhaps themselves grammarians or professional critics, were likely to yield to the temptation of painting

themselves in bucolic colours, instead of copying the actual bucolic life which they saw or might have seen in the country. They started from the position that shepherds, besides being subjects for poetry, were themselves singers and lovers of song; it was not difficult to convert the proposition, and assume that a pastoral singer might be spoken of as a shepherd. A symptom of this failing appears even in Theocritus, in whose seventh Idyl the speaker, describing himself as being in company with a poetical goatherd, modestly declines a comparison with the professed poets Asclepiades and Philetas, thereby intimating that he is himself a professed poet in disguise.⁹ In Moschus the identification is more consciously realized.¹ Bion is bewailed as the ideal herdsman, for whom Apollo and the wood-gods wept, whose strains drew looks of love from Galatea, and whose pipe even the lips of Pan may scarcely touch. Those, however, who wish to see to what extent it may be interwoven with the texture of a series of poems, should look for it in the Eclogues. They will not have very far to seek; indeed it meets them at the very threshold. Nothing but the extreme awkwardness of the manner in which it is introduced into the first Eclogue could have prevented the critics from recognizing it at once. As it is, they have passed it over in their search for something more recondite and more creditable to Virgil. Their view, as elaborated by the latest commentators,² is that Tityrus is a supposed farm-slave, perhaps a bailiff of Virgil's, who, going to Rome to purchase his freedom, receives the welcome assurance that his master's property is to be undisturbed in the general unsettlement; the obvious truth is (I am stating not my own discovery but that of my former coadjutor) that the notions of the enfranchised slave and the poet secured in his farm, the symbol and the thing symbolized, are actually blended together, so that the narrative is at one time allegorical, at another historical, Tityrus going with his earnings to his master, and receiving for answer, "You shall not be dispossessed by my soldiers." The same conventional conception reappears in other places, though it is nowhere else so clumsily managed. Menalcas, the poet-shepherd of the ninth Eclogue, whose strains were so nearly lost to the world, is admitted on all hands to be Virgil himself. In the opening of the sixth, Virgil is once more the shepherd Tityrus, who is taught by Apollo that a shepherd's duty is to make his sheep fat and his verses thin. If Virgil

* οὐ γὰρ πω, κατ' ἔμδν νόον, οὔτε τὸν ἐσθλὸν
 Σικελίδα νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμου, οὔτε Φιλητάν,
 αἰδῶν, βάτραχος δέ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσσω.

(Theocr. 7. 39.)

¹ ὅτι: Βίων τέθνακεν ὁ βουκόλος. (Moschus, 3. 11: but see the whole context.)

² See, for instance, Wunderlich, quoted by Wagner at the end of Heyne's Argument of Ecl. 1.

is a shepherd because he is a poet, his friends, as being poets themselves, or at least friends of a poet, must be shepherds too, and the times upon which he has fallen must be described by pastoral images. Gallus, the soldier and elegiac poet, already introduced among the heroes of mythology in the sixth Eclogue, appears in the tenth as the dying shepherd of Theocritus, languishing under the shelter of a rock, and consoled by the rural gods; he is at the same moment in Italy and in Arcadia, acting with Octavianus against Sex. Pompeius, and bewailing his lost love in the ears of ideal swains. Whatever may be the ultimate source of the inspiration which animates the fourth Eclogue, and whoever the child shadowed forth as the king of the peaceful world, the poem is evidently a description of the new era supposed to be inaugurated in Pollio's consulship by the peace of Brundisium; but the golden age is represented as a golden age of pastoral life, where art is to be nothing and nature every thing, a recollection of the legendary past in Hesiod converted into an anticipation of the historical future. So the Daphnis of the fifth Eclogue is evidently the great Julius, as the similarity of the images to those in the preceding poem is sufficient to show; it is a pastoral poet that celebrates him, and therefore he must be celebrated as a shepherd, wept by all nature in his death, powerful and honoured as a rural god in his immortality. Even where the poems appear at first sight to be purely dramatic and impersonal, the poet is still visible. Menalcas, an actor in the fifth Eclogue, announces himself at the end of it as the author of the second and third; in the ninth an intimation is made from which we infer that the fifth also is really at work, the song of Mopsus no less than his own. The second Eclogue is one which we should gladly believe to be purely ideal, instead of shifting the tradition which professes to verify it: nor need we be anxious to think with Servius that the song of Silenus to the shepherds is really an epicurean lecture delivered by Siron to his pupils. But when we find shepherds rivalling each other for the favour of Pollio, and lampooning Bavius and Maevius, we feel that jealousy for the poet's credit as a painter of life is rather a misplaced sentiment.*

It is as an artist that Virgil appears chiefly to challenge our admiration, as in his other works, so also in the *Bucolics*. The language, indeed, which he puts into the mouths of his pastoral personages is for

* It may be said that in Milton's *Lycidas* the Virgilian confusion of shepherd and poet is turned into mere chaos by the introduction of a third element, the Christian shepherd or minister. There is, however, this difference, that the object, no less than the effect, of the poem is not to describe pastoral life, but to paint student life in pastoral colours. The tenth Eclogue might take the benefit of the same distinction, if we could separate it in our judgment from the rest. Milton's use of mythology might afford another ground for comparison with Virgil: but the subject is too large for a note.

the most part as undramatic as the thoughts which that language expresses are conventional and unreal. In a very few instances he attempts to produce an appearance of rusticity by an archaism, a proverb, a conversational ellipse, a clumsy circumlocution⁴; even there, however, he seems to be copying Theocritus, rather than following the nature which he had seen around him, and the strain in which his shepherds usually converse is scarcely less elaborate than the ordinary diction of the *Georgics* or the *Aeneid*. So in the practice of the Greek poets the bucolic hexameter had a structure of its own⁵: as handled by Virgil it does not differ from the didactic or the epic. Yet a more poetical people than the Romans might be pardoned if they forgot their sense of dramatic propriety in the delight with which they welcomed such specimens of language and versification as those which the *Eclogues* every where exhibit. The tedious labour of the file, the absence of which is deplored by Horace⁶ as fatal to the excellence of Roman poetry, had at last

⁴ See Gebauer's 'De Poetarum Graecorum Bucolicorum, imprimis Theocriti, Carminibus in Eclogis a Vergilio adumbratis, Libri Duo' (Leipsic, 1861), pp. 8 foll., a valuable monograph, of which I believe only the first volume has yet appeared.

There is a passage in Wycherley's recommendatory lines on Pope's *Pastorals* which is worth quoting, not only for its own ingenuity, but as expressing the view taken by Pope and his friends of the language in which pastoral poetry should be written—a view probably not very unlike Virgil's own, *mutatis mutandis*.

"Like some fair shepherdess, the silvan Muse
Should wear those flowers her native fields produce,
And the true measure of the shepherd's wit
Should, like his garb, be for the country fit:
Yet must his pure and unaffected thought
More nicely than the common swain's be wrought:
So with becoming art the player's dress
In silks the shepherd and the shepherdess,
Yet still unchanged the form and mode remain,
Shaped like the homely russet of the swain."

See also Pope's discourse on Pastoral Poetry, prefixed to his *Pastorals*, where he lays down practical rules for bucolic writing, and his ironical comparison of his own *Pastorals* with Phillips' (*Guardian*, No. 40), where the doctrine that shepherds ought to deal in proverbs is not forgotten.

⁵ See Gebauer, pp. 70 foll., where too much is perhaps made of the instances—not more than 240 lines out of the whole number—in which the bucolic caesura is preserved. It is evident that Virgil set no store by it whatever as a necessary law of composition: that he should have employed it in the *Eclogues* more frequently than in the other two poems, is no more than is natural in a young writer just beginning to form his versification, and at the time familiar with the cadence of Theocritus. Gebauer, however, has done good service in pointing out throughout his work instances in which Virgil, without distinctly imitating Theocritus, has taken a hint from him in language or versification. Such inquiries are apt to seem tediously minute: but they cannot be safely overlooked by any one who would really appreciate the art of such a writer as Virgil.

⁶ Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 167, *Ars Poet.* 290.

found an artist who would submit to it without complaining. The finished excellence of his workmanship is a fact which will not be readily impeached or overlooked, though its importance may easily be underrated. We are apt, perhaps, not sufficiently to consider what is involved in the style or diction of poetry. We distinguish sharply between the general conception and the language, as if the power which strikes out the one were something quite different from the skill which elaborates the other. No doubt there is a difference between the two operations, and one which must place a poet like Virgil at a disadvantage as compared with the writers whom he followed ; but it would be a mistake to suppose that imagination may not be shown in the words which embody a thought as well as in the thought which they embody. To express a thought in language is in truth to express a larger conception by the help of a number of smaller ones ; and the same poetical faculty which originates the one may well be employed in producing the other. It is not merely that the adaptation of the words to the thought itself requires a poet's sense, though this is much ; but that the words themselves are images, each possessing, or capable of possessing, a beauty of its own, which need not be impaired, but may be illustrated and set off, by its relative position, as contributing to the development of another and more complex beauty. It is not necessary that these words, in order to be poetical, should be picturesque in the strict sense of the term ; on the contrary, it may suit the poet's object to make a physical image retire into the shade, not advance into prominent light : but the imagination will still be appealed to, whatever may be the avenue of approach—by the effect of perspective, by artful juxtaposition, by musical sound, or perhaps, as we have already seen, by remote intellectual association. The central thought may be borrowed or unreal, yet the subordinate conceptions may be true and beautiful, whether the subordination be that of a paragraph to an entire poem, a sentence to a paragraph, or a phrase or word to a sentence. It is, I conceive, to a perception of this fact, and not to a deference to any popular or mechanical notion of composition, that the praise of style and execution in poetry is to be referred. Poetry is defined by Coleridge⁷ to be the best words in their right places ; and though at the first statement his view may appear disappointing and inadequate, it will perhaps be found that further consideration will go far towards justifying its truth.

If the Augustan age is, as it is allowed to be by common consent, the epoch of the perfection of art as applied to Latin poetry, that perfection is centred in Virgil and Horace. Ovid, the third great representative poet of his time, sufficiently indicates that even then a

⁷ Table Talk.

decline had begun; and Tibullus and Propertius, though free from his faults, are scarcely of sufficient eminence to be regarded as masters in the school of style. But Virgil and Horace, like Sophocles among Greek poets, constitute the type by which we estimate the poetical art of their nation, the mean which every thing else either exceeds or falls short of. It is not that we consciously fix upon any qualities in them which attract our admiration, but rather perhaps, on the contrary, that there seems to be nothing prominent about them; the various requisites of excellence are harmoniously blended, without exaggeration, and the mind receives that satisfaction which refuses to be asked how it came to pass. Their style is sufficiently characteristic not to repel imitation, though with many of its most successful imitators the process is doubtless mainly intuitive: yet, on the other hand, it is not so peculiar as to render imitation an act of ridiculous presumption. Less frequently pictorial than that which preceded it, the style of Lucretius and Catullus, it is at the same time more artistic: single sentences are not devoted to the uniform development of a particular effect, but a series of impressions is produced by appeals made apparently without any principle of sequence to the different elements of the mind, sense, fancy, feeling, or memory, and the task of reducing them to harmony is left to the reader's sympathizing instinct. It is a power which appears to deal with language not by violence, but by persuasion, not straining or torturing it to bring out the required utterance, but yielding to it and, as it were, following its humours. Language is not yet studied for its own sake: that feature belongs to the post-Augustan time of the decline of poetry: but it has risen from subordination into equality, and the step to despotic supremacy is but a short one.

To enumerate the felicities which are to be found in the *Eclogues* would be endless, as it would perhaps be superfluous in an essay intended to be introductory to the perusal of the poem in detail. Where I have been sensible of them, I have generally endeavoured to indicate them in the commentary, though I fear that through brevity and other faults of expression I have not always succeeded in conveying the impression I desired. The chief instance, in my judgment, of sustained and systematic art is that presented by the fourth *Eclogue*, to the notes on which I would accordingly beg to refer the reader. In this place, however, it may be worth while to illustrate my meaning by a brief review of those passages in the *Eclogues* in which external nature is represented as in sympathy with the joys and sorrows of pastoral life. The frequent repetition of the notion may speak ill for Virgil's capacity of invention: the variety with which it is presented, extending not merely to form, but to colour, is a signal witness to the modifying power of his fancy. Let us look at the two passages, in some sort

parallel, where pines and springs call for the absent Tityrus, and where mountain and vineyard shout in the ears of Menalcas the apotheosis of Daphnis. The former, properly understood, seems to be a piece of graceful raillery, reminding the gardener that while he was away his trees were undressed, and the boars, perhaps, wallowing in his springs. The latter has a grandeur about it recalling the sublimity of Jewish prophecy, at the same time that we are apparently intended to think not only of nature endowed with human feeling, but of actual human joy, the joy of the traveller on the mountain and of the vine-dresser under the rock. Even the epithet *intonsi montes* would seem to have a double reference: in one of its aspects it suggests the notion of a pathless wild, and thus brings out the universality of the rejoicing: in another it makes us feel with nature as it were against man, representing the mountains as glorying in that strength which nature gave and the reign of Daphnis will secure to them, as the fir-trees and cedars in Isaiah exult over the king of Babylon, "Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us." So the same changes in the order of nature are named at one time among the glories of the coming golden age, at another as effects of a general curse, which is to transfer the rights of the strong and beautiful to the weak and contemptible. Under the reign of Daphnis the wolf is to spare the sheep: in the youth of the new-born ruler of the earth the oak is to distil honey: Pollio and his admirer are to dwell in a dream-land where spices grow on the bramble: yet it is in images like these that Damon hurls his dying scorn at the world where he has been robbed of his love. What can be more significant than the apparently casual epithet *arguta*, applied in the very first line of the seventh Eclogue to the tree under which Corydon and Thyrsis are about to sing? Or let us take the passage which serves as a comment on that epithet, the lines on Maenalus in Damon's song. Lucretius,^a in his account of the origin of society and civilization, tells us that pastoral music must have been in the first instance an imitation of the sound of the wind among the reeds: but the thought gains indefinitely when it is localized and transferred to Maenalus, "whose forests are ever tuneful and his pines ever vocal, who is ever listening to the loves of shepherds, and to Pan, the first who would not have the reeds left unemployed." The personification of the mountain gives both definiteness and majesty to the conception: the very fact that the connexion between vocal woods and shepherds' songs is hinted rather than expressed is an advantage even philosophically: and the mention of Pan supplies that mythological framework to which the theories of the ancients on the history of man primeval owe so much, not only of beauty, but of sub-

^a Lucr. 5. 1382 foll.

stance. A minute analysis of the language of the Eclogues is in truth a school of poetical criticism; and though the subtilty and complexity of the images involved may induce a practice of over-refining on the part of the inquirer, yet experience, I think, will show that the danger of giving Virgil credit for more than he had in his mind is far less than would be supposed by an ordinary reader.

[It is not possible to decide with certainty the date either of the composition of each Eclogue, or of the publication of the whole work. Virgil himself, at the end of the fourth Georgic, speaks of the Eclogues generally as the work of his youth, and this agrees with the statement of Asconius (quoted by Probus and Servius⁹) that he wrote the Bucolics in his twenty-ninth year (42 B.C.). The Eclogues themselves do not offer very much in the way of internal evidence. If the fifth Eclogue refers to Julius Caesar, it may be assigned to the year 43 or 42 B.C. In any case there is no doubt that the second and third are earlier than the fifth, and the fifth again than the ninth. The ninth cannot on any hypothesis be dated later than the year 40, and I have attempted to show in an *excursus* on this poem that it was written before the first, and immediately after the territorial confiscations of 41 B.C. The first cannot have been written earlier than the year 40, and may have received its finishing touches later. Virgil speaks there not only of the restoration of his farm, but of altars which he has erected in honour of Octavianus. Divine honours were not, so far as we know, publicly decreed to Octavianus by the towns of Italy until 36 B.C. (Appian 5. 132). It is uncertain whether the language of the first Eclogue warrants us in inferring that they were paid to him by private individuals before this date, or whether the verses in question were added by Virgil as late as 36, or whether the whole poem should be assigned to this year.

The date of the fourth Eclogue is fixed by that of Pollio's consulship (40 B.C.), the eighth may with almost equal certainty be assigned to 39, and the tenth has with much probability been referred to 37. The date of the seventh is unknown, and that of the sixth quite uncertain.

Suetonius (*Vita Vergilii*, 25), and after him Servius, say that Virgil wrote the Eclogues in three years: a statement probably based on the fact that the first Eclogue may be assigned to 40, and the last to 37 B.C.

Schaper, followed by Bachrens, believes that the fourth, sixth, and tenth Eclogues were written in the year 27-25 B.C. and inserted by Virgil in a second edition of the *Bucolica*. I agree with Ribbeck in thinking that there are no solid grounds for this hypothesis. There is

⁹ Probus, *Life of Virgil*, and preface to Commentary on the Eclogues: Servius, preface to Commentary on the Eclogues, and notes to Ecl. 1, 29, Georg. 4 fin.

no hint in Suetonius or any other ancient authority¹ of a second edition of the Eclogues. The fourth Eclogue was referred by all the ancient commentators to the consulship of Pollio, the name of Pollio stands in the text, and can only be removed by violence. There is nothing again, either in the style or the matter of the sixth or tenth Eclogues, which can fairly be held to justify so strange a breach with an excellent historical tradition.—H. N.]

There seems no reason to doubt that the order in which the Eclogues now stand is that in which Virgil himself arranged them, whatever bearing that may have on the question of their relative dates. The last line of the fourth Georgic, as Wagner remarks, even without the support of a similar notice by Ovid, establishes the fact that the first Eclogue was intended to stand first and give, as it were, its tone to the whole; the exordium of the tenth Eclogue speaks for itself. For the titles of the various Eclogues, varying as they do in the different MSS., the grammarians are doubtless to be held responsible. The name *Eclogae*, which signifies merely select poems², in this case the portions of the Bucolic volume, is to be referred to the same authority.

Recent German critics, such as Gebauer, in the treatise already referred to, and Ribbeck, have supposed themselves to have found the traces of symmetrical arrangement, amounting to something like strophical correspondence, throughout the Eclogues. That such a principle was present to Virgil's mind during the composition of some of them, the structure of the amoebean part of Eclogues 3, 5, 7, and 8 is sufficient to prove: nor does it seem an accident that the scraps of songs quoted in Eclogue 9 fall into two pairs of three and five lines respectively; but that is no reason for seeking symmetry in the Eclogues which are not amoebean, and torturing the text in order to bring it out.³ It is true that the sense is more frequently ended with the line in the Eclogues

¹ Servius, in his *Life*, says, it is true, "*carmen Bucolicum . . . eum constat triennio scripsisse et emendasse.*" But the word *emendasse* (used also by Servius of the Georgics) means only that Virgil put the finishing touch to the Eclogues, as he was prevented by death from doing to the Aeneid.

² See Forcellini s. v. *Ecloga*. The irrelevancy of the term as applied to pastoral poetry led Petrarch to a curious emendation, *Eglogues*, which he accordingly gave as the title to his own Pastorals; and Spenser, among others, followed the example. Johnson, who remarks (*Life of A. Philips*) that the word can only mean 'the talk of goats,' not, as it was intended, 'the talk of goatherds,' might have remarked further, that no such formation could have existed in Greek. The French spelling *Eglogues* may be otherwise explained.

³ Gebauer's theory obliges him in E. 10. 32, 33 to put a full stop after 'periti,' connecting the second 'Arcades' with the words that follow. Most readers will, I think, feel that the rhythmical beauty of 'soli cantare periti Arcades' is worth far more, to modern apprehensions at least, than any gain that can be supposed to accrue from the strophical arrangement of an entire Eclogue.

than in the Georgics or Aeneid, so that the appearance of an imperfect parallelism is sometimes produced; but without stopping to inquire whether this may be connected with any tradition of bucolic music, which, though not accepted by Virgil as an invariable law, may still have influenced him, we may account for it sufficiently by considering that the hexameter, as handled by Lucretius and Catullus, is apt to present the same phenomenon of unbroken monotony, and that Virgil's earliest attempts at versification would naturally be characterized by a greater uniformity of cadence than his latest. In any case there can be no justification for resorting, as Ribbeck has done, to the hypothesis of interpolations on the one hand, and *lacunae* on the other. It is the trustworthiness of the MSS. that has preserved to us proofs of symmetry which had been overlooked for centuries, as in Eclogues 5 and 8; surely their authority is to be equally respected where they refuse to disclose any such proofs, especially when the two classes of cases are seen to be separated by an intelligible line.



P. VERGILI MARONIS
B U C C O L I C O N
LIBER.

ECLOGA I.
TITYRUS.

MELIBOEUS. TITYRUS.

THE historical groundwork of this Eclogue is the assignment of lands in Italy by the triumvirs to their veterans, in 713 A.U.C. The "Spoliation," says Mr. Merivale (*History of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii. p. 222), "spread from the suburban lands to remote tracts, from municipal to private possessions. Even loyalty to the Caesarian party proved of no avail: the faithful Mantua shared the fate of its neighbour, the disaffected Cremona; and the little township of Andes, Virgil's birthplace, in the Mantuan territory, was involved in the calamities of its metropolis." The story, as drawn out from Suetonius' *Life* and the scattered notices in Servius' *Commentary*, is that Virgil went to Rome on the seizure of his property, and obtained from Octavianus a decree of restitution, which however was resisted and nearly rendered ineffectual by the violence of the new occupant, referred to in the ninth Eclogue, so that a second appeal for protection had to be made. That the poet's inheritance was twice threatened seems evident from Eclogue 9, vv. 7 foll., while we know from the present Eclogue that on one occasion he received an assurance of protection from Octavianus himself, and it may be inferred from other passages that Alfenus Varus, the legatus in the Cisalpine after the battle of Perusia, if not his predecessor C. Asinius Pollio, interfered on Virgil's behalf. These facts agree sufficiently well with the traditional account, at the same time that they do not enable us to decide on all its details, even as contained in the abbreviated summary just given. [See, however, the *Excursus* on the ninth Eclogue.—H. N.]

The speakers in the Eclogue are two shepherds, one of whom is enjoying rustic life, singing of his love and seeing his cattle feed undisturbed, when he is encountered by the other, who has been expelled from his homestead and is driving his goats before him, with no prospect but a cheerless exile. This is simple enough, but it is complicated by an unhappy artifice. The fortunate shepherd is represented as a farm slave who has just worked out his freedom: and this emancipation is used to symbolize the confirmation of the poet in his property. The two events, with their concomitants, are treated as convertible with each other, the story being told partly in the one form, partly in the other. See vv. 41 foll. and notes. This confusion arises from the identification of the shepherd and the poet, spoken of in the Introduction

to the Eclogues: but in the present case its very grossness has prevented its being observed by the editors, who suppose Tityrus, like Moeris in Ecl. 9, to be Virgil's 'villicus,' who goes to Rome to purchase his liberty of his master, and there hears from Octavianus that his master's property is safe—a cumbersome hypothesis, and not really reconcilable with the language of the Eclogue. The earlier commentators, such as La Cerda and Catrou, did not feel this difficulty, but they created one for themselves in the shape of an allegory, according to which Tityrus' two partners, v. 30, stand for Rome and Mantua respectively. Trapp, in rejecting the allegory, himself supposes that the change of partners is intended to intimate a change of parties, Virgil's abandonment of the cause of the republicans for that of the triumvirs.

The scenery, as in other Eclogues, is confused and conventional, the beeches (v. 1), caverns (v. 75), mountains (v. 83), and rocks (vv. 15, 47, 56, 76) belonging to Sicily, while the marshy river (v. 48) is from Mantua. See Introduction to the Eclogues, p. 9. In other respects the poem appears to be original, only the names Tityrus, Galatea, and Amaryllis, being borrowed from Theocritus.

*M. TITYRE, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
Sylvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena;
Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva:
Nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.*

5

1—5.] 'How is it that while I am wandering an outcast from my native fields, you are lying in the shade and singing like a happy shepherd of your mistress?'

1.] Of the three principal MSS., the Medicean, the Palatine, and the Roman, the first is defective till we come to E. 6. 48.

Tityrus (*τίτυρος*) is one of the Theocritean shepherds (Theocr. 3. 2. foll.). The word is apparently the Doric form of *Σίτυρος*, being applied in the same way to designate a kind of tailed ape, and perhaps a goat. Another account, that it means a reed, was also received among the ancient critics (Schol. on Theocr. l. c.) and is to some extent supported by the words *τίτύρινος* (*αἰλός*), *τίτυριστής*; but these may be explained by supposing that the name had come to have a conventional sense as a shepherd or rustic minstrel.

2.] 'Sylvestrem,' pastoral; as 'silvae' is used for pastoral poetry, 4. 3. Forbiger observes that the Italians pasture their cattle in summer among the woody slopes of the mountains. 'Sylvestrem Musam' is from Lucr. 4. 589, "Fistula sylvestrem ne cesset fundere Musam." ['Tenui,' = 'humili' (Serv.) 'subtili' (Schol. Bern.)—H. N.] Comp. 'Agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam," 6. 8, where it is evident from the context that 'tenui' is meant to be in keeping with 'agrestem,' and to suggest the notion of simplicity

and humility, at the same time that it is a natural epithet of the reed, like 'fragili cicuta,' 5. 85. 'Musam:' the Muse had come to be used for the song personified as early as Sophocles and Euripides, and the usage is frequent in Theocr. 'Meditaris,' compose. Comp. Hor. 1 S. 9. 2, "Nescio quid meditans nugarum et totus in illis." 'Avena,' not a straw (which would be absurd), but a reed, or perhaps a pipe of reeds, hollow like a straw. So 'stipula,' of a reed, 3. 27, though the word there is designedly contemptuous. Milton, however, in his *Lycidas* talks seriously of 'the oaten flute,' as he talks contemptuously of 'pipes of wretched straw.'

3.] "Patrios fines," v. 67.

4.] He repeats the contrast in an inverse order, so that we shall perhaps do best to put with Jahn a semicolon after v. 2, a colon after v. 3. Gebauer, p. 55, well remarks that this repetition is after the manner of Theocritus, comparing Theocr. 9. 1—6, where the editors have been too ready to suspect interpolation. Comp. also Theocr. 8. 23—32. 'Fugimus,' *φεύγουμεν*, are banished from it. 'Lentus' = 'securus.' Comp. Ovid, Her. 19. 81, "Certe ego tum ventos audirem lenta sonantis."

5.] "Resonant mihi Cynthia silvae," Prop. 1. 18. 31, probably in imitation of this passage. ['Formosam,' Asper p. 115. Keil: 'formosam' Pal. Rom. Gud.—H. N.]

T. O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.
 Namque erit ille mihi semper deus; illius aram
 Saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus,
 Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
 Ludere, quae vellem, calamo permisit agresti. 10
 M. Non equidem invideo; miror magis: undique totis
 Usque adeo turbatur agris. En, ipse capellas
 Protenus aeger ago; hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.
 Hic inter densas corylos modo namque gemellos,

6—10.] 'These rural liberties I owe to one whom I shall over own as a god.'

6.] Meliboeus is explained by Servius, *ὅτι μέλει αὐτῷ τῶν βοῶν*, a plausible and indeed obvious etymology, but unsupported by analogy, which would rather point to *μέλει* as the first part of the compound. Perhaps the name was suggested by the geographical Meliboea, and adopted simply from its connexion with *βοῶν*. Comp. Alpheisiboeus. 'Otia,' peace: comp. Hor. A. P. 199, "apertis otia portis." The 'deus' is Octavianus. This is probably mere hyperbole, though it heralds the adulation which treated a living emperor as a god. [See the Introduction to the Eclogues, p. 17.—H. N.]

7.] "Eris mihi magnus Apollo," 3. 104. 'Shall be honoured by me as a god,' softening the expression of the preceding line. Serv. comp. Lucan's adulation of Nero (1. 63), "Sed mihi iam numen." 'Aram,' perhaps from Theoc. Epig. 1. 5, *βαμὸν δ' αἰμάζει κεραὸς πράγος οὔτος δ' μαλλός*.

9.] 'Ille (mihi) permisit boves errare et ipsum ludere,' the infinitives standing in place of an accusative. This must not be confounded with our idiom, 'he permitted my cattle to feed at large and me to play,' where 'cattle' and 'me' are datives. 'Errare' implies security, as in Hor. Epod. 2. 13 (quoted by Emmenestius), "Prospetat errantis greges." In E. 2. 21 it implies wealth.

10.] 'Ludere,' frequently used of poetry, G. 1, Hor. 1 Od. 32. 2, half slightly, as of a relaxation. So *παίζειν*.

11—19.] 'Well, I do not grudge you your lot, but I wonder—such peace in the midst of such troubles. You see me wearily driving my flock—one of them has just dropped her young dead—not but that I might have foreseen this. . . . But tell me about this god of yours.'

11.] 'Magis' used for 'potius,' as in Lucr. 2. 428, 869, Catull. 68. 30 (referred to by Keightley), where as here one

assertion is rejected and another substituted; 'not this, but rather that.' 'Non equidem invideo,' *κοῦτοι τι φθονέω*, Theoc. 1. 62, which however refers to giving a present.

12.] 'Turbatur,' the soldiers are spreading confusion. Many MSS., including the Roman, Palatine, and probably the Gudian, have 'turbamur,' which was adopted by Heinsius; but this reading is condemned by Serv., and Quintilian (1. 4. 28) gives 'turbatur.' 'Ipse' contrasted with 'undique totis agris.'

13.] 'Protenus,' onwards; the primary meaning of the word. ['Protinus' Rom. 'Protenus' Pal. and Gud. as in Georg. 4. 1: and so Serv., who explains the word as = 'porro tenus,' seems to have read in his copy or copies. Nonius, p. 375 s.v. 'protinus,' says that wherever Virg. has 'protenus' he uses it in the sense of 'porro, sino intermissione, continuo,' and quotes this passage among others. An artificial distinction was made by some grammarians between 'protenus' and 'protinus,' it being supposed that 'protenus' was used of place, 'protinus' of time (Caper De Orth., p. 100, Keil, Schol. Bern. here). The notion may have arisen from the variation of spelling found in the text of Virg.—H. N.] 'Ager' applies probably both to body and mind. 'Duco,' the rest he drove before him, this one he leads by a cord.

14.] 'Gemellos': the birth of twins increases the disappointment. Emmen. quotes Theoc. 1. 25., 3. 34., where *διδυματόκος* is the epithet of a goat. Such goats were especially valuable from their quantity of milk. The use of 'namque' so late in the sentence is of course peculiar to poetry (comp. A. 5. 733), though it is placed second in a sentence by Livy and later prose writers, unlike 'nam,' which in prose always comes first. ['Corullos' Rom. 'corylos' Pal.—H. N.]

Spem gregis, a ! silice in nuda conixa reliquit. 15
 Saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,
 De caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus.
 Sed tamen, iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.
 T. Urbem, quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeae, putavi
 Stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo saepe solemus 20
 Pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus.
 Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus haedos
 Noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam.

15.] The kids, being dropped on the stony soil, not on grass ground, would naturally die soon after birth. Comp. G. 3. 297, cited by Heyne. 'Spem gregis,' "spemque gregemque simul" G. 3. 473, "spem gentis" ib. 4. 162. Taubmann. 'Silice in nuda' expresses the character of the soil, like 'lapis nudus,' v. 47. To understand it with Keightley of the road paved with 'silex' is scarcely consistent with 'inter densas corylos.' 'Conixa' is stronger than the ordinary 'enixa,' denoting the difficulty of the labour.

16.] From the parallel passage, A. 2. 54 (note), it would seem that 'non' goes with 'laeva,' not with 'fuisset.' 'Laevus,' Gk. *σκαῖος*, in the sense of folly.

17.] 'Memini praedicere,' Madvig, Lat. Gr. § 408. b, obs. 2. 'De caelo tangi' is a phrase for to be struck by lightning, Livy 25. 7, &c. The striking of a thing or person by lightning was an omen of evil: see Cic. De Div. 1. 10—12. Hence the practice of enclosing the 'bidental.' Pomponius says on the authority of the lost works of ancient Grammarians, that the blasting of fruit-bearing trees was ominous, that of the olive being supposed to forebode barrenness, that of the oak banishment. If this could be established, it would fix the 'malum hoc' to be Meliboeus' exile, not the loss of the goat's twins. After this line most editions insert, "Saepe sinistra cava praedixit ab ilice cornix;" but the verse is unknown to all Ribbeck's MSS., and the two chief copies which contain it are not agreed (a strong proof of interpolation), one of them reading "dicebat." It is evidently made up from 9. 15.

18.] 'Da' for 'dic,' as 'accipe' for 'audi,' (Serv.) "Da . . . quae ventrem placaverit esca," Hor. 2 S. 8. 5. 'Iste,' 'tuus.' Several MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) have 'quis' for 'qui.' The difference between the two is not easy to ascertain, the common distinction being that 'quis' asks the name,

'qui,' like 'qualis,' *ποιός*, the nature, while Wagner contends that in Virg. at least 'quis' is generally used in direct questions, 'qui' in indirect. No precise rule is laid down by Madvig (§ 88, obs. 1). Zumpt makes it a question of euphony, and Drakenborch thinks they are used indiscriminately. Nothing can be settled from the present passage, as Tityrus does not reply directly to the question.

19—25.] 'Why, I used to think Rome differed from Mantua only as a dog does from a puppy, but I found it was much more like the difference between a cypress and an osier.' Tityrus begins "ab ovo," in rustic fashion. This seems to have misled Apronianus, who thought Virg.'s deity might be not Octavianus, but Rome.

21.] 'Depellere,' or, in the full expression, 'depellere a lacte,' is to wean, 3. 82, 7. 15, G. 3. 187, &c.: and some take it so here, reading 'quoi' for 'quo,' or even rendering 'quo,' 'for' instead of 'to which.' But the sense requires something equivalent to *going to the city*. 'Pellere,' for driving a flock, is found in 'compellere,' 2. 30, &c. The 'de' need not be explained by supposing that Andes was on a hill, which was not the case: it denotes the destination, as in 'deducere,' 'demittere navis (in portum),' &c. It may have been the custom in Columella's time to sell lambs very young, and it may be the custom now to sell them so young that they are obliged to be carried to the butcher: but these observations, though valuable as illustrations of the text, must not be allowed to override it. Keightley thinks Virg. may have misapprehended the technical sense of the word, not being a practical man: and it might also be suggested that he may have wished to combine the notions of weaning and taking to market.

22.] ['Haedos' Rom., 'aedos' Pal. Gnd. —H. N.]

23.] It may be questioned whether

Verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,
 Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi. 25
M. Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?
T. Libertas; quae sera, tamen respexit inertem,
 Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat;
 Respexit tamen, et longo post tempore venit,
 Postquam nos Amaryllis habet, Galatea reliquit. 30
 Namque, fatebor enim, dum me Galatea tenebat,
 Nec spes libertatis erat, nec cura peculi:

'parvis componere magna' means to compare cities with dogs and goats, i.e. to argue from the latter to the former, or to compare the larger member of a class with the smaller: but the latter is more natural, and recommended by 'solebam.' 'Sic' then becomes emphatic; 'such were the comparisons I made.' Hdt. 2. 10 has *σικρά μεγάλοι συμβαλλέειν*, Thuc. 4. 36, *μικρὸν μέγαλον εἰκάζει*. "Si parva licet componere magnis," G. 4. 176, of the bees and the Cyclopes.

24.] 'Extulit' seems to have a present force = 'elatum gerit.' Comp. A. 2. 257, 10. 262, notes. But it might be explained with reference to the time when Tityrus visited Rome and was undeceived—'I found her raising.'

25.] The cypress, though not indigenous to Italy (Pliny 16. 79), was common there in Virgil's time, so that Keightley goes too far in censuring this allusion to it as unnatural in the mouth of a shepherd. Tityrus means to say in effect that he found the difference, one not of degree, but of kind.

26.] 'And what took you to Rome?'

27—35.] 'I went to buy my freedom, for which I had neglected to lay by during the better years of my life, while I had an unthrifty helpmate.'

27.] Slaves saved their peculium to buy their freedom; and of course the less 'inertes' they were the sooner they got the necessary sum. Tityrus, a farm-slave or bailiff, having saved enough, goes up to buy his freedom from his owner, and the owner of the estate, who is living at Rome. Nothing can be less happy than this allegory in itself except the way in which it is introduced in the midst of the reality—the general expulsion of the shepherds, and the exemption of Tityrus through the divine interposition of Octavianus—which ought to appear through the allegory and not by the side of it. With 'sera, tamen respexit' Spohn comp. Prop. 4. 4. 5, "Sera,

sed Ausoniis veniet provincia virgis," id. ib. 15. 35, "Sera, tamen pietas."

28.] 'Candidior,' growing gray. There is some appropriateness, as Forb. remarks, in this manner of indicating time, as manumitted slaves shaved their beards. Serv., supposing Tityrus to be the youthful Virgil, suggests to take 'candidior' with 'libertas,' and so Wakefield. Note the difference of the tenses joined with 'postquam' here and in v. 30. 'Cadebat,' a continuing act now completed; 'habet,' an act still continuing; 'reliquit,' an act completed at once.

29.] 'Respexit tamen;' this repetition of words, so common in all poets, ought not to have led Heyne to suspect the genuineness of the line. ['Pos tempore' Pal. originally: see Lachmann on Lucr. 4. 1186, 1252.—H. N.]

30.] 'Since I got rid of the extravagant Galatea and took to the thrifty Amaryllis.' These were doubtless successive partners (contubernales) of the slave Tityrus. A pastoral, especially when drawn from slave life, must have its coarser sides, and this change of partners is one of them. 'Galatea' in Theocr. (Idyls 6 and 11) is a Nereid beloved by Polyphemus; and so she is elsewhere represented by Virg. (7. 37., 9. 39), though here he borrows her name for Amaryllis' predecessor. 'Amaryllis' (*ἀμαρύλλισσα*), Theocr. 3. 1.

32.] 'Peculium,' here used for the private property of slaves, on which see Dict. Ant. s. v. Servus (Roman). Comp. Sen. Ep. 8. v. (quoted by Lipsius on Tac. A. 14. 42), "Quam (servitutem) mancipii quoque condicionis extremæ et in his sordibus nata omni modo exuere conantur; peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant." In the country it would naturally consist in cattle, even after the etymology of the word had been forgotten: and so 'victima . . . meis saeptis.' In Horace's appropriation of the words, A. P. 330, 'peculium'

Quamvis multa meis exiret victima saeptis,
 Pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi,
 Non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat. 35
M. Mirabar, quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares,
 Cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma:
 Tityrus hinc aberat. Ipsae te, Tityre, pinus,
 Ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant.
T. Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat, 40
 Nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos.

perhaps refers, as Mr. Long suggests, to the property which children might hold with their father's leave.

33.] It is said by Fronto that 'victima' denotes the larger beasts, 'hostia' the smaller. 'Saeptis,' fences or enclosures. Varro (R. R. I. 14) "De saeptis, quae tutandi causa fundi fiunt." Here it = 'ovilibus,' just as the voting enclosures in the Campus Martius were called both 'saepta' and 'ovilia.'

34.] 'Ingratae,' because it did not pay him for his trouble. "Animi ingrata naturam pascere semper," Lucr. 3. 1003. All that Tityrus did in those days seemed to be thrown away. 'Pinguis' with 'caseus,' not, as some have thought, with 'victima.' The less important thing requires an epithet to dignify it. Spohn refers to Colum. 7. 8, from which it would seem that 'pinguis' would denote a cream cheese as distinguished from one made with milk ('tenui liquore').

35.] So the author of the *Moretum*, v. 83, "Inde domum cervice levis, gravis aere, redibat." For this traffic with the country town, comp. G. 1. 273., 3. 400. Tityrus blames the unthrift of Galatea and his own recklessness which made him take no sufficient pains about making money by his produce, though he took it from time to time to Mantua. There is no reason to suppose that he squandered his earnings directly on Galatea, which would only complicate the passage, being not quite consistent with the blame thrown on the town, v. 34.

36—39.] 'I remember well how you were missed, both by Amaryllis and by the property under your charge, though I did not then know you were away.'

37.] Amaryllis, in her sorrow, had forgotten her careful habits. She left the fruit hanging for Tityrus, as if no hand but his ought to gather it. 'Sua' is well illustrated by Forb. from 7. 54, "Strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore

poma;" G. 2. 82, "Miratur . . . non sua poma;" and A. 6. 206, "quod non sua seminat arbor." For 'poma' Rom. originally had 'mala:' in Gud. too 'poma' appears in an erasure. 'Poma' may have been introduced from a recollection of 7. 54.

38.] 'Aberat:' the short syllable lengthened by the stress which the pause in the verse gives, as in 3. 97, &c. [See the *Excursus* at the end of the third volume.—H. N.] 'Ipsae:' no one, except perhaps Voss, who expresses himself inconsistently, seems to have perceived the meaning of this and the following line, which is not, according to one of Voss's explanations, that Amaryllis made all nature echo with her cries (in which case the enumeration of the different objects would be jejune), nor yet simply, according to the common view, that all nature sympathized with her, as in 5. 62 mountains, rocks, and trees rejoice in Daphnis' apotheosis, or as in 10. 13 bay-trees, tamarisks, and the pine-crowned Maenalus weep for Galus, an image which would be too great for the present occasion; but that the various parts of nature called him back, because all suffered from his absence, pines (comp. 7. 65), springs (comp. 2. 59., 5. 40), and orchards, all depending on his care. Thus there is a playfulness in the passage, which Virg. doubtless meant as a piece of rustic banter.

40—45.] 'I could not help leaving them both; my only chance was by getting to Rome. And there it was that I saw my deity, a glorious youth, to whom I pay divine honours. From his lips I received a firm assurance of security.'

40.] 'Alio modo,' or something equivalent, is to be supplied from 'alibi' in the next verse.

41.] Virg. seems to be trying to blend the two ideas of the slave's master and Octavianus with each other. 'Praesens' applied to a god means not so much pro-

Hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboeë, quot annis

Bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant :

Hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti :

Pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri ; summittite tauros. 45

M. Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt,

Et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus

pitious as powerful to aid ; the power of a heathen god being connected with his presence. Hence the word is applied to a powerful remedy, G. 2. 127.

42.] There is no getting over the confusion between the slave going to buy his freedom of his master and the ejected freeholder going to beg restitution of Octavianus. V. 45 is quite inapplicable to the case of the slave. Octavianus is called 'iuvenis' again G. 1. 500, as also by Hor. 1 Od. 2. 41. Juv. 5. 45 gives the same appellation to Aeneas (comp. A. 9. 88). ['Quodannis' Pal. and originally Rom. —H. N.]

43.] 'Bis senos dies,' i. e. twelve days in the year [perhaps once in a month. —H. N.]. The critics say that Octavianus was to be worshipped among the lares (Hor. 4 Od. 5. 34, "et Laribus tuum Miscet numen"); but Cato R. R. 148 says that the "Lar familiaris" is to be worshipped on all the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, which would make thirty-six days in all. The present 'fumant' is used because the sacrifices, which Tityrus intends to be annual, have already begun.

44.] For 'responsum' as an answer to a petitioner, comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 55, "Iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi Nuper et Indi." 'Primus' denotes the anxiety with which the response was sought ; it does not imply that any one else could have given it. Comp. A. 7. 117, "Ea vox audita laborum Prima tulit finem." 'It was here that he gave me my first assurance.'

45.] 'Pueri' is the common phrase for slaves, like *παῖς* in Greek, and 'child' in old English. But observe how the allegory is sustained. Tityrus goes to Rome with his money and asks his master to emancipate him : his master answers, 'You shall not be turned out of your land by my veterans.' 'Summittite,' to raise for breeding or propagation, both of animals and plants. Comp. G. 3. 73, 159, and instances from the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae* in Forcell. It should perhaps be strictly 'summittite vitulos' as in G. 3. 159 ; but 'taurus' for 'vitulus' is a very slight impropriety of expression, and indi-

cates, moreover, the reason for which they were bred. Feeding cattle and breeding them is a very natural description of the grazier's business. Some have taken 'summittite' as 'summittite iugo,' i. e. 'domate,' and the line as an exhaustive description of farming. [Non. p. 389 M. takes 'summitto' here and in Georg. 3. 73 as = 'admitto,' and so Serv. on Georg. 3. 73.—H. N.]

46—53.] 'Yes, you are happy ; poor as your land may be, you can enjoy it undisturbed and be content. Your flocks will be healthy, and you will live in the shade by the water, lulled by the hum of the bee, the song of the vine-dresser, and the cooing of the dove.'

46.] 'Tua' is a predicate, like 'magna.' Wagn. refers to the phrase 'meum est,' as in 9. 4. But 'manebunt' is also a predicate, 'It is yours and yours for ever.'

47.] You (Tityrus or Virgil) are content with your farm, though it is all covered with stones, and full of pools and rushes (so that no soldier need envy you its possession). 'Palus' is probably the overflowing of the Mincio ; comp. 7. 13. 'Omnia' can hardly be taken with 'pascua' ; it must mean the whole farm, while the latter part of the description applies only to the pastures by the river. This disparaging clause presents a difficulty, which some have got rid of by supposing the words to refer to the condition not of Tityrus' own property, but of the lands about him, as in v. 12 ; while others, seeing rightly that this was not the natural meaning of the sentence, have fancied that Meliboeus is made to speak in the character of a half-jealous neighbour, that so the poet may be able prudently to depreciate his own good fortune. That the feeling expressed is really the poet's, is likely enough ; but it seems more natural to attribute its expression not to artifice, but to simplicity. Virg. puts the praise of his happy lot into the mouth of a neighbour whose distresses enable him to speak feelingly, and then goes on to dwell on his contentment in spite of drawbacks, forgetting that such an utterance of satisfaction would come appropriately from

Limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco !
 Non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas,
 Nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent. 50
 Fortunate senex, hic, inter flumina nota
 Et fontis sacros, frigus captabis opacum !
 Hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes .
 Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
 Saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro ; 55
 Hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras ;
 Nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes,

himself alone. It seems scarcely worth while with Keightley to connect the clause with what follows, 'quamvis . . . non insueta,' &c., though perhaps the change would be a slight gain.

49.] 'Temptabunt,' poison: so of a disease, G. 3. 441. The sense of 'fetus' has been doubted, as it may either mean pregnant or just delivered: but it appears to be fixed to the former meaning by the epithet 'gravis,' which must be equivalent to 'gravidas,' as in A. 1. 274.

50.] 'Mala,' malignant; "malum virus" G. 1. 129. So the Homeric *κακή νόσος*: "mala scabies," Hor. A.P. 453, of a contagious disorder.

51.] 'Flumina nota,' Mincio and the Po, if we are to be precise.

52.] 'Fontis sacros,' from the pretty superstition which assigned a divinity to every source and spring. So *ἱερὸν ὕδωρ*, Theocr. 7. 136, "Stratus . . . ad aquae leue caput sacrae," Hor. 1 Od. 1. 22. 'Captabis,' 2. 8.

53.] The supposed perplexities attending the construction of this sentence are all removed by Weise's suggestion of making 'quae semper' an elliptical relative clause in the sense of 'ut semper' (G. 15), like "quae proxima, litora" A. 1. 167 (note). "Shall lull you to sleep as it has ever done." "Quae" then will be used here for the corresponding adverb 'quemadmodum,' like "quo" A. 1. 8, for "quomodo," "si quem," ib. 181, for "sicubi." 'Vicino ab limite' is thus seen to be an epexegetis of 'hinc,' a mode of expression which Wagn. has supported by various passages, e. g. A. 2. 18, "Huc . . . includunt caeco lateri."

54.] Keightley remarks on 'Hyblaeis,' that it is a favourite practice of the Latin poets of the Augustan and later periods, to give things the name of the people or place famed for them, e. g. 5. 27, 29, 9. 30,

10. 59. It may be set down as one of the characteristics of an artificial school, the writers of which recognize common-places as such, and find the poetry of objects rather in external, especially literary, associations than in any thing which they suggest to the mind directly. 'Salictum,' abbreviated form of 'salicetum,' used in prose as well as poetry. 'Depasta' might very well be used for 'depasta est,' but 'depasta est' could not be used for 'depascitur.'

55.] The 'susurrus' comes partly from the bees, partly from the leaves, the latter as in Theocr. 1. 1, ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἡ πίτυς, αἰόλε, τήνα, 'Α ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι, μελίσσεται.

56.] The 'frondator' (Catull. 64. 41) dressed the trees by stripping them of their leaves, which were used for the fodder of cattle. Comp. 9. 60, and the whole passage G. 2. 397—419. There is no need to settle whether the leaves here meant are those of the 'arbutum,' as the same person would naturally strip all the trees in a farm like that of Tityrus, though we may still illustrate 'alta sub rupe' by comparing G. 2. 522, "Mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis." The words are perhaps from Theocr. 8. 55, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῇ πέτρῃ τῶδ' ἄρουμαι. 'Canet ad auras' fill the air with his song; comp. A. 6. 561, "quis tantus plangor ad auras?" The description, as Spohn remarks, points to the month of August, from the mention not only of the 'frondatio' (comp. G. 2. 400, Col. 11. 2), but of the cooing of the wood-pigeons during incubation. See note on next verse.

57.] 'Tua cura,' 'your delight:' 10. 22, "tua cura, Lycoris." Pliny makes the cooing of the wood-pigeons a sign that autumn is coming on, 18. 267, "Palumbium utique exaudi gemitus. Transisse solstitium caveto putes, nisi cum incubantem videris palumbem."

Nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.

T. Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,

Et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces, 60

Ante, pererratis amborum finibus, exsul

Aut Ararim Parthus bibet, aut Germania Tigrim,

Quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus.

M. At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,

Pars Scythiam et rapidum Cretae veniemus Oaxen, 65

58.] The Romans kept turtle-doves on their farms, Varro R. R. 3. 8, Col. 8. 9, Pallad. 1. 25. 'Ulmo:' "Nota quae sedes fuerat columbis," Hor. 1 Od. 2. 10.

59—63.] 'Yes, nature will change her course, and nations their seats, before I forget my benefactor.'

59.] 'Ergo' is apparently resumptive, as in G. 4. 206 (note), Meliboeus' speech forming as it were a parenthesis. One of the inferior MSS. has 'in aequore' as a various reading; but this (besides its want of authority) would not agree so well with 'leves,' with which Wagn. comp. A. 5. 838., 6. 16. The main idea of this passage is worked up again in a different shape 5. 76, and, in heroic style, A. 1. 607. Its source, as Keightley remarks, is perhaps Hdt. 5. 92, Ἡ δὲ δ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἐνερθε τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐξουσι, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, δτε γε ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ. The last part of this passage may seem to favour the reading 'in aequore.'

60.] 'And fishes shall dwell on the land.' The expression, as Keightley remarks, is not very happy, as there is nothing wonderful in the sea's throwing up the fish on the shore; but Virg. doubtless means to date the new life of the fishes from its commencement. 'Destituent' with 'nudos.'

61.] 'Pererratis amborum finibus' is an obscure expression; but 'pererratis' seems to be i. q. 'perruptis' or 'superatis,' with a reference to the wandering character of the nations. 'Amborum,' of both nations: A. 7. 470, "Se satis ambobus Teucrisque venire Latinisque." 'Exsul' explains 'bibet:' he will live habitually as in his own country.

62.] The Arar (Saône) is a river of Gaul, not of Germany: its source, however, in the high land connected with the Vosges (Vogesus) is not very far from Alsace, which in and before Virg.'s time, as now, was inhabited by Germans.

The ancients, too, frequently confounded the Germans and Celts: see Dict. Geogr. Arar. Germania. At all events the error, whatever it may amount to, is Virg.'s own, and not a dramatic touch of rustic ignorance. Those who make such defences should remember that a poet had better commit a blunder in geography than a platitude.

63.] 'Before I forget the gracious look he gave me.' The notion seems to be that of a god's benign countenance. 'Cultus' is an ingenious, but by no means necessary conjecture. A correction in Pal. has 'labantur.'

64—78.] 'We have to make a change like that you speak of, wandering, it may be, to the ends of the earth. Perhaps I may never see my old home again; or, if I do, it will be in the hands of a brutal alien. I have laboured for another, and I must now bid farewell for ever to the joy of a shepherd's life.'

64.] The thought of migration, as Keightley remarks, is suggested by the mode of expression just employed by Tityrus. 'You can talk of the migration of nations as a synonyme for impossibility; we have to experience it as a reality.' 'Alii' answers to 'pars' strictly in sense, though not in form. So "pars . . . sunt qui," Hor. 1 Ep. 1. 77.

65.] Oaxus or Axus, the O representing the digamma, as the ancient coins of the place show, is a town in Crete, still bearing the name of Axos (Dict. Geogr. Axus). It is mentioned by Hdt. 4. 154, where the MSS. vary between the two forms of the name. A river runs by it, which is doubtless what Virg. intends by Oaxes here. Vibius Sequester mentions it, but he need have had no authority beyond the present passage, as he vouches for the existence of a German Arar to satisfy the exigencies of v. 62. The name Oaxis is given to Crete by Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1131, and Varro Atacinus ap. Serv. translating from him. 'Cretae Oaxen' may be sup-

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.
 En umquam patrios longo post tempore finis,
 Pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen,
 Post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?
 Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit?
 Barbarus has segetes? en, quo discordia civis
 Produxit miseros! his nos consevimus agros!

70

ported by the analogy of the Greek gen. of locality, τῆς Κρήτης εἰς Ὀάξην. Some critics, thinking the context points to a northern river, which might be coupled with Scythia and Britain, and opposed to 'Afri,' have taken Oaxes to be a corruption of Oxus, or real 'Araxen,' the latter hypothesis being favoured by a passage in Claudian, B. Gild. 31, where the MSS. fluctuate between 'Oaxem' and 'Araxem,' while, on the suggestion of Serv., they read 'rapidum cretae' (not 'Cretae'), i. q. 'rapacem cretae,' 'laden with marl,' a use of 'rapidus' with the gen. which has yet to be supported by examples. As in the case of Africa and Britain, Virg. appears to be thinking of a Roman province to which settlers might conceivably be sent. Lands in Crete were given by Augustus to the ejected colonists of Capua. [Schaper now conjectures 'rapidum certe veniemus ad Oxum.'—H. N.]

67.] For 'en' in interrogations where it adds earnestness and emphasis, by invoking attention, see Hand's Tursellinus, 2. 368. The phrase 'en umquam' recurs 8. 7, "En quid ago?" A. 4. 534. So *ἤν* is used before questions in Greek.

68.] 'Tugurium' (supposed to be connected with 'tego,' as the form 'tegurium' appears in inscriptions) is defined by Festus and Pomponius (Dig. 50. 16. 180) to be a rustic, as distinguished from a town, dwelling.

69.] Serv., the Berne Scholia, and the early editors understand 'aristas' as i. q. 'messes,' = 'annos,' a sense found in Claudian 4 Cons. Honor. 372, "decimas emensus aristas," but in no more classical writer. Ribbeck, adopting it, comp. the Greek *ποιά*, and refers to Meineke Anal. Alex. 193 and on Theocr. 3. 31. But there would be considerable flatness in 'longo post tempore' followed by 'post aliquot aristas,' the stronger by the weaker. There is the objection, too, that 'aliquot' would naturally distribute 'aristas,' whereas the equivalent to

'messis' is the plural 'aristas,' not the singular 'arista.' The other alternative is to take 'post' for 'posthac,' which is very awkward after 'longo post tempore,' and construe 'aliquot mirabor aristas,' 'shall I see with wonder a few ears of corn'—the soldiers being supposed to be bad farmers, as in fact they were, and therefore always ready for new civil wars. This would greatly complicate the line, 'aliquot aristas' being in apposition to 'patrios finis' and 'tuguri culmen,' 'mea regna' to 'aliquot aristas.' It is, however, the explanation preferred by Heyne and most modern editors. In that case we must suppose that two feelings are mingled in Meliboeus' question, a longing to return to his home, and a reflection that should he ever do so, he will probably find it impoverished. Mr. Campbell's notion, propounded in his specimens of the English poets, that Meliboeus is speaking of his cottage 'standing behind' a few ears of corn, i. e. with a few ears growing before it, would hardly call for mention if criticism were not reduced to a choice of evils.

70.] 'Impius,' rather generally wicked than stained with civil war. The opposition, as the next lines show, is between the soldiers and the citizens, as if the former were an alien body. The adjective 'novalis' is used substantively both in the feminine and in the neuter. See G. 1. 71. It varies, too, in sense, being sometimes applied to fallow land, which is Varro's definition of it (L. 1. 5. 4. § 39), sometimes to ground unbroken or ploughed for the first time. The latter seems to be its force here, so that there is a rhetorical contrast with 'tam culta'—'the ground which I have broken up for the first time and brought into such excellent cultivation.'

71.] 'Barbarus,' alluding to the Gauls and other barbarians who were now in the Roman armies. Julius Caesar had taken Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards into his service.

72.] Gud. and another of Ribbeck's

Inserere nunc, Meliboeae, pios, pone ordine vitis.
 Ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.
 Non ego vos posthac, viridi proiectus in antro, 75
 Dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo;
 Carmina nulla canam; non, me pascente, capellae,
 Florentem cytisum et salices carpētis amaras.
 T. Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
 Fronde super viridi: sunt nobis mitia poma, 80
 Castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis;
 Et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant,
 Maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

cursive MSS. and some others, have 'perduxit,' which was the reading of the old editions. Heins. restored 'produxit,' Wagn. justly says that there is an important difference in the meaning of the two words. 'Perduxit' would be, 'to what a termination has it brought them;' 'produxit,' 'to what a point.' 'His nos' Pal., Rom. 'En quis,' the common reading, is found in three of Ribbeck's cursives, two of them, including Gud. having it written over an erasure, and in the margin of a fourth. The concurrence of two first class MSS. which do not usually agree seems sufficient to settle the question in the absence of Med.; but the variation is not easy to account for. Rom. has 'agris,' its original reading having been 'consuevimus agris.' It seems best to take the words as an exclamation, expressing the result of 'en quo produxit.'

73.] This sarcastic 'nunc,' with an imperative, is common enough, 'i nunc' being its most usual form, as in Hor. 1 Ep. 6. 17, and many other passages referred to by Jahn on Persius 4. 19. 'With this before you, go on doing as you have done.' Grafting pears and planting vines stand of course for the ordinary operations of husbandry. Both processes are described in G. 2. "Inserere, Daphni, pios," 9. 50, is said seriously.

74.] 'Felix quondam' Rom., 'quondam felix' Pal., Gud., which Ribbeck prefers. 'Ite capellae,' 10. 77. Meliboeus is going.

75.] The farewell here resembles generally, though not verbally, that of Daphnis in Theoc. 1. 115 foll. For goats browsing in the thickets on the rocks, see G. 3. 315. "Pendentis rupe capellas," Ov. ex Ponto, 1. 9.

76.] With 'viridi proiectus in antro' comp. above vv. 1, 4.

77.] 'Me pascente' is merely 'me pastore,' not, as Martyn thinks, that the

goats feed from his hand.

78.] 'Cytisus' is the arborescent lucerne, which is common in Greece and Italy, and a favourite food of cattle and bees. Comp. 2. 64., 10. 30, &c. Keightley remarks that as the cytisus and shallows are plants of the plain, we may suppose that a different rural scene from the former is intended. Where, however, we see Greek and Italian scenery mixed, we may be prepared for confusion and indistinctness in details.

79—83.] 'You had best stay the night with me, sleep on leaves, and sup on apples, chestnuts, and cheese. The smoke announces supper, and the evening is setting in.'

79.] 'Poteris' (similarly used in Hor. 2 S. 1. 16, Ov. M. 1. 679) is explained as though Meliboeus were moving off (comp. v. 75); but it is rather to be compared with 'tempus erat' ("nunc Saliarius Ornare pulvinar Deorum Tempus erat dapibus, sodales," Hor. 1 Od. 37. 2), and *ἐχρήν* for *χρή*. It seems more pressing than the present—'you might as well stay.' Perhaps the account of the idiom is that it treats the time for action as almost gone by, the wrong determination as almost formed, and so implies urgency to change the one and overtake the other. Tibull. 3. 6. 53 has "longas tecum requiescere noctes." The old reading was 'poteris' and 'haec nocte,' but 'poteris' is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS., and the strongest support for 'nocte' is a correction in Pal., which changes 'noctem' into 'nocte,' but leaves 'hanc' unaltered. The invitation is from Theoc. 11. 44 foll. *ἄδιον ἐν τῶντρῳ παρ' ἑμὶν τὰν νύκτα διατῆς*. *Ἐντὶ δάφναι τήναι κ.τ.λ.*

80.] 'On a couch of green leaves.'

81.] 'Molles,' mealy, i. e. when they are roasted.

83.] Comp. 2. 67.

ECLOGA II.

ALEXIS.

A SHEPHERD gives utterance to his love for a beautiful youth, complaining of his indifference, urging him to come and live with him in the country, and finally upbraiding himself for his infatuation.

Parts of this Eclogue are closely modelled after the eleventh Idyl of Theocritus, where the Cyclops addresses Galatea in a similar manner. We should be glad to believe it to be purely imaginary, though even then it is sufficiently degrading to Virgil. Suetonius, however, and Servius, have a story, also referred to by Martial (8. 56, &c.) and Apuleius (Apol. p. 279, ed. Elmenhorst), that Alexis is intended for Alexander, a youth belonging to Pollio (Martial says Maecenas, who can hardly have been then acquainted with the poet), and given by him to Virgil, who is supposed by Spohn to have written the Eclogue as a mark of gratitude to his patron.

Corydon and Alexis are probably fellow-slaves, though it is not easy to reconcile the various passages which seem to refer to Corydon's condition (vv. 2, 20—22, 57), and it is possible that Virgil may not have settled the point in his own mind, Corydon being in fact a mixture of the ordinary Theocritean shepherd and the Cyclops.

The beeches (v. 3) and mountains (v. 5) again point to Sicily, not to Mantua, and Sicily is expressly mentioned in v. 21.

This Eclogue is generally supposed to have been the first written; but, as Keightley remarks, all that can be asserted is, that it was earlier than the fifth, and perhaps than the third (see *Ecl.* 5. 86, 87).

FORMOSUM pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim,
Delicias domini, nec, quid speraret, habebat:
Tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
Adsidue veniebat: ibi haec incondita solus

1—5.] 'Corydon had a hopeless passion for Alexis. Here is one of his solitary love plaints.'

1.] The 'pastor,' as Keightley remarks, was one of the farm-slaves. 'Domini' then, v. 2, will be the common master of Corydon and Alexis. 'Corydon' is a shepherd in Theocr. Idyl 4. Among other instances of 'ardere' for 'perdite amare,' with an accusative, see Hor. 4 Od. 9. 13, "Non sola comptos arsit adulteri Crines." There is a similar use of 'perreo' and 'depereo.' Rom. and Gud. have 'Corydon pastor.'

2.] An instance of rivalry between a slave and his master is mentioned Tac. A. 14. 42. Brunck read 'nec quod,' without authority. 'Non habeo quid sperem' differs from 'non habeo quod sperem,' as Madvig remarks (§ 363, obs. 2), 'non habeo' in the former case having the force of 'I do not know.'

3.] 'Tantum,' as his only solace. "Voteris, iam fracta cacumina, fagos," 9. 9. Spohn would remove the commas in each place, making 'cacumina' a dependent accusative, like "Os humerosque Deo similis," A. 1. 589: but the epithet 'voteris' at least would hardly support such an accusative, and the apposition between a thing and a prominent part of itself is not uncommon: e. g., "iuvenes, fortissima pectora," A. 2. 348.

4.] Gallus (10. 50) talks of solacing himself by singing verses which he has already composed: the strains of Corydon, on the contrary, are unpremeditated. The word, however, in Cic. and Livy, seems merely to mean artless, like "versibus incoctis," G. 2. 386. 'Solus' is better than 'solis,' a plausible conjecture of Drakenborch's, as making Corydon the principal object. So Prop. 1. 18. 30, "Cogor ad argutas dicere solus aves."

Montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani :

5

O crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas ?

Nil nostri miserere ? mori me denique coges.

Nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant ;

Nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,

Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu

10

Alia serpullumque herbas contundit olentis.

At mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustrò,

Sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.

5.] 'Iactabat,' raved. A. 2. 588, "Talia iactabam et furcata mente ferebar." 'Inani,' bootless, because it was 'montibus et silvis.' It expresses also a prolonged purposeless lament, like 'incassum,' G. 1. 387, 'nequiquam,' ib. 403. This can hardly be called an imitation of Theocr. 11. 18, where the Cyclops soothes his love for Galatea with song.

6—18.] 'Alexis, I am desperate: mid-day and every thing living shelters itself from the heat; yet I am wandering under the sun in the hope of finding you. Never did I find the scorn of a loved one so hard to bear: you may be more lovely than others, but do not presume on it.'

6.] The opening seems to be modelled on Theocr. 3. 6, ὁ χαλεπὸς Ἀμαρυλλί, id. 11. 19. ὁ λευκὸς Γαλάτεια.

7.] Theocr. 3. 9, ἀπάγασθαί με ποιησεῖς. 'Cogis' Pal., Gud., 'coges' Rom., which agrees better with 'denique,' and is supported by Theocr.

8.] "Iam pastor umbras cum grege languido Rivumque fessus quaerit," Hor. 3 Od. 29. 21; "patula pecus omne sub ulmo est," Pers. 3. 6; both descriptions of noon. In 'captant' and 'occultant,' as Keightley remarks, the frequentative may be significant, denoting the multitudes that are seeking shelter.

9.] Theocr. 7. 22, Ἀνίκα δὴ καὶ σαῦπος ἐφ' αἵμασι τοῖσι καθέυδει. "Rubum Dimovere lacertae," Hor. 1 Od. 23. 6. 'Lacertas' here is the original reading of Pal.

10.] 'Rapido aestu:' 'rapidus' in its original sense seems to be nearly a synonyme of 'rapax.' Hence the word is applied to devouring seas and fire, and to the scorching sun. Keightley on E. 7. 66 has collected instances where 'rapax' and 'rapidus' appear to be used indifferently of seas and rivers. In Lucr. 4. 712 the MSS. give "rapidi leones," in id. 5. 892 "rapidis canibus:" there however 'rabidi'

('rabidis') is more probable, though Lachm.'s peremptory language does not convince me that 'rapidi' would not be Latin. Le Clerc wished to read 'rabido' here, which shows how easily such criticism may be pushed into an extreme. The meaning 'swift' probably flows from 'rapere,' in the sense of 'hurrying away.' 'Thestylis,' Theocr. 2. 1.

11.] She was making for them the mess called 'moretum,' which is described in a poem of that name attributed to our poet. It was composed of flour, cheese, salt, oil, and various herbs ('herbas olentis') brayed together in a mortar. Keightley. Horace in his philippic against garlic, Epod. 3. 4, says, "O dura messorum ilia!" 'Olentis' is applied equally to the stench of garlic and the fragrance of wild thyme.

12.] 'I and the cicadas alone are stirring and piping still.' 'Cicadis' is of course the real subject, to be coupled with 'mecum,' though 'arbusta' is made the grammatical subject by the turn of the expression, and 'mecum resonant arbusta cicadis' is equivalent to 'mecum canunt cicadae.' 'Mecum,' for like me, is found in G. 1. 41., 2. 8. But the sense here is not only with or like me, but with me alone: and we may compare the use of 'mecum,' 'tecum,' 'secum,' for 'by myself,' &c. Rom. has 'ac mecum.' 'Tua vestigia' is explained by Keightley as if Corydon were merely going over the ground once trodden by Alexis: but the obvious meaning is more graphic. Corydon is trying to find Alexis, whom he supposes to be flying from him, vv. 60, 63, and examining his footprints. So "vestigia lustrat," A. 11. 763.

13.] Comp. G. 3. 338, where the 'cicadae' are loud at the fourth hour before the 'aestus medii' (v. 331). 'Arbusta' here, as there, are probably natural, not artificial.

Nonne fuit satius, tristis Amaryllidis iras
 Atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan, 15
 Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses?
 O formose puer, nimium ne erede colori!
 Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.
 Despectus tibi sum, nec, qui sim, quaeris, Alexi,
 Quam dives pecoris, nivei quam lactis abundans; 20
 Mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae;
 Lac mihi non aestate novum, non frigore defit.
 Canto, quae solitus, si quando armenta vocabat,
 Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracinto.

14.] 'Amaryllidis iras,' 3. 80.

15.] The later editors suppose the grievance to have been that Amaryllis was scornful, Menalcas swarthy; but Corydon obviously contrasts the scorn of Alexis with that of his two former favourites, his passion for whom of course he wishes to paint strongly, anticipating an objection that Menalcas at least could not be put into comparison with Alexis, as being far less beautiful. The next lines accordingly are a sort of apology for dark beauty, like that in 10. 39.

16.] 'Esseae,' as the tense shows, refers properly to Menalcas only, the former love, not to Alexis, though Virg., for the sake of brevity, chooses to express himself as if both had been objects of Corydon's affection at the same time. 'Quamvis' qualifies the two adjectives, 'however black, however fair.'

17.] 'Color,' beauty, as consisting in colour. "Nullus argento color est," Hor. 2 Od. 2. 1.

18.] 'Ligustra,' probably privet. 'Vaccinia,' hyacinths; though some say, whortle-berries, thinking that the contrast ought to be between two shrubs. Voss ingeniously supposes 'vaccinium' and *δάκνυθος* to be the same word. 'Cadunt,' are left to fall. Compare the use of 'iacent,' are allowed to lie without being picked up.

19—27.] 'Yet I am not a man to be scorned. I have numerous flocks under my charge; I can sing like Amphion; and the mirror of the water tells me that I am not uncomely.'

20—23.] From Theocr. 11. 34, where the Cyclops boasts his pastoral wealth and skill in piping to Galatea. Hence too, perhaps, 'Siculia,' v. 21. Serv. and others take 'nivei' with 'pecoris,' but 'niveum'

is a regular epithet of 'lac,' like γάλα λευκόν in Hom., Theocr., &c. So Ov. M. 13. 829, in an evident imitation of this passage, "Lac mihi semper adest niveum." If Corydon is a slave, we must suppose with Keightley that, in falling into the Cyclops' language, he is really thinking of the advantage he gets from having so much under his charge.

21.] 'Mille meae agnae,' not 'a thousand of my lambs,' as Wagn. thinks, but 'a thousand lambs of mine,' as Forb. gives it.

22.] Theocr. instead of perennial milk has cheese, which being soft cheese, unfit to keep, would imply a constant supply of milk. 'Frigore,' as *ἐν ψύχει*, Soph. Phil. 17, opp. to *ἐν θέρει*. The words do not merely mean 'I have new milk all the year round' (Wagn.), but 'milk does not fail me even at the most trying times; in summer when "lac praecipit aestus" (3. 93), or in winter, which is the lambing season.'

23.] 'Vocabat,' piped them home from pasture. Keightley refers to a pretty passage in Apoll. Rhod. 1. 575:

ὧς δ' ὀπότε ἀγραῖλοι κατ' ἵχνη σή-
 μαντῆρος
 Μυρία μῆλ' ἐφέρονται ἄδην κεκορημένα
 ποίης
 Εἰς ἀλιν, δ' ὅ δ' εἰσι πάρος σύριγγι
 λιγείρ
 Καλὰ μελίζόμενος νόμιον μέλος.

Amphion and Zethus were brought up among the shepherds in ignorance of their divine birth.

24.] Amphion was a Boeotian hero, Dirce a fountain near Thebes: Acte was an old name for Attica, and Aracinto is a ridge in Aetolia, near the mouth of the Achelous: so that here is another geographical difficulty. Vibius Sequester

Nec sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore vidi, 25
 Cum placidum ventis staret mare; non ego Daphnim
 Iudice te metnam, si numquam fallit imago.
 O tantum libeat mecum tibi sordida rura
 Atque humilis habitare casas et figere cervos
 Haedorumque gregem viridi compellere hibisco! 30
 Mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.
 Pan primus calamos cera coniungere pluris

vouches for an Attic, Steph. Byzant. for a Boeotian Aracanthus. It is convenient to suppose that there was one on the frontiers of the two countries. Serv. here, as in the case of the Oaxes, supposes the error to be intentional and dramatic. Propertius also connects Aracanthus with Amphion (4. 15. 42).

25.] From Theocr. 6. 34 foll., where it is the Cyclops who finds himself not so ugly. It is just possible that a Mediterranean cove might be calm enough to mirror a giant, not possible that it should be calm enough to mirror Corydon. [Serv. observes the error, and makes excuses for Theocritus.—H. N.]

26.] 'Placidum staret' is equivalent to 'placatum esset,' and 'vento' is the instrumental ablative. So "vento rota constitit." G. 4. 484. The wind is elsewhere mentioned as the agent in calming the waters, as in A. 1. 66, "Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento" (note), 5. 763, "placidi straverunt aequora venti," perhaps after Soph. Aj. 674, δεινὸν δ' ἄγμα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε Στένωρτα πόρτον. The common explanation is that the wind is said to do what by absencing itself it allows to be done; but though such a turn of thought is usual enough, and hence applicable to any single passage, it is not easy to see why it should have suggested itself frequently when the wind is spoken of, unless we suppose that Virg. is consciously imitating Soph. in all four places. For Daphnis, the great bucolic hero, who was beloved by a Naiad, see introduction to E. 5.

27.] 'Fallit' Pal. originally, 'fallat' Pal. corrected, Rom., Gud. The former is preferable. He means, of course, that the mirror cannot lie. See on v. 73.

28—44.] 'If you would but try life with me! we would hunt and tend flocks together, and I would teach you to sing like Pan, the shepherd's patron. It is an art which others have envied, and I have a pipe which Damoetas gave me at his

death as the only one worthy to succeed him. Besides I have two pet roes, which I am saving for you in spite of many entreaties.'

28.] Comp. Theocr. 11. 65. 'Sordida,' merely coarse, opp. to the elegance and refinement of the city. . So Aristoph. Clouds, 43, Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἢ ἄγρικοις ἡδιστος βίος, Εὐρωτῶν, ἀκόρητος, εὐκὴ κέλμενος.

29.] Heyne thinks hunting out of place, and therefore proposes, after a suggestion of Serv. [and the Berne scholia] to take 'cervos' as antler-shaped props for the cottage; but Serv. himself had justly observed that Corydon invites Alexis to pleasure, not to toil, and Wagn. adds that there is abundant proof of the connexion between the hunter and the shepherd, e.g. G. 2. 471., 3. 409. Besides Virg. witnesses to his own meaning by the similar expression, "figere dammas," G. 1. 308, and Sen. Herc. F. has "Tutosque fuga figere cervos" (passages referred to by Corda).

30.] 'Viridi hibisco,' for 'ad viride hibiscum.' So Hor. 1 Od. 24. 18, "Quam (imaginem) . . . nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi," where the "grex niger" must mean the souls already below. Serv. comp. A. 5. 451. "It clamor caelo." Some however take 'hibisco' as a rod of hibiscum, with which the kids are driven. It is unlikely uncertain what plant the hibiscum is, Dioscorides and Palladius describing it as a kind of mallow. Pliny as resembling a parsnip. Neither a mallow nor a parsnip would make a rod; but as we find the shepherd in 10. 71 making a basket with 'hibiscum,' we may conclude that it possessed some strength and pliancy.

32, 33.] [Ribbeck thinks these two lines spurious, chiefly because Serv. has no note upon them. They are, however, recognized in Philargyrius and the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

32.] 'Pluris': we hear of pipes made of three, nine, eleven, fifteen, and twenty-one reeds. The Cyclops in Ov. M. 13. 784 has one of a hundred. Forb.

Instituit; Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros.
 Nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum :
 Haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas? 35
 Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
 Fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim,
 Ex dixit moriens: Te nunc habet ista secundum,
 Dixit Damoetas: invidit stultus Amyntas.
 Praeterea duo, nec tuta mihi valle repertí, 40
 Capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo,
 Bina die siccant ovis ubera; quos tibi servo.
 Iam pridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat;
 Et faciet, quoniam sordent tibi munera nostra.
 Huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis 45

33.] "Pecori pecorisque magistro," 3. 101, Ov. F. 4. 747.

34.] 'Trivisse labellum,' by running the under lip backwards and forwards along the fistula. Lucr. 4. 588 of Pan, "Unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantia." 'Paeniteat,' not quite the same as 'pudeat,' as the act is rhetorically supposed to have been done (hence the past 'trivisse') and the actor to be looking back on it.

35.] Amyntas is not a favourite (10. 38), but a foolish and envious rival (5. 8. foll.).

36.] 'Cicutis,' hollow hemlock stalks. "Cavas inflare cicutas," Lucr. 5. 1383, of the origin of pastoral music.

38.] 'Secundum,' my worthy successor; 'secundus' being used of that which is nearly equal. Hor. 1 Od. 12. 17, "Unde nil maius generatur ipso Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum; Proximos illi tamen occupavit Pallas honores." Comp. also E. 5. 48, "Nec calamis solum aequiparas sed voce magistrum; Fortunata puer, tu nunc cris alter ab illo." 'Ista,' not 'haec,' as being already Corydon's property when Damoetas spoke. It is not even certain from the words that the gift may not have been made long before his death.

39.] 'Stultus,' because he fancied himself equal to Corydon. The language, as Forb remarks, is rather epic. [Ribbeck marks this line again as spurious, but it is recognized in the Berne scholia, in which Amyntas is said to mean Cornificius, one of Virg.'s literary enemies.—H. N.]

40.] There are similar love presents in Theocr. 3. 34., 11. 40. 'Nec tuta,' from wild beasts. The difficulty enhances the

value of the present, as Heyne remarks, comparing Ov. M. 13. 834.

41.] These white spots disappear after the roe is six months old (Serv. and Wunderlich), and therefore these roes would be very young. Theocr. 11. 40 has *τρέφω δέ τοι ἑνδεκα νεβρώς, Πάσας μανοφόρους*, where some read *μανοφόρους*, marked with moon-like spots. Rom. and two of Ribbeck's cursives have 'ambo,' pointing it with the next verse. In any case it seems better to construct 'capreoli' with 'siccant' than to make it the subject of a verb substantive understood.

42.] 'Bina die siccant ovis ubera, i.e. they suck the same ewe twice a day. Varro, R. R. 2. 2. 15. Keightley. The distributive force of 'bina' is made to exert itself not on the principal word, 'capreoli,' but on the accessory 'dies,' so that it is a kind of hypallage.

43.] 'Abducere orat: 'oro' with an infinitive on the analogy of 'volo,' 'peto,' 'postulo.' Comp. A. 6. 313, "Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum." The passage is from Theocr. 3. 33, *Τὰν με καὶ ἄ Μέρμανος Ἐριδakis ἄ μελανόχρους Αἰτεῖ καὶ δῶσά οἱ, ἐπεὶ σὺ μοι ἐνδιαβρύττη.* 'Thestylis' from v. 10 appears to be a slave.

44.] 'Et faciet' equivalent to 'et abducet,' as we should say, 'and she shall do so.' So "ni faciat," A. 1. 62, is equivalent to "ni molliat et temperet." Observe how Virg. throughout this line has varied the expressions of Theocr., his Corydon being more courteous, and his Alexis presumably more sensitive. The fact has been already noticed in part by Serv.

45--55.] 'Come and enjoy a country

Ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis ; tibi candida Nais,
 Pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
 Narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi ;
 Tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavis herbis,
 Molli luteola pingit vaccinia calta.

50

Ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala,
 Castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat ;
 Addam cerea pruna ; honos erit huic quoque pomo ;
 Et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te, proxima myrte,
 Sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores.

55

Rusticus es, Corydon : nec munera curat Alexis,

life. Nature produces her loveliest flowers—all for you ; and you shall have the fairest and most delicious fruits.' Spohn rightly remarks that the general scope of the passage is simply an invitation to share the delights of the country, Corydon representing the nymphs and himself as doing the honours ; but this does not exclude the notion of special presents of flowers and fruit like those in 3. 70. With the expression comp. G. 2. 3 note.

45.] 'Formosae' Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

46.] The nymphs offer flowers, being goddesses of the springs that water them, as Voss remarks, comparing pseudo-Virg. Copa 15, "Et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne Lilia vimineis attulit in calathis," evidently from the context an imitation of the present passage. He may be right also in saying that Corydon is speaking of the produce of his own watered garden, as is shown by Columella's reference to this passage in his tenth book, on the cultivation of a garden. [Paul. p. 47, says 'calathos Graeci, nos dicimus quasillos': so Serv. here, evidently drawing directly or indirectly on Verrius Flaccus.—H. N.]

47.] 'Pallentis violas,' yellow violets, λευκίδιον, opp. 'nigrae,' μελάνιον. "Tinctus viola pallor amantium," Hor. 3 Od. 10. 14. Heyne remarks that the paleness of southerners is yellow. Ov. M. 11. 100 has "saxum palluit auro."

48.] 'Anethus:' an aromatic plant akin to the fennel, with a yellow flower ; it is grown in our gardens. In a celebrated passage of Moschus (Idyl 3. 101) it is called τὸ τ' εὐθαλὲς ὄλον ἀνῆθον.

49.] 'Casia:' an aromatic shrub, with leaves like the olive, common in the south of Europe. 'Intexens casia (vaccinia),' a poetical variety for 'intexens casiam.'

50.] 'Vaccinia,' the dark hyacinth, v.

18. It is not clear whether 'calta' is the chrysanthemum or the marigold. That its fragrance was not its recommendation appears from Pliny (21. 28), where its "gravis odor" is mentioned, and Ovid (Pont. 2. 4. 28), who enumerates among other changes in the course of nature, "Caltaque Paestanas vincet odore rosas." 'Pingit,' picks out, the hyacinth being as it were the ground which is variegated by the 'calta.' ['Calta' Pal. Gud. : 'caltha' Rom.—H. N.]

51.] A description of quinces, which were called 'mala Cydonia.' These fruits have nothing to do with making a garland, as some of the commentators think. The nymphs bring flowers in baskets : Corydon gathers fruits, and also sprigs of bay and myrtle.

53.] 'Cerea pruna,' yellow plums. Pliny, 15. 41, Ov. M. 13. 817. 'Huic quoque pomo,' i.e. 'prunis ;' 'pomum' including all fruit except grapes, nuts, and, according to some, figs. 'Honus erit' is well explained by Serv. : "Si a te dilectum fuerit : sicut castaneae in honore fuerunt amatae Amaryllidi." Some MSS. and the old editions have 'et honos,' to avoid the hiatus. Heins. struck 'et' out. The non-elision of a short vowel is remarkable ; but it is doubtless to be accounted for not only, as in A. 1. 405, by the pause in the verse, but by the fact that H is a semi-consonant, which should be borne in mind, too, in the case of caesuras, such as 6. 53, G. 4. 137, &c.

54.] 'Proxima:' the companion of the laurel, always, and not only in this nose-gay. Among other instances is Hor. 3 Od. 4. 19, "ut premerer sacra Lauroque collataque myrto." Comp. the use of 'proximus' for nearkin and bosom friends. ['Proxuma' Pal.—H. N.]

56—68.] 'Vain hope, to recommend

Nec, si muneribus certes, concedat Iollas.
 Heu, heu, quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum
 Perditus et liquidis inmisi fontibus apros.
 Quem fugis, a demens? habitarunt di quoque silvas 60
 Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas quas condidit arces
 Ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia silvae.
 Torva leaena lupum sequitur; lupus ipse capellam;
 Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella;
 Te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas. 65
 Aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuvenci,
 Et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras:
 Me tamen urit amor; quis enim modus adsit amori?

myself by presents which he will disdain, and a richer rival surpass! O this destructive passion! Yet why should he disdain a life which even gods have loved? I must follow him—it is mere natural attraction. Evening coming, and no relief!

56.] 'Rusticus es,' you are a clown; i.e. your presents are clownish. Alexis lived in the city, v. 28. Gebauer, p. 166, comp. Theocr. 20. 3, *βουκόλος ὃν θέλεις με κύσαι, τάλαν*; Rom. has 'rusticus est' (and so Pal. originally), and in the next line 'certet.'

57.] 'Iollas, the master of Alexi, would outbid you.' For 'certes—concedat' the Dresden Serv. has the indicative 'certas—concedit.' But as he does not mean to compete, the subjunctive is preferable.

58.] 'Quid volui mihi:' like the common phrase 'quid tibi vis?' 'What do you mean?' 'What are you after?' He suddenly reflects on the destructiveness of his passion. This is more simple and natural than to suppose with Heyne and Voss that he is reproaching himself for having just made a comparison which must be disadvantageous to him.

59.] 'I have let in the scorching Scirocco to my blossoms, and wallowing wild boars to my clear springs'—no doubt, as Voss says, a proverbial expression. The Scirocco, Horace's 'plumbeus Auster,' is spoken of in Aesch. *Eum.* 938—40 as *δενδρόπλημον βλάβη—φλογμός ὀμματοστερής φυτῶν*. [Immissi Pal.—H. N.]

60.] 'Quem fugis' may be for 'our me fugis?' (see on l. 54,) or the meaning may be 'you know not whom you avoid in avoiding me,' like "nec qui sim quaeris," v. 19.

61.] Athens was the only city that Minerva founded, though in the elder Greek

Mythology it seems she was the goddess of fortresses in general, and hence called *ἐρυσίπτολις*, *ἀλαλκομενής*, *πολιάς*, *πολιοῦχος*, *ἀκραία*, *ἀκρία*, *κληροῦχος*, *πυλαίτις*. See Dict. Biog. Athena. Corydon prefers the country to Athens, the noblest of cities. We should remember that he is a Greek.

62.] 'Ipsa colat,' let her have them to herself. 'Placeant,' 'let me love the country,' for 'let me enjoy it;'—a natural expression, since the love is essential to the enjoyment. It occurs again G. 2. 485, "Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes, Flumina amem silvasque inglorius." Gebauer, p. 169. comp. Mosch. 5. 12, *καὶ παγὰς φιλόμιμ τὸν ἐγγύθεν ἥχον ἀκούειν*.

63.] 'Every creature pursues that for which it hungers: I pursue thee.' Theocr. 10. 30, 'Α αἰξ τὸν κύτισον, ὁ λύκος τὰν αἰγὰ διώκει, Ἀ γέρανος τῶροτρον ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεμνημαι. 'Ipse,' in his turn.

66.] For similar versions or variations of *βουλυτός*, see Hor. 3. Od. 6. 43, and Epod. 2. 63, "Videre fessos vomerem inversum hoves Collo trahentis languido." 'Iugo referunt,' draw home. "Versa iugo referuntur aratra," Ov. F. 5. 497, quoted by Trapp. 'Suspensa,' not going into the ground ('depressa'), but carried so as not to touch the ground, as in the expression 'suspensogradu'—probably the same thing as Horace's 'vomerem inversum,' though Keightley makes a distinction. The contrast expressed in this and the following lines is probably from Theocr. 2. 38 foll., as Gebauer, p. 171, remarks.

68.] 'My love does not cool with evening, or end with the long summer-day.' Both notions seem to be implied. With the first comp. vv. 8—13, where, as here,

A Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?
 Semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est.
 Quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
 Viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?
 Invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim.

70

it is hinted, not directly expressed, with the second, H. 2 Od. 9. 10 foll. "neo tibi Vespero Surgente decedunt amores, Nec rapidum fugiente Solem." With the language Gebauer comp. Theocr. 7. 56.

69—73.] 'This is madness. I will return to my neglected business, and trust to find another love.'

69.] Here and in 6. 47 Wagn. and Ribbeck put a note of exclamation after 'cepit.' That the interrogation is right is evident from the passage imitated here, Theocr. 11. 72, ἂ Κόκλωψ, Κόκλωψ, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκτεπτόσασαι; and from similar passages elsewhere, e. g. Plaut. Mil. 2. 5. 24, "quae te intemperiae tenent?" (comp. id. Aul. 1. 1. 32, "nescio pol quae illunc hominem intemperiae tenent"), G. 4. 494, 5. A. 2. 42, 519.

70.] Both the half-pruned vine and the over-leafy elm would be signs of negligence. Comp. G. 2. 410, "bis vitibus ingruit umbra." An unpruned vine was a great scandal in ancient husbandry. Hor. l. S. 7. 31. Voss, reviving a notion of Serv., sees an allusion to an alleged superstition, that to drink of the wine of an unpruned vine caused madness, Numa

having forbidden libations to be made from such wine, to show that the gods did not approve of the slothful husbandman, so that this would be another rustic proverb; but whatever may be the value of the illustration, not only the context, but the words themselves show that Corydon is simply taxing himself with a neglect of common duty.

71.] 'At least try to do some basket-work;' one of the home occupations of the husbandman, G. 1. 266. These lines are copied from Theocr. 11. 72 foll. 'Saltem,' if you cannot go about harder work. So in 10. 71, the poet makes a basket while he is singing of his friend's passion. 'Usus,' G. 2. 22 note.

72.] 'Detexere,' to plait out, i. e. to finish. 'Quae inter decem annos nequisti unam togam detexere,' Titin. ap. Non. p. 406.

73.] Ἐδρῆσεις Γαλάτειαν Ἰσως καὶ καλὸν ἄλλαν, Theocr. l. c. Pal. (originally) had 'fastidiat;' Rom. has 'fastidat,' which is worth mentioning, as showing a tendency to introduce the subj. : see on v. 27. Pal. (originally) and Gud. have 'Alexia.'

ECLOGA III.

PALAEEMON.

MENALCAS. DAMOETAS. PALAEEMON.

This Eclogue is a specimen of a rustic singing-match, such as occurs in several of the Idyls of Theocritus, the fifth being that which Virgil had here chiefly in view. The somewhat coarse banter which precedes it is studied partly after the fifth, partly after the fourth Idyl. Other imitations will be found noticed in their places. The match itself is technically called Amoebaeon singing (rendered by Virgil 'alternis,' or 'alternis versibus,' v. 59., 7. 18), the general principle of which seems to be that the second of the competitors should reply to the first in the same number of verses, and generally on the same or a similar subject. For further varieties see the Introduction to Eclogue 8. Here the challenger begins, as in Theocr. Idyls 6 and 8, though in Idyl 5 the contrary is the case.

[The Berne scholia say that this Eclogue was written in honour of Asinius Pollio:

see v. 84. They also interpret Damoetas as standing for Virg., Menalcas for Cornificius, Palaemon for Octavianus;] but the poem is now universally agreed to be imaginary, in spite of the awkward introduction of the historical names of Pollio, Bavius, and Maevius. If anything, Menalcas is to be identified with Virgil, as would appear from the fifth and ninth Eclogues; but this cannot be pressed, nor need we follow those who, like Cerda, attempt to establish a difference in Menalcas' favour, contrary to Palaemon's verdict.

The date, like that of Eclogue 2, can only be determined relatively to Eclogue 5. The scenery is again Sicilian, at least in part.

M. Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? an Meliboei?

D. Non, verum Aegonis; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon.

M. Infelix o semper, ovis, pecus! ipse Neaeram

Dum fovet, ac, ne me sibi praeferat illa, veretur,

Hic alienus ovis custos bis mulget in hora,

5

Et sucus pecori et lac subducitur agnis.

D. Parcius ista viris tamen obicienda memento.

Novimus, et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis,

Et quo—sed faciles Nymphae risere—sacello.

M. Tum, credo, cum me arbustum videre Miconis

10

1—31.] '*M.* Whom are you keeping sheep for? *D.* Aegon. *M.* Poor sheep! their owner is hopelessly in love, and his hiring steals the milk. *D.* As if you had any right to taunt me! *M.* Of course not; I cut Micon's vines. *D.* Broke Daphnis' bow and arrows, you mean. *M.* Well, I saw you steal Damon's goat. *D.* It was mine; I won it at a singing match. *M.* You! when you can't sing. *D.* I'll sing against you *now* for a calf.'

1.] Theocr. 4. 1, 2. '*Cuius*,' -a, -um, occurs in Plaut. and Ter., but was obsolete in Virg's time, as is shown by the parody quoted in Suetonius' Life of Virg., "*Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus anne Latinum?* Non, verum Aegonis (Aegones?) nostri sic rure loquuntur." It is used by Cic. Ver. 2. 1. 54, where the language is apparently that of a legal formula. The question implies that Damoetas is a mere hiring, '*alienus custos*,' v. 5.

2.] Aegon's name is a taunt, because he is the rival of Menalcas, v. 4.

3.] Theocr. 4. 13, 26. With the order of the words Burmann comp. G. 4. 168, "*Ignavum, fucos, pecus a praeseptibus arcent.*" '*Ipse*,' your owner, Aegon. Comp. the well-known '*ipse dixit*,' *ἀὐτὸς ἔφα*. Rom. has '*ille*.'

4.] '*Fovet*,' courts, repeatedly used by Cicero in the sense of paying attention to a person: comp. its use in the sense

of constant attendance, e.g. "*castra fovere*," A. 9. 57.

5.] '*Twice an hour*,' when twice a day would have been full measure, as Serv. remarks. The phrase is of course exaggerated: but the offence of secret milking was a common one, punished, Eumen. says, with whipping and loss of wages. The taunt is from Theocr. 4. 3. Pal. and another good MS., the Mentelian, have '*mulgit*.'

6.] '*The ewes are exhausted and the lambs starved*.' Perhaps, as Voss thinks, he may mean the time before the lambs were weaned, when the ewes ought not to have been milked at all. '*Subducere*' need only mean to withdraw, as in Cic. Tusc. 2. 17, "*subduc cibum unum diem athletae*;" here however the additional notion of stealth is suggested by the context.

8.] '*Hircis*' Rom. Gud., '*hirculis*' Pal. originally, and so Ribbeck. Serv. quotes a gloss from Suetonius De Vitiis Corporalibus, '*hirqui sunt oculorum anguli*.'—H. N.]

10.] '*Tum* ('*risere*'). '*Credo*,' ironical. A. 7. 297. Menalcas affects to charge himself with what Damoetas did. '*Arbustum*,' a vineyard in which the vines were trained on trees, opposed to espaliers: here the trees on which the vines were trained. '*Miconis vitis*' are from Theocr. 5. 112.

Atque mala vitis incidere falce novellas.

D. Aut hic ad veteres fagos cum Daphnidis arcum

Fregisti et calamos : quae tu, perverse Menalca,

Et, cum vidisti puero donata, dolebas,

Et, si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.

15

M. Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures ?

Non ego te vidi Damonis, pessime, caprum

Excipere insidiis, multum latrante Lycisca ?

Et cum clamarem : Quo nunc se proripit ille ?

Tityre, coge pecus ; tu post carecta latebas.

20

D. An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,

Quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula caprum ?

Si nescis, meus ille caper fuit ; et mihi Damon

11.] "Mala falce," like "dolo malo," "mala fraude," malicious. Tibull. 3. 5. 20, "Et modo nata mala vellere poma manu." Pliny, 17. 1, says that the laws of the Twelve Tables imposed a heavy fine for cutting another man's trees 'iniuria.' 'Novellas' is emphatic, as the young vines ought not to have been touched with the knife at all, G. 2. 365. The word is a technical term in rural economy, being used in later Latin substantively for a young vine, while 'novello' means to plant young trees (Suet. Dom. 7), and 'novelletum,' a nursery.

12.] 'Ad veteres fagos:' the same scenery as in 2. 3, 9. 9. The bow and arrows naturally belonged to a shepherd : see 2. 29 note.

13.] 'Perverse' equivalent to 'prave.' The passage is imitated from Theocr. 5. 12, τὸ δ', ὃ κακὲ, καὶ τὸν ἐράδεν βασκαίνων, καὶ νῦν με τὰ λοιπὰ γυνὸν ἔθηκας, which accounts for the repetition of 'et,' vv. 14, 15.

14.] The 'puer' is evidently Daphnis, not, as Heyne thinks, some boy to whom he gave the bow and arrows.

15.] Comp. 7. 26.

16.] 'Fures' is comic for 'servi.' Comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 6. 45, "Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt Et dominum fallunt et prosunt veribus." Comp. also the double meaning of the English 'knave' and 'villain,' though the process of change there has been reversed. 'What will the master do if the man talks at this rate?' It seems to be a proverbial expression : at any rate the sense is clear, in spite of the objections of Wagn. and Forb., as the whole form of the line

shows that 'domini' and 'fures' are meant to be correlative terms. 'Fures,' in fact, involves 'servi,' and something more, preparing us for Menalcas' new charge. 'Faciant,' 'what would they do if they were to come on the scene?' the case being a supposed one, the substitution of Aegon for Damoetas : so that there is no occasion to adopt 'facient' the reading of Gud. (corrected) and some inferior MSS.

18.] 'Excipere' as in A. 3. 332, Hor. 3 Od. 12. 10. 'Lycisci' were mongrels between wolves and dogs, Isid. Orig. 12. 2. See Pliny 8. 148.

19.] 'Quo nunc se proripit ille?' 'what is yonder rogue darting at?' Damoetas was just rushing out of his ambushade. 'Tityrus' is the shepherd of Damon.

20.] 'Coge,' muster your flock, which was straying in supposed security, as in 1. 9. 'Carecta' : in Catull. 19. 2 "carex" is joined with "vimen iuncus," so that the features of the country appear to be the same as in 1. 48.

21.] 'Redderet,' because the question refers to past time. 'Was he not to restore?' Plautus, Trinummus, 1. 2. 96, "Non ego illi argentum redderem? Non redderes." It is the ordinary use of the subjunctive in questions, answering, when found in the present, to the deliberative subjunctive in Greek, but employed less restrictedly. So "quid facerem?" 1. 41, "eloquar an sileam?" A. 3. 39.

23.] Heyne comp. Ov. Her. 20. 152, "Si nescis, dominum res habet ista suum." The phrase is not an uncommon one.

Ipsē fatebatur; sed reddere posse negabat.

M. Cantando tu illum? aut umquam tibi fistula cera 25

Iuncta fuit? non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas

Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

D. Vis ergo, inter nos, quid possit uterque, vicissim

Experiamur? ego hanc vitulam—ne forte recuses,

Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fetus— 30

Depono: tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes.

M. De grege non ausim quicquam deponere tecum:

Est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta noverca;

24.] ['Negabat posse,' G. 2. 234, 'sin in sua posse negabunt Ire loca,' A. 3. 201, 'negat discernere.' The omission of the reflexive pronoun in Latin is as old as Plautus (Aul. 106), see Roby, Syntax § 1346.—H. N.]

25.] 'Cantando tu illum:' the verb is of course to be supplied from 'cantando victus,' v. 21. The ellipse suits the colloquial style. What follows is imitated from Theocr. 5. 5.

26.] 'Vineta' Rom., Gud., &c. The words are constantly confounded, and in cursive writing are hardly to be distinguished. 'In triviis,' i.e. to vulgar ears. Juv. 7. 52:

"Sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,

Qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui

Communi feriat carmen triviale moneta."

'Indoctus' implies want of skill in any particular art, as in Hor. A. P. 380, "Indoctusque pilae discive trocheus quiescit."

27.] 'Stridenti,' i.e. 'stridula,' as Spohn remarks, '-i' being the adjectival termination, Bentl. on Hor. 1 Od. 2. 31, 25. 17. 'Stipula,' a single reed, opposed to 'fistula cera iuncta.' The Verona fragment has 'stipula miserum.' 'Miserum disperdere carmen,' to play a vile and wretched strain; 'disperdere carmen' meaning to play a bad tune, not to spoil a good one. The 'dis' is intensive, as in 'disperreo.' Milton, Lycidas, 123, "And when they list their lean and flashy songs Grate on their scorannell pipes of wretched straw." Dryden (Essay on Satire) refers to this line as showing that Virg. might if he pleased have made himself the first of Roman Satirists—rather a large conclusion.

28.] The general rule seems to be that

'vin' or 'visne' simply asks for information, while 'vis' commands, Bentl. on Hor. 2 Sat. 6. 92. 'Vicissim,' referring to the manner of proceeding, while 'inter nos' merely expresses that there is to be a contest. 'Vicissim' may be meant as a translation of ἀμοιβαίως, but its use in 5. 50 shows that it need not be understood so strictly.

29.] Theocr. 5. 21 foll., 8. 11 foll.

30.] Theocr. 1. 26, 'Α δὲ ἔχουσ' ἐρίφους ποταμέλγεται ἐς δύο πέλλας. Theocr. speaks of a goat with twins; and Keightley remarks that it is not usual for cows to have twins. Keightley also remarks that Virg., in slavishly following his original, has made Damoetas, a hireling, stake a heifer from the herd which he is keeping. 'Vitula' is apparently used for 'iuvenca,' as Spohn remarks.

31.] 'Depono:' Theocr. 8. 11, 12, καταθεῖναι θέλον. 'Quo pignore,' the modal ablative, which is really the same with the ablative absolute.

32—59.] '*M.* I dare not wager any of my cattle; but I have a better stake, two cups of Alcimedon's making. *D.* I have two by the same hand; but they are nothing to the heifer. *M.* No put-offs: I'll accept any terms. Palaemon shall be umpire. *D.* Come on then: I'm not afraid: only pay attention, Palaemon. *P.* The grass is soft to sit on, and the country lovely: so begin, Damoetas first.'

32.] Theocr. 8. 16, 17. 'Tecum,' like you. Wagn. comp. Plaut. Cas. Prol. 75, "Id ni fit, mecum pignus, si quis volt, dato."

33.] From Theocr. 1. c. χαλεπός θ' ὁ πατήρ μιν καὶ μήτηρ, it would seem as if 'iniustus' were to be supplied from 'iniusta,' and both construed as predicates; but it is simpler to render 'I have a father at home, and a harsh stepmother.'

Bisque die numerant ambo pecus, alter et haedos.
 Verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere maius, 35
 Insanire libet quoniam tibi, pocula ponam
 Fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis:
 Lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis
 Diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.
 In medio duo signa, Conon, et—quis fuit alter, 40
 Descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,
 Tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet?

34.] 'Bisque die,' not merely in the evening, as in 6. 85. 'Haedos:' besides counting the whole flock, one or other of them counted the kids separately.

35.] In Theocr. 1. c. Menalcas offers to wager a pipe in default of a lamb, and Daphnia, like Damoetas here, says he can match it, but, unlike him, agrees to the terms.

36.] Theocr. 1. 27 foll. 'Pocula,' a kind of dual, a pair of cups, as in v. 46, two being generally set before each guest, Hor. 1 S. 6. 117. 'Ponam' = 'deponam.'

37.] Cups of beechwood belong to primitive country life, as Wagn. remarks, comparing Tibull. 1. 10. 8, Ov. M. 8, 669. Alcimedon is not heard of elsewhere. It is suggested (Sillig, Catal. Artif. p. 36) that he may have been a contemporary artist whom Virg. meant to compliment. Here and in the latter part of v. 43 Virg. had his eye on Theocr. 5. 104, 5, though the connexion there is different.

38.] 'Torno' for 'scalpro,' the graving tool, not the lathe. Serv., on A. 2. 392, has an improbable story that Virg. originally wrote 'facilis,' which was altered because of the rule forbidding the use of two epithets with the same noun. Here he says that Donatus reads 'facilis;' and so the Verona fragm. and (originally) two of Ribbeck's cursives. But the error is easily accounted for by the beginning of the next word, a confusion constantly occurring. Rom. has 'fragilis.' [The Berne scholia only recognize 'facilis.'—H. N.]

39.] 'Hedera pallente corymbos' is probably for 'hederæ pallentis,' a use of the material ablative for the genitive not uncommon in Virg., e.g. A. 7. 354, "Ac, dum prima lues udo sublapsa veneno Pertemptat sensus," for "lues udi veneni." It is a peculiarity—perhaps an affectation. Spolin connects the ablative with 'diffusos,' and so Forb. and Keightley. In any case Virg. cannot be acquitted of

obscurity, as the ablative at first sight seems clearly to belong to 'vestit,' which is scarcely possible, though Trapp thinks that the vine may be said to do what is really done by the ivy, to show how closely they are united. The vine is intertwined with the ivy (both emblems of Bacchus, and so fit ornaments for a drinking-cup), as in Theocr. the ivy with the flowers of the helichrysus. 'Hedera pallens' is probably that kind the leaves of which are marked with white, or rather with light yellow; "hedera alba," 7. 28. ['Pallante,' i.e. palante, Verona Palimps. 'Edera' Verona Palimps. originally. The spelling was doubtful in the time of Verrius Flaccus: Paul. p. 82. Müll. giving 'ederam' under e, p. 100, 'hedera' under 'h,' where three alternative etymologies are offered, 'quod haereat, sive quod edita petat, vel quia id cui adhaeserit edat.' Philarg. here pronounces for 'edera.'—H. N.]

40.] 'In medio,' in the fields, the spaces enclosed by the vine and ivy. Keightley. Conon was a famous astronomer in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus: the 'alter,' whose name the shepherd in his simplicity forgets, was probably Eudoxus, whose 'Phaenomena' was versified by Aratus. [The Verona scholia say that some commentators thought of Eudoxus, some of Aratus, while others were in favour of Archimedes, Hipparchus, Euctemon, Hesiod, or Euclid.—H. N.] 'Totum orbem' apparently means the whole circle of the heavens. Comp. A. 6. 850, "caelique meatus Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent." 'Radius' is the rod with which the geometrician drew figures on his abacus, but here and in A. 6 'describere radio' seems to be a figurative phrase for scientific delineation. 'Gentibus,' for mankind; explained by the mention of 'messor' and 'arator' in the next line.

42.] 'Curvus,' bending over the plough.

Necdum illis labra admovi, set condita servo.

D. Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,

Et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho,

45

Orpheaue in medio posuit silvasque sequentis.

Necdum illis labra admovi, set condita servo.

Si ad vitulam spectas, nihil est, quod pocula laudes.

M. Nunquam hodie effugies; veniam, quocumque vocaris.

Audiat haec tantum—vel qui venit, ecce, Palaemon. 50

Efficiam posthac ne quemquam voce lacesas.

D. Quin age, si quid habes, in me mora non erit ulla,

Pliny 18. 179, "Arator, nisi incurvus, praevaricatur," quoted by Voss.

43.] Theocr. 1. 59.

45.] 'Molli,' flexible; Theocr. 1. 55, *Παντὰ ἀμφὶ δέπας περιέπτται ὕψος ἄκανθος*. The epithet, as Forb. remarks, besides being characteristic of the acanthus reminds us of the art of the workman, like "mollis imitabitur aere capillos," Hor. A. P. 33. Contrast the detail of Menalcas with the brevity of Damoetas, who merely mentions enough to show that his cups are a fair match for his rival's, and then proceeds to depreciate them.

46.] 'In medio:' comp. 5. 40. 'Sequentia,' Ov. M. 11. 2, of Orpheus, "et sexa sequentia ducit."

47.] There may be some mockery in the repetition, as Voss suggests, or Damoetas may be carrying out his affected depreciation by not stopping to select words of his own.

48.] 'Compared with the heifer, the cups deserve no praise.' Most of the commentators suppose the construction to be 'si spectas (pocula) ad vitulam:' but though 'ad' may undoubtedly express comparison, it does not appear to be used in that sense with 'specto,' which indeed in such phrases as "tuum animum ex anima spectavi meo" (Ter. And. 4. 1. 22) implies positive observation rather than relative estimate. On the other hand, 'spectare ad aliquid' occurs not uncommonly in the sense of 'aspicere' or 'respicere ad aliquid,' as we might say 'If you once look at the heifer, you will find nothing to say for the cups.' So Forb. 'Nihil est quod:' Madvig, § 372 b. obs. 6.

49.] Damoetas had spoken as if Menalcas wished to get off. Menalcas retorts on him, 'I will stake a heifer, if you will have it so, rather than you should get off the wager' Maerob. 6. 1 says that 'num-

quam hodie effugies' is from Naevius. "Nunquam hodie effugies, quin mea manu moriare." 'Nunquam hodie' occurs again A. 2. 670, "Nunquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti." The phrase is found in the comic writers (Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 40, Ter. Phorm. 5. 3. 22, Adelp. 4. 2. 31), as an arch way of saying that a thing shall not be; and 'hodie' seems to be a sort of comic pleonasm. Gebauer, p. 31, comp. the use of *ὅποτε* in Theocr. 8. 10, 15, where we should more naturally say, 'by no means.' 'Veniam,' &c., I will meet you on any ground.

50.] 'Vel' goes rather with 'qui venit' than 'Palaemon.' Compare Theocr. 5. 50 foll., where Lacon wishes for a particular judge, but Cometes says that a woodcutter close by will do. Here Menalcas begins as if he wished for some one in particular, but corrects himself, and offers to take the chance of a man just then approaching, whom he identifies at the end of the verse as Palaemon: 'The man who is coming up—there! Palaemon it is.' Palaemon the grammarian, as Suetonius tells us (Ill. Gramm. 23), used to quote this line as showing that he was destined to be a critic before his birth: an opponent might easily have retorted that he is mentioned merely as a synonyme for *δευχόμενος*.

51.] 'Posthac' with 'lacesas.' 'Voce lacesas,' challenge in singing, i. e. challenge to sing.

52.] Damoetas, as the original challenger, had the right of beginning (Theocr. 6. 5, *πρῶτος δ' ἀρχατο Δάφνις, ἐκεῖ καὶ πρῶτος ἐρισθῆναι*), which he offers to waive; but Palaemon does not permit this, v. 58. 'Si quid habes,' *εἰ τι λέγεις*, Theocr. 5. 78. is apparently contemptuous, though a reference to 5. 10 (where see note), 9. 32, will show that it is not necessarily so. 'In me mora non erit ulla' is a phrase, as in Ov. M. 11. 160, "in iudicio, dixit, Nulla

Nec quemquam fugio : tantum, vicine Palaemon,
 Sensibus haec imis, res est non parva, reponas.
P. Dicite, quandoquidem in molli consedimus herba. 55
 Et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos ;
 Nunc frondet silvae ; nunc formosissimus annus.
 Incipe, Damoeta ; tu deinde sequere, Menalca.
 Alternis dicetis ; amant alterna Camenae.
D. Ab Iove principium, Musae ; Iovis omnia plena ; 60
 Ille colit terras ; illi mea carmina curae.
M. Et me Phoebus amat ; Phoebos sua semper apud me
 Munera sunt, lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus.

mora est." 'Per' is also used ; as in Ter. And. 3. 4. 14, Juv. 12. 111.

53.] 'Nec quemquam fugio,' I am content with any judge. 'Vicine:' Damoetas tries to conciliate Palaemon, while asking of him a simple act of justice.

54.] 'Res est non parva' seems better referred to the importance of the contest than to the magnitude of the wager.

55.] 'Since we are seated on the soft grass, and all around us invites to song.' In Theoc. 5. 45 foil. the rivalry of the shepherds extends even to the choice of a place for singing, each praising his own.

56.] With the language comp. G. 2. 323, 330. Emmen. refers to Bion 6. 17, *εἰαρι πάντα κύει, πάντ' εἰαρος ἀδέα βλαστει*.

57.] 'Now the year is at its fairest.' [Formosissimus, the uncials.—H. N.]

58.] Juv. 4. 34, "Incipe, Calliope, licet et coudere," is perhaps an allusion to this line and v. 55.

59.] Comp. 7. 18, 19, note. 'Alternis,' δι' ἀμειβαίων, Theoc. 8. 61. 'Amant alterna Camenae,' Hom. Il. 1. 604, *Μουσῶν θ' αἰ ἀείδον ἀμειβόμενα ὀπὶ καλῇ*.

60–63.] 'D. I begin with Jove, the filler of all things: he makes the country fruitful, and is the shepherd's patron. M. And I with Apollo, the poet's patron, for whom I rear bays and hyacinths in my garden.'

60.] Theoc. 17. 1, 'Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι. But Virg. seems to have had in his mind Aratus, Phaen. v. 1:

'Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτε ἄνδρες ἔωμεν

Ἀρήπτον μεστὰι δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μέν ἄγνυαί,

Πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα,

Καὶ λιμένες πάντῃ δὲ Διὸς κεκρήμεθα πάντες.

Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσμεν.

An alternative interpretation, mentioned by Serv., and adopted by Ribbeck, makes 'Musae' the genitive, which is supported by Cicero's translation of Aratus (De Leg. 2. 3), "Ab Iove Musarum primordia;" and by A. 7. 219, "Ab Iove principium generis;" but Theoc. l. c. and Ov. M. 10. 148, "Ab Iove, Musa parens (cedunt Iovis omnia regno) Carmina nostra move," defend the vocative. The question is as nearly balanced as possible.

61.] 'Ille colit terras,' Jupiter (the sky) impregnates the earth and makes it fruitful (comp. G. 2. 326), so that he is here said to cultivate the earth. 'Illi mea carmina curae,' because they celebrate the gifts of earth. Serv., however, renders 'colit,' 'amat,' misquoting A. 1. 15, "unam Posthabita coluisse Samo," where see note.

62.] Damoetas had secured as his patron the father of the gods and the giver of the plenty which, as Palaemon remarked, they saw around them; Menalcas meets him by naming a god who has specially to do with poetry, and referring not to the general bounty of nature, but to the produce of his own special labour, which he offers to that god as his due. In Theoc. 5. 80–83, Cometes names the Muses, Lacon Apollo, each mentioning his offerings as the ground of his favour with his patron.

63.] The bay and the hyacinth are the gifts of Apollo to man, and so are appropriately restored to him in sacrifice. Menalcas has a garden, like Corydon, 2. 45, where he always keeps these plants with a view to Apollo.

- D.* Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri. 65
- M.* At mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas,
Notior ut iam sit canibus non Delia nostris.
- D.* Parta meae Veneri sunt munera: namque notavi
Ipse locum, aëriae quo congessere palumbes.
- M.* Quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta 70
Aurea mala decem misi; cras altera mittam.
- D.* O quotiens et quae nobis Galatea locuta est!
Partem aliquam, venti, divom referatis ad auris!
- M.* Quid prodest, quod me ipse animo non spernis, Amynta,

64—67.] ‘*D.* My mistress pelts me and runs away, like a rogue as she is. *M.* My favourite does not avoid me; even my dogs know him well.’

64.] ‘*Mala*,’ as Keightley says, included all fruit with pips. They were sacred to Venus, whence *μήλα βάλλειν*, *μηλοβολεῖν*, was a mode of flirting. Theocr. 5. 88, Aristoph. Clouds, 997.

66.] ‘*Ignis*,’ of the beloved object. “*Pulchrior ignis*,” Hor. Epod. 14. 13. Comp. “*tua cura*,” E. 10. 22.

67.] ‘*Delia*’ may be understood of Diana, who assists the shepherd’s hunting (7. 29, comp. 10. 55), and so is known by his dogs. Amyntas too knows the dogs, being Menalcas’ hunting companion, v. 75. The other interpretation, which is more commonly adopted, makes Delia Menalcas’ mistress, or ‘*contubernalis*,’ who, on visiting him in the evening (7. 40), is recognized by the watch-dogs, so that Menalcas may mean indirectly to boast that he is beloved by two persons, not merely by one, like Damoetas. The language of v. 66 is rather in favour of this latter view, as otherwise we should have expected some allusion to hunting.

68—71.] ‘*D.* I have marked a wood-pigeon’s nest as a present for Galatea. *M.* I have sent Amyntas ten apples, and will send ten more to-morrow.’

68.] Theocr. 5. 96. ‘*Veneri*,’ “*Tun meam Venerem vituperas?*” Plaut. Curc. 1. 3. 86. ‘*Notare*,’ i. q. ‘*animadvertere*,’ as in G. 3. 100, A. 5. 648, &c. ‘*Ipse*,’ denotes that he has observed it himself, instead of trusting to hearsay, so that he will be sure to remember it, and recognize the place where the young are ready to be taken. Thus there is no reason to understand ‘*notavi*’ with Wagn. of actu-

ally setting a mark on the spot.

69.] Wood-pigeons are sacred to Venus. ‘*Aeriae*’ occurs in Lucr. 1. 12., 5. 825, as an epithet of ‘*volucres*,’ as we say birds of the air: here, however, it means making their nests high in air, like “*aeria turtur ab ulmo*,” 1. 58, so that it reminds us that the intended gift is hazardous. ‘*Congessere*,’ a brief expression for ‘*nidum congessere*’ (Plaut. Rud. 3. 6. 5), as we say to build. “*Apes in alvearium congesserant*,” Cic. Oecon. in Charis. p. 82 P. So “*tendere*” for “*tentoria tendere*” A. 2. 29, &c.

70. 71.] Theocr. 3. 10. ‘*Aurea*,’ as in 8. 52, golden, i. e. ripe and ruddy; not a particular kind of ‘*malum*,’ such as quinces or pomegranates. Prop. 3. 26. 69, referring to this passage, has simply ‘*mala*.’ Spohn well observes that ‘*quod potui*’ corresponds to ‘*aeriae*,’ both denoting difficulty. He has done his best for to-day (referring to the quality, not to the quantity of his presents), and promises to give the same to-morrow. ‘*Altera*,’ a second batch of ten. “*Totidem altera*.” Hor. 1 Ep. 6. 34.

72—75.] ‘*D.* O the things that Galatea says to me; things that the gods might listen to! *M.* Amyntas, you love me; do not separate from me in hunting.’

72.] From this line to 4. 52 Pal. is defective.

73.] ‘*Let not such precious words be wholly lost, but convey some part at least to the ear of the gods.*’ Comp. Theocr. 7. 93. So Apollo listens to the nightingale’s song. Aristoph. Birds, 217. Those who, like Heyne and Voss, suppose that the gods are requested to hear Galatea’s vows and punish her perjury, quite mistake the passage.

Si, dum tu sectaris apros, ego retia servo?

D. Phyllida mitte mihi: meus est natalis, Iolla;

Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse venito.

M. Phyllida amo ante alias; nam me discedere flevit,

Et longum Formose, vale, vale, inquit, Iolla.

D. Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres, 80

Arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllidis irae.

M. Dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedia,

Lenta salix feto pecori, mihi solus Amyntas.

D. Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam:

75.] To carry the toils for another, or watch them while he was hunting (*λειτουργῶν*) seems to have been a common compliment. Tibull. 1. 4. 50., 4. 3. 12, Ov. A. A. 2. 189. He complains that he is separated from Amyntas, who takes the more attractive and dangerous part of the adventure; and this untoward circumstance is opposed to 'ipse animo non spernis.' 'What is your affection to me, if you will not give me your company?'

76—79.] '*D.* Send me Phyllis for my birthday, you can come on the next holiday. *M.* I send you Phyllis? She is my love, and cries at parting from me.'

77.] The birthday was a season for merry-making and love; the Ambarvalia ('cum faciam vitula pro frugibus') was a time of abstinence from love. See the description of that festival in Tibull. 2. 1. Festus [ap. Macrob. Sat. 3. 5] says: "Ambarvalis hostia est, quae rei divinae causa circum arva ducitur ab iis qui pro frugibus faciunt." Numerous instances of 'facere' and *πέζειν* for 'sacrificare' and *ιερά πέζειν* will be found in the lexicons. Rom. and the rest of Ribbeck's MSS. read 'vitulam;' but Serv. and Macrob. Sat. 3. 2 are for 'vitula,' which Pierius found in some old copies. It should be remembered that we have not the evidence of Pal. and Med. The accusative is admissible in point of grammar, but not in point of euphony. The ablative, however, is the regular case in such a connexion. "Facere catulo," Colum. 2. 22. "Quod agnis fecerat?" Plaut. Stich. 1. 3. 97. Comp. the use of 'agna—haedo,' Hor. 1 Od. 4. 12, where some MSS. have the accusative.

78.] Theocr. 5. 134. Menalcas retorts in the person of Iollas—'Phyllis, whom you bid me send to you, is in love with me, and wept when I left her.' This Phyllis seems to be a female slave and mistress of Iollas, whom Damoetas pretends to rival in her affections. So Corydon 7. 39 speaks in the person of Micon. 'Flevit' with an object clause, as in Prop. 1. 7. 18, "Flebis in aeterno surda iacere situ."

79.] 'Longum, vale, inquit:' she lengthened out her farewell, saying, 'Vale, vale,' in her reluctance to part. So Wagn. rightly interprets it. In other words 'longum' goes with 'inquit,' not with 'vale.' So "longum clamet," Hor. A. P. 459, and the Homeric *μακρὴν ἀνείπ.* With the metre comp. 6. 44. ['Formonsee,' the uncials.—H. N.]

80—83.] '*D.* Every thing in nature has its bane: mine is the wrath of Amaryllis. *M.* Every thing in nature has its delight: mine is Amyntas.'

80.] Theocr. 8. 57. 'Triste' and 'dulce,' v. 82, are virtually nouns, like *φθέρων κακόν* in Theocr. 'Imbres:' comp. G. 1. 322 foll.

81.] 'Venti:' G. 1. 443. Damoetas seems to have three mistresses, Galatea, Phyllis, and Amaryllis. They can scarcely be fancy loves, because Menalcas sticks to Amyntas.

82.] 'Depulsis' ('a matribus,' 'ab ubere,' or 'a lacte'): comp. 1. 22. The leaves of the arbutus would tempt the young kids. "Frondentia capris Arbuta sufficere," G. 3. 300.

83.] Cattle were fond of the willow leaves (1. 79), and after yearning or during pregnancy their favourite food would be especially grateful (1. 50).

84—87.] '*D.* Pollio is my patron, and the prince of critics. *M.* Pollio is more—he is the prince of poets.'

84.] In introducing an historical person among feigned characters here and in v. 90., 9. 35, and 10 passim, Virg. has followed Theocr., whose 7th Idyl contains several instances of such confusion. No

Pierides, vitulam lectori pascite vestro.

85

M. Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina : pascite taurum,
Iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam.

D. Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet ;
Mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.

M. Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maevi, 90
Atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.

D. Qui legis flores et humi nascentia fraga,

Frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.

reason drawn from the proprieties of composition could be urged against taking 'vitulam' and 'taurum' here as the prizes of different kinds of poetry; but the 'nova carmina' were tragedies, and the bull was the prize of dithyrambic contests. It is safer to say that the victim rises with the rise from critic and patron to poet. There seems no occasion to suppose that a sacrifice for Pollio's safety is intended. Observe how studiously Virg. avoids shortening the last syllable of 'Pollio,' unlike Hor. 2 Od. 1. 14., 1 S. 10. 42. Some MSS., including two of Ribbeck's cursives, have 'quamvis sit.'

85.] Gebauer, p. 219, points out a faint resemblance in this and the following line to Theocr. 8. 33—35.

86.] Some take 'nova carmina' to mean tragedies on Roman subjects, not borrowed from the Greek (Dict. Biogr. Pollio); but this is too specific. If any thing, 'nova' means original; but it may be merely a carrying out of the notion of 'ipse,' 'he makes verses himself, and does not merely criticize those of others.'

87.] Repeated A. 9. 629. 'Petat,' 'spargat' express not the reason for which the bull is reared, but the quality of the animal. The trajection of 'qui' is noticeable.

88—91.] 'D. May Pollio's admirers be like him! *M.* May Bavius' and Maevius' admirers be like them!'

88.] 'Veniat, quo te quoque gaudet (venisse),' 'may your lot be his, and may he enjoy with you the dreamy felicity of the golden age.' Such seems the simplest way of taking this difficult passage, and the one best corresponding to vv. 90, 91. Heyne quotes Theocr. 1. 20, *Kal τὰς βακοαῖκας ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἴκειό Μάσας*. Still, even if the ellipse were supplied it would be sufficiently cumbersome to say 'the lot which he is glad that you also have attained' for 'your lot,' so that there is some

temptation to believe the passage corrupt, though Burmann's 'laudat' would not mend it much.

89.] The form of the wish is from Theocr. 5. 124—127; but there the rivals are merely trying to outbid each other in wishes as in other things, whereas here there is doubtless a further meaning. The shepherd naturally dwells on the rural glories of the golden age, as existing in fable (G. 1. 131), and in prophecy (E. 4. 25, 30). The poet and his admirer are apparently supposed to live together in dreamland. Possibly, as Forb. thinks, honey may be specified as a common emblem of poetical sweetness (Hor. 1 Ep. 19. 44, &c.), while the image of the bramble-bearing spices may mean that the meanest rustic argument is to produce a sense of beauty. Comp. 4. 2. There may be a reference to Theocr. 1. 132, where Daphnis, like Damon, E. 8. 52, prays for a change in the course of nature, *ὦν τα μὲν φορέοιτε βάτραχ, φορέοιτε δ' ἄκωνθαι κ.τ.λ.* Thus the blessing is put into a form which had been used by the Greek poet for a curse, and we are prepared for the counter wish in v. 91. All we know of 'amomum' is, that it grew in the east, and yielded a fragrant spice. Keightley.

90.] For these worthies see Dict. Biogr.

91.] 'Iungat vulpes' is explained of yoking for ploughing, the expression being apparently proverbial. Suidas has *ἀλώπηξ τὸν βοῦν ἐκείνει*. Demonax, according to Lucian (Vit. Dem. 38), said of two foolish disputants that one was milking a he-goat, and the other catching the milk in a sieve. Here, however, 'iungere vulpes' and 'mulgere hircos' appears to be a sort of comic purgatory, opposed to the paradise of v. 89.

92—95.] 'D. Strawberry gatherers, beware of snakes. *M.* Sheep, beware of going too near the water.'

93.] The confused order of the words

M. Parcite, oves, nimum procedere: non bene ripae
Creditur; ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccatur.

95

D. Tityre, pascentes a flumine reice capellas:
Ipse, ubi tempus erit, omnis in fonte lavabo.

M. Cogite oves, pueri; si lac praeceperit aestus,
Ut nuper, frustra pressabimus ubera palmis.

D. Heu, heu, quam pingui macer est mihi taurus in ervo!
Idem amor exitium est pecori pecorisque magistro.

101

M. His certe neque amor causa est; vix ossibus haerent.
Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

D. Dic, quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—

and the rapidity of the measure, are noted as expressive. 'Frigidus anguis,' 8. 7. *ὑυχρόν δφιν*, Theocr. 15. 58.

94.] Theocr. 5. 100. 'Non bene ripae creditur,' like "aliis male creditur," Hor. 2 S. 4. 21.

96—99.] '*D.* Keep the goats from the river: I'll wash them in time. *M.* Get the ewes into the shade, or they will run dry again.'

96.] 'Reice;' so 'eicit' for 'eicit,' Lucr. 3. 877. Ramshorn, Lat. Gr. 212. 1. b. From Gell. 4. 17 there seems to have been a tendency in his time to write compounds of 'iacio' with a single 'i,' even where the preceding syllable required to be lengthened. Statius, Theb. 4. 574, has "reicitque canes," calls off the dogs. Virg. has apparently imitated Theocr. 4. 44, *βάλλε κάτ' αὖτ' τὰ βοσκήσια*, which is explained by the custom of shepherds flinging their crooks among the cattle, Il. 23. 845. Plautus however has "in bubile reicere (boves)," Pers. 2. 5. 18. Tityrus is addressed as a herdsman, as in v. 20., 9. 23.

97.] Theocr. 5. 145.

98.] 'Cogite,' 'in umbras,' which is expressed in v. 107 of the spurious Culex. The sheep are driven into the shade at mid-day that they may be fit for milking at evening. Rom. has 'aestas.'

99.] Observe the reality which 'ut nuper' gives to the injunction.

100—103.] '*D.* My bull won't fatten: it is love. *M.* My lambs won't either: it is the evil eye.'

100.] Theocr. 4. 20. 'Ervum,' a species of tare: probably the hairy tare that grows in our fields and hedges. Keightley. The old reading before Heins. was 'arvo,' which is found in Rom. 'Quam' with 'macer.'

101.] 'Exitium est pecori' Rom., Gud. corrected, 'exitium pecori est' Gud. originally, and two of Ribbeck's cursives. A third omits 'est' altogether, which is the ordinary reading. There can be no certainty what Virg. wrote: but it seems safe to follow Rom. For a similar doubt comp. A. 5. 235.

102.] Theocr. 4. 15. 'These of mine are not even so well off as yours; they have some malady more mysterious than love.' 'Neque' is for 'ne quidem,' used like *οὐδέ*, a use found in post-Augustan prose and in Hor. 2 Sat. 3. 262, according to the most probable reading. Madvig Excurs. 3 on Cic. De Finibus denies the appropriateness of this sense in the present passage, and Mr. Munro follows him: but the meaning as explained above seems perfectly natural, Menalcas as usual trying to outdo his rival, even in describing ill fortune. Their remedy is to read 'hi' from a conjecture of Stephens and Heins., 'neque amor causa est' being made parenthetical, or to treat 'his' as an archaism for 'hi,' which would be a very hazardous hypothesis in Virg., though a doubtful passage in Donatus on Ter. Eun. 2. 2. 38 is alleged to show that it was so understood by that critic.

103.] Comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 14. 37, "Non istic (at his farm) obliquo oculo mea comoda quisquam Limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat."

104—107.] '*D.* Guess my riddle, and you shall be my Apollo. *M.* Guess mine, and you shall have Phyllis to yourself.'

104.] According to Serv., Asconius Pedianus heard Virg. say that he had intended in this passage to set a trap for the critics; and that the real answer was the tomb of Caelius, a Mantuan who had squandered his estate, and left himself

Tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. 105
M. Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
 Nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto.
P. Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.
 Et vitula tu dignus, et hic, et quisquis amores
 Aut metuet dulcis, aut experietur amarus. 110
 Claudite iam rivos, pueri: sat prata biberunt.

only land enough for a tomb. The critics may be pardoned if they have fallen into such a trap with their eyes open, though their various guesses, e.g. a well, an oven, the shield of Achilles, the pit called 'mundus' in the Comitium, only opened for three days each year, are not particularly happy. 'Caeli spatium' would not naturally express the ground possessed by or covering Caelius, so that the riddle, according to its traditional explanation, does not even fulfil the conditions of a good catch. 'Apollo' as the god of divination. [The Berne scholia quote, not Asconius, but Cornutus, as the authority for the story about Virg. Ribbeck thinks 'Cornutus' is corrupt for 'Cornelius,' i.e. the poet Cornelius Gallus.—H. N.]

105.] For the construction 'non amplius tris ulnas,' see on G. 4. 207, A. 1. 683.

106.] 'Regum,' princes; the Homeric βασιλῆες. The flower meant is the hyacinth (ἡ γρανὴ δάκρυθος, Theocr. 10. 28), which was supposed to be inscribed with Αὐ Αὐ to express the name of Afas, or with γ for γάκρυθος, the lost favourite of

Apollo.

108—111.] 'P. I cannot decide between those who feel so truly and sing so well.'

109.] Both ultimately wagered a heifer. See v. 49. 'Et quisquis amarus:' this is obscure and harshly expressed, but there seems no reason to suspect the text. The general sense no doubt is, as Serv. says, 'Et tu et hic digni estis vitula et quicunque similis vestri est,' any one who can feel love as you have shown you can, the alarm which attends its enjoyment, and the pangs of disappointment. The action may be put for the celebration of the action, as in G. 62., 9. 19; or Palaemon may mean that the lover is equal to the poet, as in vv. 88, 89, the admirer seems to be equal to the poet. None of the corrections that have been proposed improve the passage.

111.] If Palaemon says this to his slaves, it also alludes metaphorically to the stream of bucolic verse. 'Rivi' are cuts for irrigation, watering cattle, and drawing water, G. 1. 269. "Rivus est locus per longitudinem depressus, quo aqua decurrat," Dig. 43. 21. 1. 2.

ECLOGA IV.

POLLIO.

THE precise reference of this famous poem is still, and will probably remain, an unsolved problem. It seems, however, possible to arrive at certain proximate results.

The date is fixed to the year 714, when Pollio was consul and assisted in negotiating the peace of Brundisium. The hero of the poem is a child born, or to be born, in this auspicious year, who is gradually to perfect the restoration then beginning. It is difficult to say who the child was, for the simple reason that Virgil's anticipations were never fulfilled. It is not certain that the child was ever born: it is certain that, if born, he did not become the regenerator of his time. On the other hand, there is considerable scope for conjecturing who he may have been. Pollio himself had two sons born about this period: the treaty was solemnized by

the marriage of Antonius with Octavia, and the union of Octavianus with Scribonia had taken place not long before. [The most ancient commentators, if we may judge by the notes in Macrobius (S. 3. 7. 1.) Servius, and the Berne scholia, were not agreed whether the poem was to be referred to Octavianus, or to one or other of Pollio's sons.] One of these, called Saloniinus from his father's capture of Salona in Dalmatia, died in his infancy, while the other, C. Asinius Gallus, who is said to have spoken of himself to Asconius Pedianus as the person meant, lived to be discussed by Augustus as his possible successor (Tac. A. 1. 13), and finally fell a victim to the jealousy of Tiberius (ib. 6. 23). Octavianus' marriage issued in the birth of Julia: Octavia's child, if it was ever born, was the child not of Antonius, but of Marcellus, her former husband, by whom she was pregnant at the time of her second marriage. Any of these births, so far as we can see, may have appeared at the time to a courtly or enthusiastic poet a sufficient centre round which to group the hopes already assumed to be rising in men's minds, and though the next three years may have made a difference in this respect, the poem would still continue to be in its general features the embodiment of a feeling not yet extinguished, and as such might well be published along with the other Eclogues. The peace of Brundisium itself was not so much the cause of this enthusiasm as the occasion of its manifestation—the partial satisfaction of a yearning which had long been felt, not merely the transient awakening of desires hitherto dormant. How far such hopes may have been connected with the expectation of a Messiah opens a wide question. The coincidence between Virgil's language and that of the Old Testament prophets is sufficiently striking: but it may be doubted whether Virgil uses any image to which a classical parallel cannot be found.

The allusions to the prophecies of the Sibyl and to the doctrine of the *Annus Magnus* will be found explained in their places. Some features of the poem, which seem to deserve attention, are noticed in the note on v. 18.

SICELIDES Musae, paulo maiora canamus.

Non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;

Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;

1—3.] 'My rural song must now rise into a higher region.'

1.] 'Sicelides Musae,' Muses of Theocritus. See Introduction to the Eclogues, p. 7, note 3.

2.] Tamarisks form part of Theocr.'s scenery (l. 13., 5. 101). Here they are emblems of the lower strain of rural poetry, the species of which 'silvae' symbolizes the genus. They were moreover sacred to Apollo, who was called *μυρκαῖος* and *μυρκίνορος*, being represented with a branch of one in his hand, so that they are naturally associated with poetry here as in 6. 10., 10. 13.

3.] 'Silvas:' comp. 1. 2. 'If my theme is still to be the country, let it rise to a dignity of which a consul need not be ashamed.' A consul like Pollio need not be ashamed of the rural glories of the golden age, 8. 89, note.

4—17.] 'The golden age is returning. A glorious child is born. Thy consulship, Pollio, will usher him into life, and inaugurate a period of peace, when the world will obey a godlike king.'

4.] 'Cumaei carminis,' the Sibylline verses, the Sibyl of Cumae being the most famous. The original Sibylline books having been destroyed in the burning of the Capitol in Sulla's time, the senate ordered a collection of Sibylline verses to be made in the various towns of Italy and Greece. After a critical examination about a thousand lines were retained as genuine, and preserved with the same formality as the lost volumes. Varro however tells us (Dionys. Halic. Antiq. R. 4. 62) that some spurious ones were introduced, which might be detected by their acrostich character; and this test was employed by Cicero (De Div. 2. 54) to disprove a

Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.
Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;

5

professedly Sibylline prediction brought forward by those who wished to make Cæsar king. Later we find that forgeries of the kind had become common, private persons pretending to have oracles in their possession, and the matter was accordingly twice publicly investigated under Augustus (Suet. Aug. 31), and under Tiberius (Tac. A. 6. 12). Of the precise oracle to which Virg. refers nothing seems to be known. But we know that the Sibylline books recognized the division of time into secles of 110 years (comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 5 foll., 21 foll., and the supposed oracle preserved by Zosimus 2. 5, and quoted by Mr. Maclean on Hor. l. c.): and we may well believe with Mr. Greswell (*Origines Kalendariae Italicae*, vol. ii.) that the Etruscan doctrine of the decursus of secles was embodied in Sibylline prophecy. The Etruscan course was one of ten secles (Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, c. 17); and four years before Pollio's consulship, according to a curious story preserved by Serv. on E. 9. 47, Vulcatius, a haruspex, explained the comet which appeared the year of Cæsar's death as an indication that the ninth secle was ending and the tenth beginning. On the present passage Serv. says, "Cumaei; Sibyllini, quae Cumana fuit, et saecula per metalla divisit; dixit etiam quis quo saeculo imperaret, et solem ultimum, i.e. decimum voluit" (comp. id. on v. 10). The emperor Constantine, in his oration to the clergy, preserved by Eusebius, quotes an acrostich oracle, which, though an evident forgery by a Christian, imposed on many both before and after his time. Augustine, who cites a Latin version of it (*De Civitate Dei*, 18. 23), curiously enough, in his Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, authenticates it by this line of Virg., but for which he would have been unwilling to believe that the Sibyl prophesied of Christ. An elaborate edition of this and the other Sibylline oracles has been published, with a Latin translation and notes, by M. Alexandre (Paris, 1851—7). Mr. Merivale believes these oracles to be the representatives of others of an earlier date, which spoke language borrowed from Jewish prophecy, and so finds no difficulty in accounting for the phraseology employed by Virg. (*Hist.* vol. iii. p. 232). The other explanation of 'Cum-

aeum carmen' as the poem of Hesiod, whose father came from Cume in Aeolis, breaks down, as Hesiod's theory of the four (or rather five) ages is not a theory of cycles, and the last age he mentions is the worst or iron age, in which he represents himself as living, though in an obscure passage (*Works and Days*, 180) he apparently holds out a hope that it too may be destroyed. 'Cumaei' is restored by Wagn. and Forb., being found in Gud. and two of Ribbeck's cursives here, and supported by Med. in A. 3. 441., 6. 98. Forb. remarks that the old name was Κόμη, whence Κυμαῖος, the later Κοῦμαι or 'Cumae,' the adjective of which is 'Cumanus.'

5.] The reference is to the doctrine of the 'annus magnus,' or 'Platonicus,' a vast period variously estimated at 2,489, 3,000, 7,777, 12,954, 15,000, and 18,000 years, to be completed whenever all the heavenly bodies should occupy the same places in which they were at the beginning of the world. In each of these periods it was supposed that the cycle of mundane and human history repeated itself. Like the ordinary year, the 'annus magnus' was divided into three hundred and sixty-five days, twelve months, and four seasons, the latter being identified by some with the four ages of mankind, while others, such as Aristotle, connected the winter with the deluge, the summer with the final conflagration. See Voss's commentary, from which the above note, like much of that on the preceding verse, is taken, and compare Macrobius, *Sonn.* Scip. 2. 11, and Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, c. 18. Whether this doctrine was actually connected with the Etruscan theory of secles, as Mr. Greswell (vol. ii. p. 628) appears to assume, or whether the connexion is merely due to Virg.'s fondness for mixing up pieces of heterogeneous learning, is not easy to say. In any case the meaning would seem to be that when the tenth or last secle is over, the cycle is to be repeated. 'Ab integro,' 'columnnam efficere ab integro,' Cic. *Verr.* 2. 1. 56. We also find 'ex integro' and 'de integro,' like 'de novo.' The lengthening of 'integro,' though not usual, is found Lucr. 1. 827, and elsewhere.

6.] Heyne places a semicolon after 'Virgo.' Wagn. strikes it out and adds this note: "'Redit et Virgo, redeunt

Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
 Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
 Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
 Casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. 10
 Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te Consule, inibit,
 Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses;
 Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
 Inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.
 Ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit 15

Saturnia regna is the same thing as 'et Virgo et Saturnia regna redeunt.' For it is to be observed that the repetition of a noun or verb is sometimes equivalent to a repetition of the copula: A. 7. 327, 'Odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores Tartareae monstrum;' 8. 91, 'Labitur uncta vadis abies: mirantur et undae, Miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe Scuta virum;' 11. 169, 'Quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla, Quam pius Aeneas, et quam magni Phryges, et quam Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis;' 12. 548, 'Totae adeo conversae acies, omnesque Latini, Omnes Dardaniae.' The preposition is repeated in the same way A. 10. 313, 'huic gladio perque aerea suta, Per tunicam squalentem auro, latus haurit apertum.' 'Virgo, Justice, who left the earth in the iron age. G. 2. 474.

7.] 'Nova progenies,' a new and better race of men. "Gens aurea," v. 9. With 'caelo demittitur' comp. G. 2. 385, "Necnon Ansonii Troia gens missa coloni."

8.] 'Nascenti—fave,' smile on or speed his birth. It is difficult to say whether 'quo' is to be taken as the ablative of the agent ('who shall put an end to the race of iron and restore the age of gold'), or as an ablative absolute or ablative of circumstance, like 'te Consule'—'under whom the age of iron shall end,' &c. 'Primum,' at last; comp. 1. 45. 'Ferrea:' we do not know the details of the tenfold metallic division (if such a division existed), and so cannot tell whether the iron age occupied the last place in it, or whether it is simply borrowed from the Hesiodic ages. If the former is true, Virg. is involved in a difficulty, as he must mean Apollo to preside over a good period, not over an exceptionally bad one. Juv. 13. 28 speaks of his "nona aetas" as worse than the age of iron, and having no metallic distinction.

10.] If any reliance is to be placed on Serv.'s statement referred to on v. 4, that the Sibylline prophecy made the last of the ten ages the age of the sun, it is doubtless he that is spoken of here as Apollo. The seale of the Sun is going on; and when that is over, the new cycle will succeed. Whether any further historical reference is supposed—to Apollo as the reputed father of Octavianus, for instance, must depend on the opinion held as to the hero of the Eclogue. See Introduction. 'Tuus,' because Lucina and Diana (Ellithyia and Artemis) were identified.

11.] 'Tuque adeo' are not unfrequently found together, as in G. 1. 24; Ennius, *Medea*, fr. 14, "Iuppiter, tuque adeo, summe sol, qui omnis res inspicis;" 'adeo' here, as in other places giving a rhetorical prominence to the word after which it is used. See G. 2. 323, A. 3. 203. "Decus hoc aevi," this glorious age. Lucr. 2. 15, "Qualibus in tenebris vitae quantisque periculis Degitur hoc aevi quodcumque est." Comp. also "monstrum mulieris," Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 64, and *δεσπότην στήρυς*, Aesch. *Choeph.* 770. 'Inibit,' commence, as in "anno ineunte," "ineunte aetate."

12.] 'Magni menses,' the periods into which the 'magnus annus' was divided. See on v. 5.

13.] 'Te duce,' under your auspices as consul, giving the year its name. 'Sceleris,' not general, like 'fraudis,' v. 31, but referring to the guilt of civil bloodshed. Keightley refers to Hor. 1 Od. 2. 29, "Cui dabit partis scelus expiandi Iuppiter?" and Epod. 7. 1, "Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?" So 'pacatum orbem' v. 17.

14.] 'Inrita,' in its strict sense, by their abolition.

15.] 'Ille,' the 'puer' of v. 8. ['Accipiet' may mean 'shall be initiated into,' on the analogy of 'accipere sacra.'—H. N.]

Permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis,
 Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.
 At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu
 Errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus
 Mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.
 Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
 Ubers, nec magnos metuent armenta leones.
 Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
 Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni

20

'Deum vitam,' the characteristic of the golden age; *ἄσπετος θεὸς* (ἄσπετος, Hesiod, Works, 112. Another of its privileges was that of familiar intercourse with the gods on earth, Catull. 64. ad fin., here expressed by 'videbit.'

16.] 'Videbitur' expresses the reciprocal character of the intimacy. In Aesch. Eum. 411 the Furies are said to be *ὄντ' ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν ὁρμημένας*.

17.] 'Patriis' of course cannot be explained without solving the riddle of the Eclogue.

18—25.] 'Nature will do honour to the babe; flowers will spring spontaneously: herds will come to be milked for its sustenance: poison will be taken out of its way.'

18.] The coming of the golden age will be gradual, its stages corresponding to those in the life of the child. Thus its infancy is signalized by the production of natural gifts and the removal of natural evils, things which were partially realized even before: in its youth the vegetable world will actually change its nature: in its manhood the change will extend to the animals. Further, the particular changes would seem to be adapted to the successive requirements of the child. There are toys and milk for its childhood, which is to be specially guarded from harm; stronger food for its youth, which is not to be without adventure and military glory; quiet and prosperous luxury for its mature age. 'Munuscula,' as Keightley well remarks, are gifts for children. "Non invisa feras pueris munuscula parvis," Hor. 1 Ep. 7. 17. 'Nullo cultu' is a characteristic of the golden age, G. 1. 128, Hesiod, Works, 118. Rom. has 'Ac tibi nulla, pater, primo,' a strange aberration.

19, 20.] 'Passim' goes with 'fundet.' What now grows only in certain places will then grow everywhere. It is doubt-

ful what 'bacca' is: some say foxglove, others asarabacca, a creeping plant with leaves somewhat like ivy. [It was identified, though wrongly according to Pliny, with the 'nardum rusticum.' Its root was used for scenting unguents, and also in medicine: Plin. 21. 29, 132.—H.N.] 'Colocasium' is the Egyptian bean, which was introduced into Italy. [Plin. 21. 87, describes it as a river plant with broad leaves, which were used for making into drinking cups. There were two forms of the word, 'colocasium' and 'colocasia.' The 'acanthus' was a garden plant with long broad leaves, the root of which was used in medicine: Plin. 22. 76. H. N.]

21.] 'Ipsae,' of their own accord; so *αὐτοῖς* in Greek, e.g. Theocr. 11. 12. Comp. G. 3. 316, A. 7. 492. 'The goats shall need no goatherd, and the kine no keeper. They are to produce milk for thee, so lions and wolves will not approach them.' Comp. Hor. Epod. 16. 49, which seems to be imitated either by or from Virg., according to the date which we assign to its composition.

23.] 'Ipsa' in the same sense as 'ipsae,' v. 21, 'nullo cultu,' v. 18. 'No need to make thee a bed of flowers. The ground on which thou liest will of its own accord bring forth flowers to show its love.' 'Blandos' has the sense of 'blandiri.'

24.] With this and the previous line comp. Hor. 3 Od. 4. 17 foll.:

"Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
 Dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
 Lauroque collataque myrto,
 Non sine Dis animosus infans."

The serpents and poisonous plants are removed for the child's sake. So in the remarkable parallel to this whole passage in Isaiah 11, "The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp" (v. 8). 'Herba veneni,' poisonous herb. 'Ve-

Occidet ; Assyrium volgo nascetur amomum. 25
 At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
 Iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus,
 Molli paulatim flavescet campus arista,
 Incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva,
 Et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. 30
 Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
 Quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
 Oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
 Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo

neni' is a gen. of quality. Comp. Juv. 3. 4, "gratum litus amoeni Secessus." 'Fallax' is well illustrated by Serv. from G. 2. 152, "nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis."

25.] For 'amomum' see 3. 89.

26—36.] 'When he advances to youth, corn, wine, and honey will come unbidden: there will also be the glory of adventure.'

26.] 'Ac simul' Rom. 'Heroum laudes,' κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, Hom. II. 9. 524. 'Parentis,' Gud. (originally) and two other of Ribbeck's cursives, is doubtless the true reading, as well as the best supported: 'parentum,' Rom., Gud. (corrected), would be a natural correction from such passages as A. 1. 645., 2. 448., 10. 282. The child will read of the glories of its father and the heroes of older time, the subjects of poetry and history, and thus learn to conceive of virtue.

28.] 'Flavescet arista,' that is, spontaneously, which seems to be expressed by 'paulatim': there will be no process of sowing, from which the springing of the crop can date, but the field will gradually develop into corn. Comp. Hor. Epod. 16. 43 foll. (of the Islands of the Blest): "Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis, Et imputata floret usque vinea, Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivæ." 'Molli' seems to include the notions of flexibility (comp. 5. 31) and delicacy. The corn-ear may of course be looked upon as rough, 'horrens'; but it may also suggest an opposite notion, with no less truth. To suppose with some of the commentators that the corn of the golden age is to be no longer pointed and bearded, but soft, is, I think, to mistake the poetical image.

29.] In G. 1. 132 Virg. goes one step further, intimating that in the golden age

wine ran in the beds of the rivers.

30.] 'Roscida,' because it was imagined that the honey fell in the shape of dew, and was gathered by the bees from leaves—"aerii mellis caelestia dona," G. 4. 1. On the return of the golden age it will appear in larger quantities, so that men will be able to gather it from leaves for themselves, as they will be able to obtain every thing else without labour. Comp. G. 1. 131. There also may be a reference, as Heyne remarks, to the honeysometimes found in the hollows of trees (G. 2. 453), as there is in the parallel passage, Hor. Epod. 16. 47, "Mella cava manant ex ilice," as if this would happen everywhere under the new order of things; and this is supported by Hesiod, Works, 232 foll. οἰρεσι δὲ δρύς Ἀκρὴ μὲν τε φέρεי βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσαις, of the golden-age blessings which attend the good even now.

31.] 'Fraudis,' the wickedness of artificial society, opposed to the simplicity and innocence of the state of nature. The idea is kept in 'temptare' and in 'mentiri' (v. 42).

32.] 'Temptare' like "sollicitant freta," G. 2. 503. Comp. Hor. 1 Od. 3. 9 foll. 'Cingere,' imitated by Ov. M. 1. 97 (speaking of the golden age), "Nondum praecipites eingeant oppida fossae."

33.] Rom. has 'tellurem infindere sulco'; but "infundunt pariter sulcos" occurs A. 5. 142. The necessity of ploughing was one of the marks of transition from the golden to the silver age (G. 1. 122, 125, 131), and its continued practice is a proof that the regeneration of things is still incomplete. Comparing this line with v. 28, we must suppose that though corn grows spontaneously, men are greedy for more, and try to extort more by cultivation. See on v. 40.

34.] In the Sibylline cycle all history was to come over again. Virg. seems to

Delectos heroas ; erunt etiam altera bella, 35
 Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.
 Hinc, ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas,
 Cedet et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus
 Mutabit merces : omnis feret omnia tellus.
 Non rastos patietur humus, non vinea falcem ; 40
 Robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator ;
 Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,
 Ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
 Murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto ;

be mixing this notion with that of a return to the age of gold, so as to give some scope to the national love of conquest. In Hesiod the heroes form a fourth age, between brazen and iron. Tiplys was the helmsman of the Argo.

35.] The Argonauts are called "delecti viri" Enn. Med. 5, "lecti iuvenes" Catull. 64. 4, perhaps a translation of ἀρίστεις. See Eur. Med. 5 (Elmsley's note), Theoc. 13. 16. 'Altera bella,' the old wars over again.

36.] There seems no special relevancy in the mention of the Trojan war. The context does not suggest the notion that the youthful warrior is himself Achilles ; nor on the other hand can we suppose with Mr. Munro that the great enemy of the Trojans reappears because the Roman hope of the world is too young to take the field. Had Virg. intended either of these thoughts, he would have expressed himself more definitely, as there is a prima facie incongruity about each which it would have been the poet's office to mitigate or remove. The probability is that he merely instances the Trojan War as a great mythical war, without reflecting on the legendary connexion between Troy and Rome, which he was himself hereafter to do so much to perpetuate.

37—47.] 'When he is grown to manhood, even commerce will cease, for every thing will grow everywhere ; nature will supply the place, not only of industry, but of artificial civilization : so the Fates ordain.'

38.] 'Vector,' the passenger, which seems to be its sense where it is used of maritime carriage. 'Et ipse,' much more the sailor in a ship of war.

39.] 'Mutat merces' of a merchant, Hor. 1 S. 4. 29. 'Omnia,' &c. : comp. G. 1. 63., 2. 109 notes. Virg. doubtless

copies Hesiod, Works, 236 foll., who says of his upright nation, οὐδ' ἐπὶ νηῶν Νίσσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

40.] We seem to have gathered from vv. 31 foll. that even after nature has begun to return to the freedom and spontaneity of the golden age, man will still continue to deal with her by force. We are now told that in the full development of her gracious bounty such violence will, as it were, die a natural death, the same change which releases the sea and the seaman from traffic releasing the earth and the husbandman from tillage.

41.] One or two MSS. have 'robustia,' which Forb. adopts ; but 'robustus' is supported by Lucr. 5. 933., 6. 1253, "robustus curvi moderator aratri." In either case the epithet is sufficiently natural, and cannot be called merely ornamental, as the force employed indicates the difficulty of the labour. Comp. G. 1. 63., 2. 38, 238, 260 foll., 355 foll. notes. It signifies little whether 'tauris' be taken as dat. or abl. Both are sufficiently supported ; and the difference in sense between the two cases in such a connexion seems scarcely ascertainable.

43.] [Serv. says 'traditur enim in libris Etruscorum, si hoc animal miro et insolito colore erit infectum, omnium rerum felicitatem imperatori portendi.' The same note occurs in a fuller form in Macrob. S. 3. 7. 1.—H. N.]

44.] We may either take 'mutabit' for 'fucabit,' or in its common sense—'will change (the colour of) his fleece for (or 'into') purple and yellow.' 'In pratis' is the same as 'pascentis,' v. 45—the live sheep in the field, opposed to the fleece in the hands of the dyer. The country will enjoy the advantages of luxury without its artificial concomitants, from which it rightly shrinks, G. 2. 465.

Sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos.

45

✓Talia saecula, suis dixerunt, currite, fuis
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

Adgredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores,
Cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum !

Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,

50

45.] 'Sandyx,' scarlet. [Pliny 35. 40. describes 'sandyx' as a mixture of 'sandaraca' and 'ochra,' observing that Virg. in this passage speaks of it as a plant. —H. N.] Serv. calls it a plant, and some have had the bad taste to think that these lambs of the golden age were to be turned scarlet by feeding on that plant. Bentley wished to read 'nascentis,' which seems to show that he did not understand 'in pratis.'

46.] 'Talia saecula,' 'O blessed ages,' which perhaps might be expressed in prose, "Cum talia sitis, currite." This use of 'talía' in the vocative may be compared to the vocative use of *οὔτος*, e. g. Soph. O. C. 1627, *ὦ οὔτος, οὔτος, Οἰδίπους, τί μέλλομεν Χωρεῖν*; Virg. clearly had in his mind Catull. 64. 326, "sed vos, quae fata secuntur Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi," though he has as usual varied the expression, making the Fates address the ages, though they talk to the spindles. The process in each case seems to be merely that of ordaining the particular destiny, as a thing to come. So *ἐπικλώθειν* is used in Hom. for ordaining. The attempt of the later editors, after Cerda, to bring Virg. more into conformity with Catullus by making 'talía saecula' the acc. after 'currere' is exceedingly harsh. [Serv., however, says 'currite' = 'volvite'.—H. N.]

47.] 'The Parcae that utter in concert the fixed will of fate.' For a similar use of 'numine' comp. A. 2. 123, "Quae sint ea numina divom Flagitat." 'Numen fatorum' is so far a pleonasm that either word might have been used without the other in nearly the same sense. For the line generally Serv. comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 25 foll. In the Ciris, v. 125, there is a line "Concordes stabili firmanunt numine Parcae."

48—59.] 'Let him assume his throne—the whole world waits for him with expectant longing. O may I live long enough to tell of his glories! The theme would at once exalt me above all poets, human or divine.'

48.] So Augustus is addressed G. 1. 42. 'Magnos honores' is explained by Voss of the successive magistracies at Rome, which is possible, however frigid it may seem to our taste.

49.] 'Deum' is used generally, as Aeneas is called "deum certissima proles," A. 6. 322, where see note. 'Iovis incrementum' appears to be a singular expression. The word is seldom applied to a person, and it is elsewhere used with a gen. of that of which it is the beginning or rudiment, as in Ov. M. 3. 103. [Serv. says it = 'nutrimentum,' and] Mr. Munro (Journal of Philology, vol. 4, pp. 292 foll.) understands the expression to mean 'the germ of a future Jupiter,' the child being destined to rule on earth as Jupiter rules in heaven. But though this would agree well with the meaning of 'incrementum' elsewhere (Mr. Munro compares among other passages Q. Curt. 5. 1. 42, where noble youths of the king's body-guard are called "magnorum praefectorum et ducum incrementa et rudimenta"), the thought would, I think, be somewhat extravagant, expressing flattery which Virg. does not bestow elsewhere, even on Augustus. Meineke on Soph. El. 1146 (p. 266 of his edition of Soph. O. C.) thinks the notion is that of the child regarded as an honour or pleasure to his father Jupiter, and gives as the Greek equivalent of the words *Διὸς μέγα ὕψελος* or *Διὸς μέγ' ὕψιαι*. [The Berne scholia suggest, among other less probable alternatives, that 'Iovis incrementum' means 'cui Iuppiter magnam dedit incrementum,' i.e. 'augmentum': 'whom Jupiter delights to honour.'—H. N.]

50.] 'Mundum,' the whole world, as explained by the next line. Heyne well remarks that the world is moved at the coming of this divine boy as a sanctuary is moved at the coming of its god. See A. 3. 90., 6. 256, "Sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepa moveri Silvarum visaeque canes ululare per umbram Adventante dea." Forb. rightly rejects the explanation of Heyne and others, 'Aspice mund-

Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,
 Aspice, venturo laetantur ut omnia saeclo!
 O mihi tam longae maneat pars ultima vitae,
 Spiritus et, quantum sat erit tua dicere facta!
 Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus, 55
 Nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
 Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
 Pan etiam Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
 Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.
 Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem: 60

dum, &c. ut laetantur,' observing that 'nutantem' is equivalent to 'ut nutat.'

51.] 'Caelum profundum,' 'the azure deep of air,' Gray; but this is scarcely classical. 'Profundus,' like 'altus' and *βαθύς*, means high as well as deep. "Silvae profundae," Lucr. 5. 41, A. 7. 515. The line occurs again G. 4. 222.

52.] 'Laetentur' Pal., Gud., 'laetantur' Rom. Both are admissible: see Bent. on Hor. 1 Ep. 1. 91. 'Aspice ut' in this passage is merely a rhetorical way of making a direct statement, which might naturally be thrown into the indicative: there is no real appeal to the mind of a second person as in A. 8. 386, "Aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis Ferrum acuant portis in me excidiumque meorum."

53.] There is here a confusion of expression, owing to the number of predicates crowded into the sentence. 'Quantum' refers to 'tam longae,' but it is also connected in sense with 'maneat.' He might either have said 'O si vita tam longa sit quantum,' or 'O si vitae pars ultima maneat, quantum,' but he has chosen to say both. So 'spiritus' would be more naturally coupled with 'vita' than with 'pars ultima vitae.' Ribbeck's MSS. however (Med. we must remember is wanting) seem to agree in 'tum' for 'tam,' and this may be right, Virg. wishing that he may be alive, though in old age, when the child has grown to manhood. Pal. and Gud. have 'longe,' and so perhaps Serv.; but the word appears not to be used for 'longum' or 'diu.'

54.] 'Spiritus' expresses both breath and poetical inspiration, the latter as in Hor. 4 Od. 6. 29. 'Tua dicere facta' for "ad dicenda tua facta," the infinitive being in fact a dative: see on G. 1. 213.

55.] 'Non—nec': the main clause being divided, a second negative is introduced

with each of the clauses into which it is divided. Key, Lat. Gr., 1412. 'Orpheus:' he naturally chooses mythic poets to contrast with himself as the bard of the new golden age. ['Vincet,' Pal. corrected, Rom., and Gud. originally; 'vincat' Pal. originally, and Gud. corrected.—H. N.]

57.] 'Orphei' ('*Ὀρφέι*, '*Ὀρφέϊ*') occurs again G. 4. 545, 553. 'Calliopea,' *Καλλιόπεια*, another form of Calliope, occurring also Prop. 1. 2. 58, Ov. F. 5. 80. 'Formosus,' a perpetual epithet like "pulcher Apollo," A. 3. 119. ['Formosus,' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

58.] The Arcadians would be competent judges (10. 31), as well as partial to their god Pan.

59.] As might be expected, some MSS., including a correction in Pal., have 'dicet.'

60—63.] 'Let him smile on his mother: she deserves it: and without her smile he can never come to honour.'

60.] These last four lines are very obscure, particularly vv. 63, 64. No doubt they contain the poet's prayer for the speedy appearance of the young deliverer—Heyne, Wundt, and Voss, after Julius Sabinus, understand 'risu' of the mother's smile, by which the boy is bidden to recognize her, appealing to v. 62. So far, however, from necessitating such an interpretation, v. 62 will scarcely agree with it, as the words there imply that the parents have not yet smiled. Besides, the command to recognize the mother by her smile is very flat, especially when repeated in the second 'Incipe,' as Wagn. remarks, and the construction 'risu cognoscere' harsh. 'Risu,' then, is the smile of the child opening its eyes on its mother, who is supposed (v. 62) not to smile on it till it has smiled on her—a natural enough 'argumentum ad infantem.' A remarkable variant reading of v. 62 is preserved

Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses ;
 Incipe, parve puer : cui non risere parentes,
 Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

by Quintilian (9. 3), 'qui non risere parentes,' the point of his quotation being the change of number as exemplified in 'qui' followed by 'hunc.' But though the sense would agree well with 'risu cognoscere,' as just explained, the transition from 'qui' to 'hunc' would be inexorably harsh in a simple passage, and the construction 'ridere aliquem,' 'to smile on a person,' is not sufficiently supported by Plant. Capt. 3. 1. 21, where some notion of mockery is doubtless intended, as it is a parasite that is speaking. We must suppose then with Voss that Quint. found 'quoi' in his copy, and read it 'qui' rather than 'cui.'

61.] 'Longa fastidia,' i. q. 'taedia.' 'Fastidium ferre' and 'afferre' occur

elsewhere, Quint. 5, 14, Cic. Mur. 9. 21. Ten months was recognized by the Roman law as the full period of gestation. The writers of some inferior MSS., not knowing that 'tulerunt,' 'steterunt,' &c., are recognized by the grammarians, give 'tulerint,' or 'tulerant.' [Serv. mentions a variant 'abstulerint,' which is not found in any of Ribbeck's MSS.—H. N.]

62.] 'Delay no longer; if thou dost, thou wilt forfeit the love of thy parents, who are already weary with waiting, and a child whom his parents do not love can never become a hero or enjoy the rewards of a hero'—like Hercules, who (Hom. Od. 11. 601) μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι "Τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην." Comp. also Hor. 4 Od. 8. 30.

ECLOGA V.

DAPHNIS.

MENALCAS. MOPSUS.

MENALCAS invites Mopsus, a somewhat younger shepherd, to play and sing. Mopsus complies with a funeral song on Daphnis, the ideal shepherd. Menalcas matches it by a corresponding song on Daphnis' apotheosis. They praise each other, and exchange gifts.

In the introduction, which contrasts with that to Ecl. 3, being an interchange of courtesies, not of scurrilities, Virgil follows the first Idyl of Theocritus : in the form of the singing-match, the sixth and ninth, as also to a certain extent in the conclusion. The subject of the songs too bears a relation to the first Idyl, where Thyrsis sings of the dying hours of Daphnis, a hero of pastoral mythology, the beloved of the nymphs, and the victim of the wrath of Aphrodite. The story, which is very variously related, seems to have been taken up by Virgil where the other narrators dropped it. This of itself favours the notion that Daphnis is intended to represent some other person, as otherwise there would seem to be no object in imagining an apotheosis for him. If we are to seek for any such person, there can be little doubt that it must be the dictator Caesar, an opinion which seems to have prevailed in the time of Servius, though [Suetonius assures us that it is Virgil's brother Flaccus who is meant. Servius mentions that others thought of Quintilius Varus (Hor. Od. 1. 24.)] while others again thought merely of the mythical Daphnis. The apotheosis would be extravagant in the case of a private individual, but it answers sufficiently well to the honours recently decreed to Caesar, the placing of his statue in the temple of Venus Genetrix, the change of the name of the month Quintilis to Julius, and the

commemoration of his birthday in the calendar. In the preceding Eclogue Virgil has shown himself disposed to celebrate political and social regeneration under pastoral images (a parallel which lends a faint plausibility to a notion mentioned by Philargyrius, that Daphnis stands for the ill-fated infant Saloniinus): in Ecl. 9. 46, which the mention of Daphnis, though only as a shepherd, slightly connects with the present poem, he displays his sympathy with Caesar in particular as the shepherd's supposed patron. This symbolizing is merely a result of the identification of the poet with the shepherd, discussed in the Introduction to the Eclogues, persons and things affecting the former being described as affecting the latter, just as Gallus in Ecl. 10, being the shepherd poet's friend, is made a shepherd himself, so that in maintaining it we are not, as Keightley thinks, committed to the position "that Virgil, who was perhaps the least original poet of antiquity, was the inventor of a new species of poetry." At the same time we need not be anxious with Servius to find a meaning in every detail, as if the lions and tigers stood for the nations subdued by Caesar, or the lovely flock which Daphnis fed for the Roman people.

The date of the Eclogue can only be fixed with reference to Ecl. 2 and 3 (see v. 86), but it may be conjectured that it was written soon after the order by the triumvirs for the commemoration of Caesar's birthday, in 712. Virgil seems to identify himself with Menalcas, as in Ecl. 9, though there is no dramatic distinction between the two shepherds. Servius, however, finds an historical counterpart for Mopsus in Aemilius Macer, a poet of Verona.

The scenery is again from Theocritus.

For the structure of the poem see Introduction to Ecl. 8.

Me. CUR non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,
 Tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus,
 Hic corylis mixtas inter considimus ulmos?
Mo. Tu maior; tibi me est aequum parere, Menalca,
 Sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras,

5

1—18.] *Me.* Suppose we play and sing in the shade here? *Mo.* Or the cave perhaps. *Me.* You have but one rival. *Mo.* And he would rival Apollo. *Me.* Begin one of your favourite subjects. *Mo.* I have a new poem, which I would match against any of my rival's. *Me.* Do not think of him. I should never compare him with you.

1.] 'Menalcas' is Virg., both here (vv. 86, 87) and in E. 9, as Tityrus was in E. 1. Theocr. 8. 3, "Ἀμφὶ σπρίσθην δεδαημένω, ἄμφω ἄειδεν. With 'boni' in the sense of 'skilled,' Forb. comp. A. 9. 572: 'Hic iaculo bonus.' 'Boni . . . inflare,' like 'praestantior . . . ciero,' A. 6. 164: but similar Grecisms abound in Virg. They may be explained by regarding the infinitive as a noun: see note on G. 1. 213.

2.] So in Theocr. 1. 1, Thyrsis is skilled in singing, the goatherd in piping.

3.] 'Consedimus' is supported by [Serv., the Berne scholia, and] all Rib-

beck's MSS. except a correction in Gud.; but the point is one on which MSS. are liable to confusion. 'Consedimus' was introduced by Heinsius. The perfect would not be absurd, as Voss thinks, since it might answer to the Greek aorist, which is used idiomatically in questions of the kind: e.g. Aesch. Prom. 747, Soph. O. T. 1002: the present however appears to be usual in Latin, as Plaut. Amph. 1. 1. 253, "Cur non introeo in nostram domum?" Cic. 2 Fam. Ep. 7, "Cur ego non adsum?" So 'quin' is found with a present indicative?

5.] 'Motantibus' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS., and is itself more poetical than 'mutantibus,' which Heins. approved and Burm. introduced from a few copies. We find 'succedere sub' Caes. B. G. 1. 24 (where it means to go up a hill), like 'ascendere ad,' but probably Virg. in writing v. 5 meant some other word to follow 'sub umbras.'

Sive antro potius succedimus. Aspice, ut antrum
Silvestris raris sparsit labrusca racemis.

Me. Montibus in nostris solus tibi certat Amyntas.

Mo. Quid, si idem certet Phoebum superare canendo?

Me. Incipe, Mopse, prior, si quos aut Phyllidis ignes, 10
Aut Alconis habes laudes, aut iurgia Codri.

Incipe; pascentis servabit Tityrus haedos.

Mo. Immo haec, in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi

Carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notavi,

Experiar: tu deinde iubeto ut certet Amyntas.

15

Me. Lenta salix quantum pallenti cedit olivae,

6.] Mopsus modestly suggests that the cave would be preferable.

7.] 'Labrusca,' 'wild vine'—the *ῥυεπλὶς ἡβασσα* which grows over the cave of Calypso, Hom. Od. 5. 69. 'See yonder is the cave, embowered with wild vine.' 'Sparsit,' decks, with reference to 'raris': possibly also pointing to the contrast between the cave and the dark clusters of the vine. Comp. 2. 41, "sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo;" A. 7. 191, "sparsitque coloribus alas." Heyne well remarks that we are not to press 'raris,' as the poet is not thinking of the thinness of the shade as a good or bad quality, but simply intends to give a picture, as in 7. 46, "Et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra."

8.] Menalcas compliments Mopsus as they walk together towards the cave. 'Certat' Rom., 'certet' Pal. The indicative is clearly required by the sense. 'Certet' would imply that Menalcas thought Amyntas comparable to Mopsus.

9.] 'Quid si certet,' 'I suppose he will be doing so'—ironically, of course. Wagn. cites instances of this formula, especially from Plautus and Terence, e.g. Plant. Poen. 5. 3. 43, "Quid si eamus illis obviam?" 'I think we had better go and meet them.'

10.] Comp. 3. 52 note. 'Phyllidis ignes,' i.e. 'Phyllidis amorem,' love for Phyllis. 'Ignis' is used in Hor. 3 Od. 7. 11 for a love: "et miseram tuis Dicens ignibus uri."

11.] 'Habes' 3. 52. "Ἐχεις is used similarly in Greek, Aesch. Cho. 105, λέγεις ἄν, εἴ τι τῶνδ' ἔχεις ὑπέρερον. 'Iurgia Codri,' invectives against Codrus;—the objective genitive throughout. Phyllis is clearly a pastoral, not, as Serv. thinks, an historical person; though there would be nothing inappropriate in itself in making

Mopsus' song legendary, like Silenus' in the next Ecl. and several of the Idyls of Theocritus. So Alcon may be either the sculptor of Ov. M. 13. 683, &c., the Spartan hero, or the archer of Val. Fl. 1. 399. Codrus is doubtless the same as in 7. 22, 26, where he is the favourite of Corydon, the enemy of Thyrsis. There is no inconsistency in this transition from legendary to feigned personages. The subject in each case is pastoral: the hero may or may not be.

12.] 'Tityrus,' another herdsman; perhaps a servant of one of the others. Keightley. In Theocr. 1. 14 Thyrsis offers to look after the goats himself, while the goatherd is piping to him.

13.] Voss takes 'cortice' of bark stripped from the tree, but 'viridi' is rather against this. Spohn refers to Calpurnius 1. 33 foll., where fifty-six verses are represented as having been cut on a tree, and to E. 10. 53, where see note.

14.] 'Setting them to music ('modulans') marked the alternations of the flute and voice ('alterna notavi').

15.] Mopsus still feels the mention of Amyntas, so Menalcas reassures him. Pal., Gud., &c., omit 'ut:' but Lachm. on Prop. 3. 6. 43 thinks the elision necessary on grounds of euphony, so I have not thought it worth while to disturb the received reading.

16.] Theocr. 5. 92. "Fully to understand the following comparisons, we must recollect that the leaves of the willow and the olive are of the same form, and of the same pale green colour, while the difference in the value of the trees is immense. The 'saliunca,' or Celtic reed, in like manner resembles the rose in odour, but is so brittle that it could not be woven into garlands, the great use made of the rose by the ancients." Keightley.

Puniceis humilis quantum saliuunca rosetis,
Iudicio nostro tantum tibi cedit Amyntas.

Mo. Sed tu desine plura, puer; successimus antro.

Extinctum Nymphæ crudeli funere Daphnim 20
Flebant; vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis;
Cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati
Atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.
Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
Frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla nec amnem 25
Libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam.
Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
Interitum montesque feri silvaeque locuntur.

19—44.] *Mo.* Here we are in the cave. —At Daphnis' death the nymphs were in tears—his mother clasped his body and called reproachfully on heaven—the cattle were not fed or watered—the very lions roared out their grief. Yes—he was the tamer of tigers, the founder of the rural worship of Bacchus—he was the glory of his friends—now that he is gone, there is a curse on the land, and weeds spring where good seed was sown. Let us make his tomb and write his epitaph.

19.] 'Desine plura,' a confusion of 'desine loqui' and 'parce plura loqui.' Ribbeck's MSS. give this line to Menalcas: but on such a point their authority is worth little.

20.] Daphnis, the ideal shepherd, here allegorically represents Julius Caesar; see the Introduction. Daphnis was the favourite of the nymphs. Theocr. 1. 66, 141.

21.] 'Flebant' with a pause after it at the beginning of the verse, as in A. 6. 213, to give a melancholy effect.

23.] 'Atque—atque' seems to be for 'et—et,' as in Sil. 1. 93, "Hic crine effuso atque Enneae numinadivæ Atque Acheronta vocat Stygia cum veste sacerdos," though the use is perhaps unexampled in Virg. (see on G. 3. 257), and not sufficiently supported by Tibull. 2. 5. 73. To take 'complexa' as a finite verb would be somewhat tame. 'Crudelia' seems best taken with 'vocat,' as Wagn., 'denounces their cruelty aloud.' 'Astra,' the birth-star. If Caesar is Daphnis, we may contrast 9. 46 foll., where Caesar has a constellation of his own. The position of 'mater' at the end of the sentence must not be overlooked in translation. Perhaps we may render 'while his mother,

clasping to her heart the piteous corpse of her son, is crying out on the cruelty of the gods and the stars as only a mother can.'

24.] The variety of expression seems to show that the meaning is, the herdsmen did not think of feeding or watering their cattle, and the cattle cared nothing for food or water. This is confirmed by the sympathy of the lions, v. 27. The whole passage to v. 29 coincides with Theocr. 1. 71—75, though the words are not similar; and there is also a general resemblance to Mosch. 3. 23 foll.

25.] For 'nulla nec—nec' comp. 4. 55.

26.] Observe the words 'libavit' and 'attigit,' did not taste or touch, much less drink or eat. 'Graminis herbam,' 'herba' being the generic term, as in 'herba frumenti.'

27.] Suetonius, Jul. 81 (quoted by Spohn), says that among the signs given to Caesar of his approaching death, the herds of horses which he had consecrated to the gods at the passage of the Rubicon, and left, as sacred animals, to range at large, refused to feed and shed floods of tears. Some find in what follows another historical allusion, viz. to Caesar's design of restoring Carthage: but the lions and the impropriety of introducing them (there being no lions in Sicily) are due to Theocr. 1. 72. 'Poenos' is merely a literary epithet; see note on 1. 55. Rom. has 'gemuisse.'

28.] Instances of 'loquor' for 'dico' in Cicero are given by Forcellini. Here however the word is emphatic: the mountains and woods echoed, and so told of the howling of the lions. Pal. has 'ferunt' for 'feros,' and appears originally to have confused 'silvæ' with

Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris
 Instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi 30
 Et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.
 Vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae,
 Ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus arvis,
 Tu decus omne tuis. Postquam te fata tulerunt,
 Ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo. 35
 Grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,
 Infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae;
 Pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso,

'silvas.' Markland conj. 'montisque feros silvasque,' which Porson approved: but the common reading, as explained above, amply justifies itself.

29.] 'Curru subiungere tigris,' like Bacchus. Daphnis teaching the swains to celebrate the 'Liberalia' is an emblem of the civil reforms of Caesar. For the 'Liberalia' see G. 2. 380 foll., and Dict. A. [Serv., however, says that Julius Caesar literally introduced the rites of Liber: 'hoc aperte ad Caesarem transtulit, quem constat primum sacra Liberi patris transtulisse Romam.'—H. N.]

30.] The old editors, with the Lombard MS. of Pierius, had 'Baccho,' 'in honour of Bacchus:' taking 'inducere thiasos' to be i. q. 'ducere thiasos,' like 'ducere choros.' But 'inducere' is 'to introduce.'

31.] They are called 'molles thyrsi' again in A. 7. 390. 'Mollibus' probably means waving: see 4. 28.

32, 33.] Theoc. 8. 79, *τῇ δρυὶ τὰν βάλανι κόσμος, τῇ μάλ' ἰδὶ μάλα· τῇ βοτ' δ' ἂ μόνος, τῇ βοκόλῳ αἱ βόες αἰνται*. Comp. also Id. 18. 29 foll. For 'arboribus,' the supporters of the vine, see G. 2. 89 note. The mention of the vine seems suggested by the rites of Bacchus.

34.] 'Tulerunt:' Heyne compares Hom. Il. 2. 302, *ὅς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι*. The word occurs again with 'fata' in a somewhat different sense, A. 2. 84 note.

35.] Apollo Nomius is joined with Pales G. 3. 1. Keightley remarks on the impropriety of associating a purely Italian with a Greek deity—a specimen of the confusion which we find in the Eclogues generally, and indeed in the whole of Roman culture.

36.] Large grains were selected for seed, G. 1. 197, as Voss observes; but the force of the epithet lies in the contrast between the promise of grain and the per-

formance of weeds. The use of 'hordea' in the plural was ridiculed by Bavius and Maevius [or, according to Cledonius, p. 1898, P., by Cornificius Gallus] in the line "Hordea qui dixit, superat ut tritica dicat," quoted by Serv. on G. 1. 210, where the offence is repeated. It is noticed by Quint. 1. 5. 16, "Hordea et mulsae non alio vitiosa sunt, quam quod singularia pluraliter efferunt;" Pliny however uses it, 18. 56.

37.] Theophrastus on Plants, 8. 7, and Pliny, 18. 149, are referred to by Voss, following Pierius, for the belief that barley actually degenerated into darnel and wild oats. 'Infelix' is merely infecundus, like 'steriles' ('infelix oleaster,' G. 2. 314), without any reference to the pernicious properties of darnel, which affects the head when ground into flour. Pliny, l. c., says "Lolium et tribulos et carduos lappasque non magis quam rubos inter frugum morbos potius quam inter ipsius terrae pestes annumeraverim." The old reading was 'dominantur,' as in G. 1. 154: but 'nascuntur' is found in all Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive. The difference of the passages quite accounts for the change of word: Virg. is here speaking of weeds growing *instead* of barley, there of their growing *among* the corn. 'Lolium' and 'avena' are coupled by Ov. F. 1. 691.

38.] "The bane has fallen not only on the fields, but on the produce of the garden." Voss. 'Molli' is opposed to the sharp and prickly thistle and Christ's thorn. Rom. has 'viola et.' Ribbeck adopts 'purpurea' from Diomedes 449 P. 'Purpureus' is applied not only to purple or red, but to any bright colour. We have "purpureis ales oloribus," Hor. 4 Od. 1. 10; "purpurea candidiora nive," Albino-vanus 2. 62. So "purpureum lumen," A. 1. 590., 6. 540. Here accordingly it is used of the white narcissus. There was how-

Carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.
 Spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras, 40
 Pastores; mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis;
 Et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen:
 Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,
 Formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.
Me. Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta, 45
 Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
 Dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.
 Nec calamis solum aequiparas, set voce magistrum.
 Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

ever a narcissus with a purple calyx (Pliny 21. 25): and so the author of the *Ciris*, v. 96, talks of "suave rubens narcissus."

39.] 'Paliurus,' Christ's thorn, a prickly shrub common in the south of Italy, recommended by Columella for making quickset hedges. In Theocr. 1. 132 foll. (imitated closely E. 8. 52) Daphnis' dying prayer is that thorns may produce violets, and juniper-bushes narcissus — not that a blight may fall on things, but that the course of nature may be changed.

40.] This line is alluded to in 9. 19, "quis humum florentibus herbis Spargeret aut viridi fontis induceret umbra?" Hence it would seem that 'foliis' should be interpreted flowers, and 'umbras' ('viridi umbra') as trees. 'Sow the turf with flowers and plant trees beside (overshadowing) the spring,' as fitting monuments of Daphnis ('mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis'). Φύλλα is used for flowers, Theocr. 11. 26., 18. 39. 'Spargite' may be either sow or deck—in other words, the sower may be said either to sow the seed directly, or to adorn the turf indirectly with the flower when sprung up. The latter is supported by Lucr. 2. 33, "anni Tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas," the parallel passage to which, 5. 1396, has 'pingebant.' It may be meant that Daphnis is to be buried under the trees. Wagn. quotes Cul. 387 foll. (of the grave of the Oulex), "Rivum propter aquae viridi sub fronde latentem Conformare locum capit impiger."

41.] With 'mandat,' as applied to this injunction bequeathed by the dead Daphnis, comp. A. 11. 815, "mandata novissima perfer."

42.] 'Tumulum—tumulo' repeated as in A. 6. 380.

43.] Theocr. 1. 120. 'In silvis' answers to 28c. 'Hinc usque ad sidera,' 'from here to the stars,' is rather a flat expression. The exaggeration is paralleled by Heyne from Theocr. 7. 93; otherwise it seems to refer to Caesar rather than to the ideal Daphnis.

44.] ['Formonsi,' 'formonsior,' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

45—52.] *Me.* Your singing refreshes my very heart; your singing no less than your playing. The bucolic crown has descended to you. I will venture however to reply with a song on Daphnis as a god.

45.] Imitated generally from Theocr. 1. 1 foll., 8. 81. One inferior MS. and a quotation in Probus give 'nobis carmen,' which Ribbeck adopts in deference to Lachm. on Prop. 1. 6. 25. Voss had already made the change, which is approved by Wund. On the question of euphony there may be a difference of opinion: on that of authority there can be none, especially as the reading of the mass of MSS. is supported by quotations in Priscian and Rufinianus.

46.] Theocr. 8. 77. 'Per aestum' answers to 'fessis,' as that to 'nobis.' Rom. and one of Ribbeck's cursives have 'lassis.'

48.] A compliment to Mopsus, whom he had previously praised for his piping, v. 2. 'Magistrum' can hardly be any one but Daphnis, whose minstrelsy is praised by Theocr. 1. c. So Moschus speaks of himself (3. 103) as having inherited the Doric Muse from Bion.

49.] Menalcas speaks with admiring envy, having before spoken of his own singing in comparison with Mopsus' piping. With 'alter ab illo' comp. 'alter ab undecimo,' 8. 39 note. Rom. has 'alter Apollo,' a singular variety.

Nos tamen haec quocumque modo tibi nostra vicissim 50
Dicemus, Daphninque tuum tollemus ad astra;
Daphnin ad astra feremus: amavit nos quoque Daphnis.

Mo. An quicquam nobis tali sit munere maius?

Et puer ipse fuit cantari dignus, et ista

Iam pridem Stimichon laudavit carmina nobis. 55

Me. Candidus insuetum miratur linen Olympi

Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.

Ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas

Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas.

Nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis 60

Ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.

Ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant

50.] 'Vicissim:' 3. 28 note.

51.] 'Tollemus ad astra' may be said only in the same sense as 'ad sidera notus' (v. 43), and 'ferent ad sidera,' 9. 29,— 'praise up to the skies,'—but more probably it means 'celebrate his ascent to heaven,' referring to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar. Comp. vv. 56 foll., and see on A. 3. 158.

52.] ['Daphnim' Pal. Gud. and two of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

53—55.] '*Mo.* By all means—the theme is a worthy one, and I know your poetical powers.'

53.] 'Tali munere,' your promised boon of song. 'Nobis' answers to 'nobis,' v. 45.

54.] 'Ista carmina,' these strains of yours, not necessarily implying that the verses which follow had been known and praised already.

56—80.] '*Me.* Daphnis is in heaven; the shepherds and their gods rejoice; the beasts are at peace; the mountains proclaim him god; he shall be honoured with libations, with song and with dance, as long as the course of nature remains the same, even as we honour Bacchus and Ceres.'

56.] 'Candidus,' in his (divine) beauty. [Catull. 68 b. 30, 'quo mea se molli candida diva pede intulit.'—H. N.] "Candida Dido," A. 5. 571. "Candida Bassareu," Hor. 1 Od. 18. 11. 'Daphnis is now entering heaven as a god; he looks down with wonder on the threshold as he crosses it, and sees the sky under his feet.' With 'linen Olympi' comp. Il. 1. 591, ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεοπεσιόιο, and the later use of βηλός for the heaven. Mr. Blackburn remarks on the coincidence with the

Hebrew division of the three heavens, the first being the terrestrial atmosphere, 'nubes;' the second the region of the stars, 'sidera;' the third, as here, the abode of the Deity.

58.] All nature rejoices at his apotheosis, as all nature had mourned at his death. The frisking of Pan and the Dryades answers to the weeping of the nymphs and the departure of Pales and Apollo. We must understand Menalcaes as describing a state which is just beginning or about to begin: but this will hardly excuse the impropriety of representing two such different scenes as both belonging to present time, and thus compelling us to think of each as existing only in the minds of the two shepherds. 'Alacris' denotes the frisking and dancing of Pan and the swains, 'Irolio glee.' 'Cetera,' because 'rus' includes pastures, as Wundt remarks.

59.] Virg. adopts the Greek form, 'Dryadas;' 'Hyadas,' A. 1. 744; 'Phaetontiadæ,' E. 6. 62.

60.] The features of the description are taken from the golden age, as in E. 4. Comp. Theoc. 24. 81.

61.] 'Otia' as in 1. 6. 'Bonus,' of deities, as in 5. 65, A. 12. 647.

62. The mountains and woods resound cries of joy, as before (v. 28) they resounded groans of sorrow. The words apparently are from Lucr. 2. 327 foll., "clamoreque montes Icti reiectant voces ad sidera mundi." Virg. means to attribute the joy to the mountains themselves, as in 10. 15 they are made to weep: but there may be a secondary reference to the actual mourners. 'Even the traveller on the mountain, even the vine-dresser under

Intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
 Ipsa sonant arbusta; deus, deus ille, Menalca!
 Sis bonus o felixque tuis! en quattuor aras: 65
 Ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo.
 Pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quot annis
 Craterasque duo statuam tibi pinguis olivi,
 Et multo in primis hilarans convivium Baccho,
 Ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra, 70

the rock (L. 56), sheuts and sings for joy in my ears.' So in similar passages of the Old Testament, of which we cannot but be reminded in this as in the preceding Eclogue, joy is attributed indifferently to places and their inhabitants, e. g. Isaiah 42. 10, 11.

63.] 'Intonsi' is rightly explained by Serv. 'incaedui.' "Intonsaque caelo At-tollunt capita," A. 9. 681, of oaks. The primary notion here of course is that the wildness of the mountains makes the demonstration more marked: but it is possible that we may be meant to conceive of them as exulting in their shaggy strength now that a state of nature is restored, as in the well-known passage of Isaiah 14. 7, 8, "The whole earth is at rest and is quiet, they break forth into singing: yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us."

64.] 'Sonant carmina:' comp. Hor. 2 Od. 13. 26, "Et te sonantem plenius aureo, Alcaee, plectro dura navis, Dura fugae mala, dura belli." 'Deus, deus ille, Menalca,' is what the rocks and woods utter. 'We have a new god, a new god, Menalca.' Forb. comp. Lucr. 5. 8, "deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi."

65.] "Sis felix," A. 1. 330.

66.] ['Servius, following Varro, says that 'altaria' were altars to the gods of heaven, 'arae' to those of the earth. He also suggests another interpretation, that 'altaria' means 'offerings': a sense which it certainly seems to bear in Luean 3. 404, 'structae diris altaribus arae.' Comp. Virg. E. 8. 105, A. 5. 93, 12. 174. 'Four altars, as offerings, two to thee, two to Phoebus.'—H. N.] Or it may be that Daphnis, as a hero, has only libations offered to him, not victims. 'Duas altaria Phoebus,' two whereon to offer victims to Phoebus. Apollo is naturally associated with Daphnis as being the god both of herdsmen (above v. 35) and poets. He is as naturally associated

with Caesar, whose birthday fell on the Ludi Apollinares (3 Id. Iul.), but as the Sibylline books forbade the rites of any other god to be celebrated at the same time with those of Apollo, the birthday was kept 4 Id. Iul., that is, the day before the Ludi Apollinares began. The present reading was restored by Heins. from the best MSS., including all Ribbeck's, for 'duoque altaria,' which is supported by Serv. on A. 3. 305.

67.] These offerings are from Theocr. 5. 53, 57, where they are made to the nymphs and Pan. 'Bina,' two in the year: see below, v. 70. No distinction is meant between 'pocula bina' and 'duo crateres,' as the passage in Theocr. shows. ['Quodannis' the uncials.—H. N.]

68.] Some editors have 'crateres:' but Virg. follows throughout the Greek form, of which 'craterās' is the acc. pl. Wagn. ['Duo,' not 'duos,' is the true reading, attested by Serv., Non. p. 547, Pal. Rom. and Gud.—H. N.] 'Statuere' is appropriate both to 'crateras' (from the size of the 'crater'), and to the act of sacrificing. A. 1. 728, "Crateras magnos statuunt." Hor. 2 S. 3. 199, "pro vitula statuā dulem Aulide natam Ante aras." The milk would be appropriate to spring, the oil to autumn, as Wagn. remarks, comparing Suet. Aug. 31, where it is said that Augustus ordered the 'compitales Lares' to be crowned twice a year, with spring and summer flowers. 'Olivum' for 'oleum' is poetical.

69.] Theocr. 7. 63. 'In primis,' because he had previously mentioned milk and oil. 'Convivia,' the feast after the sacrifice. It is just possible that 'multo' may be an error for 'mulao' (see note on G. 1. 344): but 'multo Baccho' occurs again G. 2. 190.

70.] 'Si frigus—si messis;' it is not easy to determine the festivals indicated these two seasons. Virg. appears to have had some definite reference in his mind, from his language in vv. 67, 68, 75, 76. The latter passage speaks of a festival to

Vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.
 Cantabunt mihi Damoetas et Lyctius Aegon ;
 Saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alpheisiboeus.
 Haec tibi semper erunt, et cum sollemnia vota
 Reddemus Nymphis, et cum lustrabimus agros. 75
 Dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
 Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,
 Semper honos nomeſſaque tuum laudesque manebunt.
 Ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quot annis
 Agricolae facient ; damnabis tu quoque votis. 80
Mo. Quae tibi, quae tali reddam pro carmine dona ?
 Nam neque me tantum venientis sibilus austru,

the nymphs, and another at the 'lustratio' agrorum.' The second is evidently the 'Ambarvalia,' which are described G. 1. 308 foll.; the first is rather Sicilian than Italian, the nymphs, as Keightley remarks, not forming a part of the old Roman mythology, while sacrifices to them are frequently mentioned by Theocritus, though he nowhere speaks of an annual festival in their honour. Yet it is difficult to identify either 'frigus' or 'messis' with 'Ambarvalia.' They took place "extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno," at the time when "densae in montibus umbrae" (Virg. l. c.), i.e. towards the end of April: yet they could hardly be indicated by 'messis,' as they were expressly intended to commend the young crops to Ceres some time before the harvest, and are distinguished as such from another festival at or after the harvest (Tibull. 2. 1. 21 foll.). There were certain "messis feriae" (Dict. A. 'Feriae'), which took place in the summer. The Lares were adored at the 'Ambarvalia' (Tibull. 1. 1. 19., 2. 1. 17), and Caesar was adored as one of the Lares, the Roman way of canonizing heroes. See Hor. 4 Od. 5. 31 foll.

71.] Ariusia in Chios was famous for wine (Pliny 14. 73). The epithet seems to be a literary one, though Voss argues that Chian wine was cheap enough in Virg.'s time to be within the reach of a Mantuan shepherd. In Theocr. l. c. it is τὸν Πτελεατικὸν οἶνον. The best wine came in at the 'mensae secundae.' 'Calathus' (more commonly a work-basket, or wool-basket) is a cup here and Mart. 9. 60., 14. 107.

72, 73.] Theocr. 7. 71, 72. "Det motus incompositos et carmina dicat." G. 1.

350. 'Lyctius,' from Lycta, in Crete, A. 3. 401, of Idomeneus. The supposed joy of the woodland deities (v. 58, comp. 6. 27) is imitated by the shepherds.

75.] Theocr. 5. 53. See note on v. 70.

76.] An appeal to the uniformity of nature, as in 1. 59, not altogether consistent with the language in which (v. 60, note) he makes a breach of this uniformity a mark of the golden age just beginning.

77.] 'Rore cicadae,' τεττιλὲς . . . ᾧ τε πόσις καὶ βρώσις ὄηλος ἔέρση, Hesiod, Shield, 393 foll. Theocr. 4. 16. Anacr. 43. 3.

78.] Repeated A. 1. 609, in a similar connexion.

79.] Bacchus and Ceres are mentioned as the chief patrons of the husbandman. Comp. G. 1. 5, Tibull. 2. 1. 3, "Bacche, veni dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva Pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres" (of the 'Ambarvalia'), and see on G. 1. 344. ['Quodannis' Rom.—H. N.]

80.] 'You will grant prayers, and thereby bind the suppliant to keep his vow.' 'Damnatus voto' occurs in a fragm. of Sisenna ap. Non. p. 277. 11; 'damnatus voti' Liv. 10. 37., 27. 45, like 'voti reus,' A. 5. 237, just as 'damnatus capitis' and 'capite' are used indifferently. Rom. seems originally to have had 'voti' here. Comp. the use of 'damno' in giving legacies and imposing penalties by will, e.g. Hor. 2 S. 3. 86.

81—84.] 'Mo. How am I to reward you for a song which is sweeter than anything in nature?'

82.] 'Sibilus austru' is the ψιθύρισμα of Theocr. 1. 1, the breeze getting up ('venientis') and rustling through the branches. Lucr. 5. 1382 has "Zephyri sibila" in a passage which Virg. may have thought of,

Nec percussa iuvant fluctu tam litora, nec quæ
Saxosas inter decurrunt flumina valles.

Me. Hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta. 85

Haec nos, Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexim,

Haec eadem docuit, Cuium pecus? an Meliboei?

Mo. At tu sume pedum, quod, me cum saepe rogaret,

Non tulit Antigenes—et erat tum dignus amari—

Formosum paribus nodis atque aere, Menalca. 90

as it attributes the origin of the pastoral pipe to the winds whistling through the reeds.

83, 84.] Theocr. 1. 7. 8, "Ἀδιον, δὲ ποιμὴν, τὸ τερὸν μέλος, ἢ τὸ καταχέτης τῇν' ἀπὸ τὰς πέτρας καταλείβεται ὑψόθεν ὕδαρ.

85—87.] *Me.* I will give you this pipe, which has played several not unknown strains.'

85.] 'Ante,' first—before I receive any thing from you, v. 81. Voss observes that Menalcas both depreciates and commends his gift, the one by the epithet 'fragilem,' the other by the mention of its performances. So 'docuit,' as if it were the pipe which had suggested the music and the song.

86.] Virg., by this allusion to his second and third Eclogues, seems to identify himself with Menalcas and his compliments to the memory of Caesar. There is something awkward in making one of the characters in this fifth Eclogue the author of the second and third; but it is in keeping with the fiction which identifies the shepherd with the pastoral poet. ['Formosum' originally Pal. and the Verona fragment.—H. N.]

88—90.] *Mo.* And I will give you this handsome sheep-hook, which I once refused to one whom I loved.'

88.] There is a similar exchange of presents in Theocr. 6. 43, and in 7. 43 one shepherd gives another a sheep-hook. [Festus, p. 249 Müller; 'pedum' est baculum incurvum quo pastores utuntur ad comprehendendas oves aut capras, a pedibus: and so the Verona scholia here. —H. N.]

89.] 'Ferre' is used indifferently of giving and receiving presents. "Quod posces feres," Plant. Merc. 2. 3. 106. In Greek *φέρεσθαι* is generally employed in this latter sense. 'Et erat,' as we should say, 'aye, and he was very lovable,' or 'and he was very lovable too.' So G. 2. 125, "Et gens illa quidem sumtis non tarda pharetris." 'Tum,' in those days, whatever he may be now. Forb.

90.] It is not clear what 'nodis atque aere' means. Voss says the 'pedum' was of knotted wood, with an iron point at one end fastened on by a ring of brass; Keightley, that it was adorned with brass rings or studs. In the latter case 'nodis atque aere' might stand for brazen studs. 'Paribus nodis' however would be more of a recommendation if the knots were natural. Forb. coup. Theocr. 17. 31, τῷ δὲ σιδάρειον σκόταλον, κεχαραγμένον ὕζοις, of Hercules' club. ['Formosum' originally Pal.—H. N.]

ECLOGA VI.

VARUS.

THE subject of this Eclogue is a cosmogonical and mythological song by Silenus, extorted from him by stratagem by two young shepherds.

The poem is addressed to Alfenus Varus [consul suffectus in 39 B.C.], who, according to one of the statements given by Serv., was appointed to succeed Pollio in Cisalpine Gaul, after the defection of the latter in the Perusian war (a story harmonizing well with the language of this Eclogue, and also with E. 9. 27), and perhaps the same who is said to have been a fellow-student with the poet under Siron the

Epicurean, though this tradition itself may be merely an awkward attempt to give an historical basis to Silenus' song. Like the eighth Eclogue, it appears to be a sort of apology to his friend and patron for neglecting to celebrate his exploits, entreating him to except a pastoral legend as a substitute. [What these exploits were is not clear. Servius says of Varus, "Germanos vicerat, et exinde maximam fuerat et gloriam et pecuniam consecutus," a notice which also appears in the *Bernescholia*, and which would perhaps deserve little attention, were it not that Virgil speaks distinctly of his friend's warlike achievements. It is possible that Varus had taken part in the German war of 38 B.C.—H. N.] The confession in v. 3 of a youthful ambition to write on heroic subjects is apparently genuine. It is supported by the story in Suetonius' biography that Virgil wished to write on Roman history, but was deterred by the subject. This aspiration may be said to have been afterwards fulfilled in the *Aeneid*; but the poet's judgment continued to shrink from the task of directly recording contemporary victories, though, like Horace, he amused his patrons, and perhaps himself, with the belief that he might be equal to it some day.

The legend which follows may be paralleled, if not traced to its source. As Keightley suggests, the first hint was perhaps given by the story in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, of Menelaus binding Proteus, afterwards imitated more directly by Virgil himself in G. 4. Servius refers to a tale told by Theopompus (the historian, see *Dict. Biog.*) and partially cited from him by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 3. 18), that Silenus was found drunk by some shepherds of Phrygia, bound, and carried to Midas, when his chains fell off, and he answered the king's questions "de rebus naturalibus et antiquis." Ovid (*M.* 11. 90 foll.) briefly mentions the fact of the capture, but says nothing about any disclosures by Silenus, whom Midas restores to Bacchus, and receives in return the fatal gift of turning things to gold.

The subject of the song was perhaps traditionally connected with Silenus, who, like Proteus in G. 4 (v. 393 note), seems to have had a memory for the past as well as an eye for the future—a characteristic as old as the Homeric prophets and poets, and involved in the legend which makes the Muses daughters of Mnemosyne. The cosmogonical part of it is indicative of that yearning after philosophy as a poet's province, which is fixed on Virgil by the testimony, not only of Suetonius, but of his own works, especially the close of G. 2; and was encouraged doubtless by the recent example of Lucretius, as well as by the more ancient precedents of the legendary philosopher-poets and historical poet-philosophers of Greece (see also note on vv. 31–40 of this Eclogue). The general strain of the song is parallel to that of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and suggests the conjecture that Virgil may have been directly indebted to some such work as the *Ἑρεσιολύμνα* of Nicander, from which the poem of Ovid is supposed to have been imitated.

PRIMA Syracosio dignata est ludere versu
Nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalia.

1–12.] 'I was venturing out of my pastoral strains into heroic song when Apollo warned me back. I will write you then a rural poem, Varus, and leave the celebration of your deeds to others; yet even a rural theme, I trust, will suffice to preserve your memory.'

1.] 'Prima' is explained by the Verona scholia either of Virg.'s claim to be the first pastoral poet of Rome, as Horace says, 1 Ep. 19. 23, "Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio" (comp. G. 2. 175),

or of his first as distinguished from his subsequent attempts. Of the two, the latter is doubtless recommended by the context; but he may have meant to combine both. See A. 7. 118, note. With the whole passage comp. E. 4. 1–3. Horace has imitated Virg. rather closely in 4. Od. 15. 1–4.

2.] Rom. has 'silvis.' 'Thalia' was said by some to have been the inventress of agriculture (Schol. on Apoll. R. 3. 1), and was represented with a sheep-hook,

Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthia aurem
 Vellit, et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
 Pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen. 5
 Nunc ego—namque super tibi erunt, qui dicere laudes,
 Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella—
 Agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.
 Non iniussa cano. Si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
 Captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae, 10

as the Muse of pastoral poetry (Dict. A. 'Pedum').

3.] 'Reges et proelia' is the conventional expression for epic or heroic poetry. "Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella Quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus," Hor. A. P. 73. Comp. A. 7. 41. It would include contemporary subjects (see Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 251 foll.), but not directly specify them, though vv. 6, 7 show that Varus wished Virg. to write of the civil or foreign wars of Rome. 'Aurem vellit': touching a person's ear was a symbolical way of reminding him of a thing, the ear being regarded as the seat of memory, and so was the established mode of 'antestatio,' or summoning a witness (Hor. 1 S. 9. 77; Plin. 11. 251), when it was accompanied with the words "memento quod tu mihi in illa causa testis eris." The action is represented on coins with the word *μνημόνευε*. Here accordingly Apollo reminds the poet of the nature of his gift. [Suetonius says that Virg. intended in his youth to write on Roman history, but found the subject not to his liking; Serv. that his subject was to have been the exploits of the Alban kings, but that he was deterred by the roughness of the names.—H. N.]

4.] Virg. is Tityrus again, as in E. 1. 'Pinguis' is a predicate, like 'deductum'—'His sheep should be fat, but his verses slender,' at the same time that 'pinguis pascere' are to be taken together; "pascere ut pinguescant," as Serv. explains it. The antithesis, which is perhaps intentionally grotesque, may be compared with Hor. 2 S. 6. 14, "Pinguis pecus domino facias, et cetera praeter Ingenium." [Comp. also Quint. 2. 10. 6.—H. N.]

5.] 'Deductum' = 'tenuis,' an expression praised by Quint. Inst. 8. 2, as "proprie dictum, id est, quo nihil inveniri possit significantius." So 'vox deducta,' Lucil. in Non. 289. 16, Afranius and Cornificius in Macrob. Sat. 6. 4, Prop. 3. 25. 38, of a prolonged and so weak voice

(comp. A. 4. 463, "longas in fletum ducere voces"). The metaphor seems to be from spinning, as in Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 225, "tenui deducta poemata filo." The notion of the elaborate finish, expressed there and elsewhere, is less prominent here than that of thinness; but there may have been a connexion between the two in Virg.'s mind, as there would seem to have been in the mind of Propertius (4. 1. 5 foll.), who contrasts the "carmen tenuatum" of his Alexandrian masters, the "exactus tenui pumice versus," with the strains appropriate to heroic poetry. See Hertzberg, Quaestiones Propertianae, L. 2, c. 7. With 'deductum' as a predicate comp. Aesch. Ag. 620, λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλά, Soph. Oed. T. 526, τοὺς λόγους ψευδεῖς λέγει.

6.] 'Super tibi erunt,' you will have enough and to spare. "Vereor ne mihi iam superasse verba putes," Cic. Fam. 13. 63. 'Cupiant' contains another compliment to Varus.

7.] 'Condere bella,' like 'condere carmen,' Forb. comp. Ov. Trist. 2. 336, "acta Caesaris condere." 'Tristia' is a perpetual epithet; see on v. 3. For Varus see the Introduction.

8.] Comp. 1. 2. 'Agrestem—Musam' is from Lucr. 5. 1398, "agrestis enim tum Musa vigeat."

9.] 'Tamen' seems to show that 'non' belongs to 'cano,' as Voss takes it, not to 'iniussa,' as Heyne and others. 'Iniussa' then is a kind of litotes, like 'inlaudati' G. 3. 5. 'I do not sing where I have no warrant.' [Cornutus, according to the Verona scholia, thought that 'non iniussa' referred to the command of the Muses.—H. N.] 'Si quis' is repeated like "si forte" A. 2. 756, where hope and doubt are similarly expressed.

10.] 'Captus amore,' G. 3. 285. 'Legat' the reading of two MSS. and Priscian, is preferred by Voss; but the confidence expressed by the future is not unsuited to Virg. or to the present passage. 'If I can

Te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebo gratior ulla est,
Quam sibi quæ Vari præscripsit pagina nomen.

Pergite, Pierides. Chromis et Mnasyllus in antro
Silenus pueri somno videre iacentem,
Inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho: 15
Serta procul tantum capiti delapsa iacebant,
Et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.
Adgressi—nam sæpe senex spe carminis ambo
Luserat—iniiciunt ipsis ex vincula sertis.
Addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle, 20

find readers for my pastoral strains, and I feel that I shall, you will be known equally by them, for I shall sing of you.' 'Myricæ,' 4. 2, the humbler equivalent of what is expressed more ambitiously by 'nemus omne.' Perhaps 'nemus' may refer to the plantations, comp. 7. 59. It is possible that 'nostræ' (comp. "tua," 1. 46) may be meant to acknowledge Varus' protection, given or expected, of the poet's property; see 9. 27 foll.

11.] 'Nec—nomen' appears to give the ground of his confidence. 'A poem in honour of Varus, however homely its treatment, is sure to be inspired by Apollo, and read by the world.'

12.] 'Which has the name of Varus as its title,' showing, as Voss remarks, that Varus, not Silenus, is the true title of this Eclogue.

13—30.] 'Two young shepherds once found Silenus in a drunken sleep, bound him with the help of a Naiad, and exacted from him a song which he had promised them. He begins, amid general delight.'

13.] 'Pergere' is used both of continuing to do a thing and of proceeding to do what one has not done before. ["'Pergite, agite.'" Vergilius 'Pergite, Pierides.' Fest. p. 215 Müller.—H. N.] Here of course the latter is the sense. It has been doubted whether Chromis and Mnasyllus are satyrs or fauns, or shepherds. In support of the former view, which is that of Serv. and most commentators, Voss remarks that the wood-gods did not commonly appear to shepherds, who were believed to be struck with madness by the sight of them; but it is easy to retort with Martyn that the word 'timidis,' v. 20, shows the adventurers to have had some sense of their danger, while their previous acquaintance with Silenus is no more than in keeping with such passages as 10. 24 foll., G. 2. 493. In the story of

Theopompus (see Introduction), the capturers of Silenus are shepherds, as Aristæus captures Proteus in G. 4, though on the other hand there is no previous familiarity between them and their prisoner. In the imitation by Nemesianus, Ecl. 4, Pan sings to some shepherds who have found him asleep, and Calpurnius, Ecl. 6. 48, makes Mnasyllus the name of a shepherd, as Voss allows. The word 'pueri' proves nothing either way, as it may very well be a correlative of 'senex,' and so applied elsewhere to Cupid and Bacchus. ['Mnasyllus' Pal. originally, 'Mnasyllus' Rom., 'Mnasyllus' Verona fragm.—H. N.]

14.] 'Silenus,' Dict. B.

16.] 'Tantum' answers to *δσον* in such phrases as *δσον οὐ*: so Virg. seems to have intended 'procul tantum' as a translation of *τυτθὸν δσον ἔπαιθεν*, Theocr. 1. 45—only this much of distance. Comp. Il. 23. 245, *τύμβον δ' οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐγὼ πονέεσθαι ἄνωγα* 'Ἄλλ' ἐπεικέτα τοῖον. [Serv. and the Berne scholia take 'procul' as = 'prope,' and Serv. takes 'tantum' with 'delapsa:' so too Voss, who refers] to Val. Fl. 8. 288, "et tantum deiecta suis e montibus arbor,"—but now fallen, and so Wagn. and Forb., except that they make 'tantum' refer not to time but to place, so that 'tantum delapsa' would be almost equivalent to 'tantum non capiti haerentia.' Possibly Virg. may have drawn from some statue.

17.] The 'cantharus' (for which see Dict. A.) is represented as still held by the handle, "'pendebat' manibus non emissa," as Serv. explains it.

18.] "Spe luserat," A. 1. 352. [Serv. notes that 'ambo' for 'ambos' is archaic.—H. N.]

19.] For the position of the preposition Emmen. comp. Lucr. 3. 10, "tuis ex, inclute, chartis."

20.] There appears no reason to suppose

Aegle, Naiadum pulcherrima, iamque videnti
 Sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pingit.
 Ille dolum ridens, Quo vincula nectitis? inquit.
 Solvite me, pueri; satis est potuisse videri.
 Carmina, quae voltis, cognoscite; carmina vobis, 25
 Huic aliud mercedis erit. Simul incipit ipse.
 Tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres
 Ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;
 Nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes,
 Nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea. 30
 Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta

with Keightley that Aegle suggested the stratagem, like Cyrene in G. 4, and Eidothea, Od. 4. All that is said is that she joined them during their occupation and reassured them, 'timidis' belonging to 'addit' no less than to 'supervenit.'

21.] 'Videnti,' 'vigilanti,' Serv. No parallel usage of this word seems to be quoted.

22.] So of Pan, 10. 27, "Sanguineis ebulli bacis minioque rubentem."

23.] A correction in Pal. gives 'inridens.'

24.] It is difficult to decide between the two possible interpretations of 'satis est potuisse videri,' 'satis est quod potuisse visi estis,' and 'satis est quod potui videri.' The one is supported by A. 5. 231, "possum quia posse videtur," the other by A. 8. 604, "videri iam poterat legio." If the former be true, 'videri' probably would mean 'to be seen' rather than 'to seem'—it is enough to have shown your power, the sense resembling that of Ov. Her. 12. 76, quoted by Wund, "Perdere posse sat est, si quem iuvat ipsa potestas," and the expression being apparently almost proverbial. The latter receives some confirmation from 'videre,' v. 14, and from the stress laid on the privilege of beholding the gods unharmed (see on v. 13., 4. 15, 16., 10. 26). But I have sometimes thought that the reading may have been 'satis est potuisse videri (vincula).'

25.] 'Cognoscite' = 'audite.' "Cognosce prooemia rixae," Juv. 3. 288.

26.] 'Incipit ipse,' A. 10. 5. Here it seems to have the sense of 'ultra,' without further prelude—without waiting for them to press him.

27.] 'In numerum:' Emmen. comp. Lucr. 2. 631, "Ludunt in numerumque exsultant." The image is like that

in 5. 58 foll. The passage seems to be imitated more or less from Lucr. 4. 580 foll.

29.] The mention of Parnassus, Rhodope, and Ismarus is an indirect way of saying that the mountains as well as the oaks made demonstrations of joy, as in 5. 62.

30.] 'Rhodope,' G. 4. 461. 'Ismarus,' G. 2. 37. Orpheus is called 'Ismarius,' Ov. Am. 3. 9. 21. 'Miratur' was changed by Heins. from Rom. and other MSS. into 'mirantur,' but Wagn. recalls the old reading, which is perhaps more Virgilian. The substitution of plural verbs for singular is common even in the best MSS. in passages where sense and grammar would suffer by the change (see Wagn. Quaestiones Vergilianae, 8), so external authority in such cases goes for little. 'Orphea' is doubtless a dissyllable; see on G. 1. 279.

31—40.] Silenus' song. He begins by describing the formation of the world from the four elements, the separation of land and water, and of the sky from the earth, and the production of vegetable and animal life. This opening seems to be imitated from the beginning of the song of Orpheus in Apoll. R. 1. 496 foll., as Ursinus remarks, though the cosmogony here is Epicurean, and the phraseology Lucretian. That Virg. knew the passage is shown by his imitation of it in Iopas' song, A. 1. 742.

31.] 'Magnum inane' and 'semina' are Lucretian expressions, the void and the atoms which were supposed to move in it. Lucretius did not allow that the four elements were the ultimate causes of things (1. 715): so that 'semina terrarum,' &c., are, as Mr. Munro remarks (Journal, pp. 274, foll.), the atoms out of which the four elements are formed, as

Semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent
 Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
 Omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis;
 Tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto
 Coeperit et rerum paulatim sumere formas;
 Iamque novum terrae stupeant lucescere solem
 Altius; atque cadant summotis nubibus imbres,

35

"semina rerum," *Lucr.* 1. 54, are the atoms out of which aggregate things are formed.

32.] 'Animae' for 'air,' is also *Lucretian*, 1. 715, &c.

33.] 'Liquidi ignis' is again from *Lucr.* 6. 205. 'Exordia' is a *Lucretian* word, found *Lucr.* 2. 333, &c., in connexion with "cunctarum rerum" in the sense of the atoms themselves, but more commonly used in the ordinary sense of beginning or origin, as in 5. 430, 471; and this is its sense here. At the same time 'ex his primis' seems intended to recall *Lucr.* 1. 61, "Corpora prima, quod ex illis sunt omnia primis," 'his' being the 'semina.' The general drift of the whole passage, the production of the world by the separation of the so-called elements, is evidently from *Lucr.* 5. 416—508.

34.] 'Mundus' is perhaps best taken with *Mr. Munro* of the aether alone, 'ipse,' as he suggests, being possibly "a reminiscence of the 'Inde mare, inde aer, inde aether ignifer ipse' of *Lucr.* (5. 498), as if the aether were the most wonderful production of all, and the formation of its orb first ended chaos." 'Tener' is apparently opposed to 'aridus,' *Lucr.* 1. 809, and so here it seems meant to express the fusile nature of an early formation, as contrasted with 'durare solum,' v. 35. *Wagn.* refers to *Lucr.* 5. 780, 'mundi novitatem et mollia terrae Arva.' This agrees with 'concreverit.'

35.] 'Tum' goes with 'coeperit,' not with 'canebat,' as *Heyne* thinks. 'Durare' is a transitive verb, used intransitively, a frequent habit with *Virg.*, though there appears to be no other instance where 'durare' has the sense of 'dureocere.' [*Serv.* says 'durare' may be taken either transitively or intransitively: if transitively, the words 'et discludere'—"sumere formas" will refer to 'mundi orbis': if intransitively, to 'solum.'—*H. N.*] 'Discludere' is another *Lucretian* word, 5. 438, "to shut up apart in the sea," as if *Nereus* were independent of the sea, and

the sea had itself existed before the creation. Comp. the personification of *Nereus*, *Pers.* 1. 94, where it is apparently intended to be ridiculous. The sense is an abridgment of *Lucr.* 5. 480 foll., as *Mr. Munro* remarks.

36.] 'Formas rerum' expresses generally what is developed in detail vv. 37—40. 'Shapes' are opposed to the shapeless chaos; and there may be a force too in the plural, as a characteristic of chaos was its uniformity. "Unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe, Quem dixere Chaos," *Ov. M.* 1. 6. Comp. also *ib.* vv. 87, 88, which in fact form a comment on *Virg.*'s words, "Sic modo quae fuerat rudis et sine imagine tellus Induit ignotas hominum conversa figuras."

37.] The sun is developed, and an atmosphere formed. Comp. *Lucr.* 5. 471 foll., and contrast the language of the poet-philosopher with that of the philosophizing poet. The words of *Virg.* must not be pressed, so as to make him mean that the sun found its place later than the earth, and thus contradict *Lucretius*.

38.] In the absence of instances of the trajection of 'atque' in *Virg.* it seems safest to point with *Wagn.* and *Mr. Munro* after 'altius.' The force of 'altius' will then be 'higher than before,' when the elements of the sun and moon were not yet disengaged from those of the earth; or the comparative may indicate the gradual elevation of the sun into its place. *Mr. Munro* observes, "The next words, 'atque cadant summotis nubibus imbres,' have nothing to correspond to them in that part of *Lucr.* which we have been considering; but they are quite in accordance with his long account of the way in which clouds are formed in 6. 451 foll. The vaporous particles would withdraw from the earth, and, taking up a position between it and the sun and moon, would be able to descend in rain." For 'atque' *Rom.* has 'utque.'

Incipiant silvae cum primum surgere, cumque
 Rara per ignaros errent animalia montis. 40
 Hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna,
 Caucasiasque refert volucres furtumque Promethei.
 His adiungit, Hylan nautae quò fonte relictum
 Clamassent, ut litus, Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret;
 Et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent, 45
 Pasiphaen nivei solatur amore iuveni.

40.] 'Rara' appears to imply that they were produced one by one, so that they would not at first overrun the mountains. 'Ignaros' is restored by Wagn. from at least one good MS. (Rom.) for 'ignotos,' as more poetical, the strangeness being supposed to be reciprocal, as in A. 10. 706 note. This seems better than to suppose 'ignarus' to be used passively, as in *Salustius*, *Ovid*, and *Tacitus*. At the same time, as 'ignaros' implies 'ignotos,' there may be a reference, as *Burmman* thinks, to the use of 'notus' as an epithet for the haunts of wild beasts (*θησα*). The mountains are the natural home of wild beasts, as in *Soph. Ant.* 350, *θηρὸς θησαυστῆρα*, *Lucr.* 1. 404, "montivagae ferae," 2. 1081. The whole line is probably imitated from *Lucr.* 5. 822, "Terra . . . animal prope certo tempore fudit Omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibu' passim." Hence 'animalia' is to be confined to beasts, the creation of man being mentioned in the next line.

41.—60.] He tells of the creation and early history of man, Deucalion, Saturn, and Prometheus—also of Hylas, and of Pasiphae and her passion—how she followed the bull in vain through the mountains, beseeching the wood nymphs to intercept him. This mythology is a strange sequel to the quasi-Epicurean cosmogony: but there is nothing unnatural in making a cosmogony of some kind precede the legendary history of the world, as in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. There seems to be no principle in the choice of the legends, or in the different degrees of prominence given to each, e.g., the details about Pasiphae as compared with the brief mention of the earlier stories. [*Serv.* mentions that critics found fault with *Virg.* here, 'nam relictis prudentibus rebus de mundi origine, subito ad fabulas transitum fecit.'—*H. N.*]

41.] The peopling of the world by Pyrrha, the reign of Saturn, and the punishment and crime of Prometheus, are

mentioned without any regard to chronological order, as the first was really the latest in point of time, Pyrrha being the niece and daughter-in-law of Prometheus (*Ov. M.* 1. 390). It is very possible however that *Virg.* may intend to represent Deucalion and Pyrrha as the actual creators of mankind, in which case the reign of Saturn and the story of Prometheus would naturally follow them, either from a confusion of his own, or on the authority of a different series of legends. 'Saturnia regna' is not in apposition to 'lapides Pyrrhae iactos,' but a distinct item in the enumeration, as *Jahn* rightly remarks against *Wagner*.

42.] 'Volucres' for the single eagle, which formed part of the punishment of Prometheus. For the story see *Hesiod* and *Aeschylus*.

43.] The tale of Hylas from the legend of the Argonauts, given by *Apollonius*, *Theocritus*, and *Propertius*. 'Quo' for 'quomodo' (1. 53 note), as the identification of the fountain would not enter into the song.

45.] So *Dido* of herself, *A.* 4. 657, "Felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum Numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae." *Comp.* also *G.* 2. 458. In the present passage the meaning seems to be that the existence of the bull was the curse of Pasiphae's life, the greatness of the infliction being expressed by saying that but for this she would indeed have been happy. 'Fortunatam' then is equivalent to 'quae fortunata fuisset,' as in Greek we might have had *εὖ* with participle or adjective.

46.] He tells how Pasiphae solaced herself, as in *vv.* 62, 3, "circumdat . . . erigit" for "canit ut se circumdederint et erexerint." *Gebauer*, p. 69, *comp. Mosch.* 3. 82 foll., where *Bion* is said to do what he sang of. Elsewhere, as in *G.* 4. 464, the passion is the thing to be solaced: here it is itself made the solace, by a natural change of aspect.

A, virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit ?
 Proetides inplerunt falsis mugitibus agros :
 At non tam turpis pecudum tamen ulla secuta est
 Concubitus, quamvis collo timuisset aratrum 50
 Et saepe in levi quaesisset cornua fronte.
 A, virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras :
 Ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho,
 Illice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas,
 Aut aliquam in magno sequitur grege. Claudite, Nymphae,
 Dictaeae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus, 56
 Si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris
 Errabunda bovis vestigia ; forsitan illum,
 Aut herba captum viridi, aut armenta secutum,
 Perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia vaccae. 60

47.] 'Virgo' used of other than unmarried women, as in Hor. 2 Od. 8. 22, &c. Serv. quotes a line from Calvus, on fo, "A virgo infelix, herbis pasceris amara," which Virg. would seem to have imitated. 'Quae te dementia cepit?' 2. 69 note.

48.] 'The daughters of Proetus fancied themselves cows: yet even they did not proceed to such monstrous lengths, though their delusion was complete.' 'Falsis,' counterfeited, as 'fallere' is used, A. 1. 684.

50.] 'Collo,' dative, as A. 2. 130, 729.

51.] 'Levi,' "humana scilicet," Serv. 'Quaesisset' is adopted by Ribbeck from Pal.; but it is difficult to see how Virg. could have written so after 'timuisset.' As a transcriber's error it is natural enough; indeed Rom. actually has 'timuissent' v. 50.

53.] 'Niveum' seems to be emphatic, recalling the epithet in v. 46. 'Fultus' merely expresses reclining, being used where no support is given by the thing leaned against. "Pedibus fulcire pruinās." Prop. 1. 8. 7; "aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta," Pers. 1. 78, like *ἐπειθεῖσθαι*.

54.] 'Pallentis,' though doubtless a translation of *χλωρός*, is an unusual epithet of grass, but a contrast was probably intended between the grass and the dark green of the 'ilex.' The notion of Serv., approved by one or two later commentators, that 'pallentis' expresses the change of the colour of the grass caused by mastication, need hardly be discussed.

55.] 'Claudite:' the preceding sentence had expressed the thoughts of

Pasiphae: we now have her words.

56.] 'Saltus,' the glades or open spaces in forests, where cattle pastured and wild beasts wandered, called "vacui," G. 3. 143, "aperti," A. 11. 904, and so closed here, as they are hedged round in hunting by nets and watchers (G. 1. 140, A. 4. 121), to prevent the animals from breaking out.

57.] 'Si qua forte,' in the hope that by some chance. "Inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset, Me refero," A. 2. 756.

58.] Whether 'vestigia' is put simply for the feet, as in A. 5. 566 and elsewhere, or the footprints of the bull are sought for, as leading to the discovery of the bull itself (comp. 2. 12), is not clear. Strict propriety of expression would perhaps demand the former, as the footprints might be discovered even if the bull had escaped: but such an argument can hardly be pressed. 'Forsitan . . . vaccae' introduces a fresh hope: he may have fallen in with the herd, or cows may have come up with him as he was browsing, and so he may arrive at the Cretan stalls (Gortyna being celebrated, according to Serv., for the herds of the Sun, whose daughter Pasiphae was). This seems better than with Ruæus to understand Pasiphae to be expressing her fear that if the outlets be not guarded he may get away from her, or with Voss to suppose that 'captum . . . secutum' are meant to account for his wandering, and 'aliquae vaccae' to suggest the means of bringing him back after the facilities for escape have been removed.

Tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam;
 Tum Phaethontiadæ musco circumdat amarae
 Corticis, atque solo proceras erigit alnos.
 Tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
 Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum,
 Utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;
 Ut Linus haec illi, divino carmine pastor,
 Floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro,
 Dixerit: Hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,

65

61—73.] He tells next the story of Atalanta and the sisters of Phaethon, and how Gallus once fell in with one of the Muses, who took him to the Aonian mount, where Linus hailed him as the successor of Hesiod.

62.] 'Circumdat;' see on v. 46. 'Phaethontiadæ,' an extension of the patronymic to sisters, as Tethys in Ov. F. 5. 81, referred to by Forb., is called 'Titanis,' being Titan's sister. Voss makes it equivalent to Heliades, Phaethon being elsewhere found as a name of the sun: but this would be most unseasonable here, where the story of the younger Phaethon is alluded to.

63.] 'Alnos' is a sort of factitive or cognate accusative, 'raises them as alders,' or 'into alders.' Elsewhere, as in A. 10. 190, they are said to have been turned into poplars. The story was that they found their brother's body on the banks of the Eridanus, where they bewailed him for four months, till they were turned into river-trees, which would naturally suggest the thought of alders (G. 1. 136, 2. 110, 452 note).

64.] There is of course great incongruity in the introduction of this supposed interview of Gallus with the Muses as part of Silenus' legendary song: but it may very well have been intended by Virg. to heighten the compliment to his friend. It would have been natural at this point of the song to tell some old story, showing how men in elder and better days used to be admitted to familiar intercourse with the gods, as Ovid, e.g., introduces the tale of Philemon and Baucis (compare the concluding lines of Catullus' poem on Peleus and Thetis); and by recounting Gallus' experience as a story of those times, Virg. in fact invests him with all the associations of heroic antiquity, which would not have been the case had the mention of him been reserved to the end, as Heyne, following

Scaliger, thinks it should have been. Thus the various attempts to evade the incongruity by supposing that Silenus' intention is to describe the origin of the Grynæan grove, but that he is made artfully to resign the task into the hands of Gallus, whose verses Voss further supposes him to borrow for the remainder of the song, the story of Scylla (see note on v. 74), appear to be not only illusory, but founded on a misconception of Virg.'s meaning. The story itself resembles one which Hesiod tells of himself at the beginning of the Theogony: and the allusion to Hesiod, v. 70, as Gallus' predecessor, shows that the resemblance is not merely accidental.

65.] 'Una sororum' is used Prop. 4. 1. 37 for one of the Muses, where the context sufficiently indicates what sisterhood is meant. Here the mention of the Aonian mountains suggests the epithet 'Aoniae' or 'Aonides.'

66.] Heyne comp. Il. 1. 533 foll., where the gods rise at the approach of Zeus.

67.] 'Ut' comes after 'ut . . . utque,' as 'dum' after 'dum . . . dumque,' 5. 77, comp. by Wund. 'Divino carmine' with 'pastor,' expressing the combination of attributes which made Linus an appropriate hero of pastoral poetry. There seems no evidence that Linus was supposed ever to have been a shepherd, but it was natural for a pastoral poet to conceive of him as such.

68.] Parsley was a favourite material for garlands used by a shepherd in Theocr. 3. 22 to form a crown for his love, worn commonly at feasts (Hor. 1 Od. 36. 16, &c.), and given as a prize in the Nemean games. There seems no reason for its use here, beyond its natural appropriateness: the epithet 'amarum' too appears to be simply descriptive. Martyn takes 'apium' to be smallage or celery.

Ascreao quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat 70
 Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.
 His tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo,
 Ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus iactet Apollo.
 Quid loquar, aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est
 Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus 75
 Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto

70.] 'Senex,' indicative not of age, but of antiquity, as it is perhaps applied to Lucilius Hor. 2. S. 25. 1. 34, to Accius and Pacuvius, id. 2 Ep. 1. 56, and to Aristophanes Pers. 1. 124.

71.] The same result is ascribed to magic, A. 4. 491. See on 8. 3. It does not seem to have been a traditional characteristic of the effect of Hesiod's poetry: but the image can hardly have been chosen arbitrarily.

72.] The story of the origin of the grove of Grynium or Grynias in Aeolia, Serv. says, was told in a poem by Euphorion of Chalcis, whose works Gallus (see 10. 50) translated or imitated. A serpent had been killed there by Apollo: the town was founded by Grynus, son of Eurypylus, in consequence of an oracular response; and its grove was the scene of the death of Calchus after a defeat, the circumstances of which are differently related, by a rival augur.

73.] Apollo is called 'Gryneus' A. 4. 345. With the language of the line comp. v. 11. It seems to be imitated from Callim. on Delos v. 269, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη Γαίαν τοσσόνδε θεῶν πεφίλησται ἄλλω.

74—86.] Lastly, he tells the two stories of Scylla, daughter of Nisus, whose lower parts were changed into those of a sea monster, and who thus became the terror of Ulysses' ships, and of Tereus, his bloody feast, and his transformation. In short he sings all that Phoebeus used to sing to Hyacinthus, till evening warned the shepherds home.

74.] 'Aut Scyllam' is the reading of all the MSS. except Rom., which gives 'ut.' The latter would be neater, but the difference is not very great, being only that in the one case we have to supply 'narraverit,' in the other 'ut narraverit' ('Quid loquar, aut ut narraverit Scyllam, aut ut mutatos,' &c.). Jahn's construction of 'Scyllam' with 'loquar' is objectionable, as involving an awkward confusion between the narrative of Virg. and that of Silenus: while Hildebrand's pro-

posal, adopted by Forb., to make 'Scyllam . . . vexasse . . . lacerasse' depend on 'narraverit,' introduces an equally awkward coupling of 'vexasse . . . lacerasse' with 'mutatos' (which cannot, as Forb. thinks, be for 'mutatos esse'), and leaves the words 'quam fama secuta est' to form a tame and unmeaning parenthesis. On the other hand, Virg. is fond of using 'fama est' or some equivalent, such as "volat," A. 3. 121, "occupat auris," ib. 294, with an infinitive clause, so that 'fama secuta est' may easily be resolved into "fama est apud posteros." The further difficulty, the attribution to Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, of the transformation which really happened to the other Scylla, daughter of Phorcus, is not peculiar to this passage, the same thing being done, as Cerda and Ruæus show, by Ov. F. 4. 500 and Prop. 5. 4. 39 foll., and consequently is to be accounted for either by the hypothesis of different versions of the legend, or, as Keightley prefers, by the Roman ignorance of Greek mythology, not corrected by the insertion of 'aut' before 'quam fama secuta est,' which would be ungraceful, even if it were better supported than by the single unnamed MS. reported by Pierius. That Virg. some years afterwards, G. 1. 404, incidentally followed a different story, does not affect the argument.

75.] This and the two following lines are found in the Ciris, vv. 59 foll., with the variation of 'depressos' for 'a timidos.' The language apparently follows Lucr. 5. 892, "ravidis canibus succinctas semimarinis Corporibus Scyllas." Scylla is more fully described A. 3. 424 foll.

76.] 'Dulichias,' the ships or ship (Od. 12. 205) of Ulysses, so called from Dulichia, or Dulichium (A. 3. 271), one of the Echinades, which the Roman writers (Propertius, Ovid, Statius, Martial) were apt either to confuse with Ithaca, or to include among the dominions of Ulysses, though Hom. (Il. 2. 635) places the Echi-

A! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis,
 Aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus,
 Quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,
 Quo cursu deserta petiverit, et quibus ante
 Infelix sua tecta supervolitaverit alis?
 Omnia, quae, Phoebō quondam meditante, beatus
 Audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere laurus,

80

nades under Meges. A question appears to have been raised among the ancient critics about the appropriateness of the word 'vexasse,' which is defended, as sufficiently strong for the occasion, by Probus ap. Serv. [It is very probable that the long defence of the word in Gell. 2. 6. (=Macrob. 6. 7. 4. foll.) comes from the commentary of Probus.—H. N.]

78.] The story of Tereus was differently told, the Greeks generally making Procne the nightingale, and Philomela the swallow, the Romans reversing the order, perhaps, as Voss suggests, from a false notion of the etymology of Philomela. Those who followed the latter version were again divided, some keeping to the old narrative and making Procne Tereus' wife and Philomela her sister, others reversing the relations, doubtless because they saw that the nightingale must have been the mother of Itys, whose name is the burden of her song. This last is probably Virg.'s view, as he would more naturally represent the wife than the sister as preparing the feast, v. 79, while in other passages in his works, G. 4. 15, 511, he follows the Roman as distinguished from the Greek version. The whole subject is elaborately treated in Voss's note.

79.] Serv. rightly distinguishes between 'dapes' and 'dona,' the former being the flesh of Itys, which was served up to Tereus, the latter the head and extremities, which were presented to him after his meal.

80.] It is not clear whether Tereus or Philomela is the subject of 'petiverit' and 'supervolitaverit.' The former is recommended by 'mutatos artus,' v. 78, and by the prominence apparently meant to be given to him: the latter by the structure of v. 79, and perhaps by the language of the clause 'quibus . . . alis,' which seems more appropriate to the nightingale than to the hoopoe. There is a further doubt about 'quo cursu,' which may either denote the speed of Philo-

mela's flight or Tereus' pursuit, or the manner in which they fled, as birds ('quo' for 'quali'). If we accept the former, which agrees better with 'cursu,' we must understand 'quibus . . . alis' of his or her return after transformation to hover over the palace, connecting 'ante' with 'sua' (Heyne comp. Ov. M. 2. 491 of Callisto when transformed, "Ante domum quondamque suis errabat in agris"), a conjunction which will be less harsh if we regard 'infelix' as a sort of parenthetical exclamation. If the latter, 'ante' may then be understood to mean that before flying to the woods the metamorphosed king or queen took a last farewell of the palace by flying round it. Ribbeck reads 'alte,' apparently from his own conj. The description of the bird flying round the house might seem to point to the swallow, in which case Virg. would have followed the Greek version of the story, as Heyne thinks, in spite of the other passages referred to on v. 78; but this would not suit 'deserta petiverit.' Ov. M. 6. 668 foll. says of the sisters "petit altera silvas, Altera tecta subit," though he does not explain which is which. Here the ambiguity is certainly awkward, and looks almost like a confusion of the habits of the nightingale and swallow. 'Quibus alis petiverit' is for 'quomodo alis petiverit,' like 'quo fonte' v. 43.

81.] This line also occurs in the Ciris, v. 51, 'caeruleis' being substituted for 'infelix.' ['Supra volitaverit' Rom.—H. N.]

82.] 'Meditante,' l. 1. 'Beatus,' happy in hearing such a song.

83.] The mention of the Eurotas points to Apollo's love for the Spartan youth Hyacinthus, to whom accordingly we must suppose him to have sung. Here and elsewhere the MSS. are divided between 'laurus' and 'lauros.' There is no doubt that Virg. used 'laurus' and 'lauri' indifferently in the nom. pl. (comp. 2. 54, A. 3. 91), nor need his usage have

Ille canit; pulsae referunt ad sidera valles;
 Cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referri
 Iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo.

85

been more uniform in the acc.: but in such cases, where early authorities differ, a modern critic has small means of deciding, and uniformity seems better than arbitrary choice.

84.] Comp. 5. 62, and Lucr. 2. 327 there quoted.

85.] An incidental proof that Chromis and Mnasyllus were shepherds, as no others are represented as listening to the song. 'Referri' Med. and Pal. corrected, Gud., 'referre' Med. and Pal. originally, Rom. The former is more probable as the more difficult reading. The same mixture of the passive and active infin. is found A. 3. 61 (where there is a simi-

lar variety of reading), 5. 773., 11. 84. For the custom see E. 3. 34.

86.] 'Invito,' as Olympus was himself listening. Voss comp. Il. 18. 239, where Hera bids the sun set against his will. It is doubtful whether 'Olympus' is merely the heaven, or the mountain, over which the evening star is said to rise, as in 8. 30, "tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam," A. 2. 801, "Iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae:" but the former is simpler. In either case 'Olympo' is probably to be constructed with 'processit,' αἶλιος, the star of the sheepfolds, was a Greek epithet of the evening star. Rom. is deficient from this place to 10. 10.

ECLOGA VII.

MELIBOEUS.

MELIBOEUS. CORYDON. THYRSIS.

THIS is another singing-match between Corydon and Thyrsis, with Daphnis as umpire. Unlike those in Eclogues 3 and 5, it ends decisively in the defeat of Thyrsis. The story is told by Meliboeus, who was not present until the terms of the contest had been agreed on, so that of them we hear nothing.

The Idyls of Theocr. which Virgil seems chiefly to have had in view are the 6th and 8th.

Various attempts were made by the earlier critics to identify the characters, Corydon being supposed to be Virgil or a friend of Virgil's, Thyrsis a contemporary rival, or even, according to Cerda, Virgil's great prototype Theocritus, Meliboeus and Daphnis patrons of the poet, if not the poet himself. Serv., who mentions this mode of interpretation without adopting it, makes Codrus (v. 22) an historical personage, asserting on the authority of the Elegies of Valgius (Dict. B.) that he was a contemporary poet; but the clause is apparently omitted in some of the MSS. of the old commentator. [See also the Verona Scholia quoted on v. 22.] Nothing in the poem points to any historical basis; all can be explained by supposing it to be an imaginary Eclogue in the Theocritean style. There does not even seem to be any necessity for supposing that in introducing Meliboeus, Daphnis, and Corydon, Virgil is thinking uniformly of the Meliboeus, Daphnis, and Corydon of former Eclogues, though there is some appropriateness in making Daphnis the bestower of the crown of poetry, and Corydon, the hero of Ecl. 2, its receiver.

The scenery is, as usual, confused. Arcadian shepherds are made to sing in the neighbourhood of the Mincius, while neither the ilex (v. 1), the pine (v. 24), the chestnut (v. 53), nor the flocks of goats (v. 7), would seem to belong to Mantua.

There appears no means of determining the date, as the mention of the Mincius does not prove that Virgil was then in actual possession of his property.

This Eclogue is alluded to by Propertius (3. 26. 67), "Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus;" but the reference is sufficiently vague, as the mention of Galaesus is apparently intended to recall a totally different scene, that described in G. 4. 126, and the juxtaposition of Thyrsis and Daphnis can mean no more than that Virgil introduces both, as Theocr. does, though in different Idyls. [Mr. Munro, however, thinks that the mention of the Galaesus by Propertius may show that some of the Eclogues were written in the neighbourhood of Tarentum.—H. N.]

M. FORTE sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis,
 Compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum,
 Thyrsis oves, Corydon distentas lacte capellas,
 Ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo,
 Et cantare pares, et respondere parati. 5
 Huc mihi, dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos,

1—20.] 'A singing-match had been agreed on between Corydon the goatherd and Thyrsis the shepherd, Daphnis being umpire. I was just going to look after a stray he-goat when Daphnis asked me to come and listen. I agreed hesitatingly, and they began.'

1.] Imitated generally from the beginning of Theocritus' 6th and 8th Idyls. 'Arguta,' 8. 22 note. Virg. may intend that the very tree should, as it were, suggest a song, as in Theocr. 1. 1 foll. the whisper of the leaves is parallel with the sound of piping.

3.] 'Distentas lacte' may be meant to show that the time was towards evening; and so perhaps v. 15.

4.] 'Aetatibus,' the plural, each being made to have his own 'aetas,' by a poetical variety, where a prose writer would have said, 'ambo florente aetate.' 'Arcades,' and therefore skilled in song, 10. 32. Arcadia was a pastoral country (called *ἐμμηλος*, Theocr. 22. 157, and Pan, its patron, was the god of rural song, so that shepherds who can pipe and sing are naturally made Arcadians. There seems also to have been a law in Arcadia in historical times (Polyb. 4. 20) compelling the study of music, which Polybius thinks produced a humanizing effect on the people. Keightley supposes that these passages of Virg. suggested the notion which became current at the revival of letters, representing the Arcadians as living in an ideal golden age of pastoral felicity—a view sufficiently unlike that taken by the ancients themselves, with whom the

Arcadians were proverbial for thick-witted rustic stupidity, Juv. 7. 160, &c. For the confusion between Arcadia and Mantua see Introduction to Eclogues, p. 8.

5.] 'Parati' is constructed with both 'cantare' and 'respondere,' 'pares' being taken with 'parati' or with 'cantare,' equally prepared, or prepared to sing in a match, either to take the first or the second part in an amoebean contest. This seems better than to connect 'pares' with 'cantare,' the infinitive use as in Greek for a noun, as if it were 'pares in cantando,' though the construction would be admissible in itself, and is apparently sanctioned by Nemesianus' imitation (2. 16), "ambo aevo cantuque pares." At the same time the stress on "parati" is chiefly in connexion with "respondere," as that would be the strongest test of improvisation: and this makes the word more appropriate than 'periti,' Schrader's conjecture, which is supported not only by 10. 32, but by Theocr. 8. 4, *ἔμψα σὺρπιδεν δαδασμένην, ἔμψα ἀείδεν*.

6.] 'Huc,' in the direction of the place where they were sitting. 'Defendo a frigore myrtos' has created some difficulty, even as early as the time of Serv. It is to be solved by supposing that the scene is laid in the spring-time, when the nights are frosty (a supposition which agrees with the whispering of the leaves, v. 1, the humming of the bees, v. 13, and the weaned lambs, v. 15), and that Meliboeus, like Corydon, 2. 45, &c., had to look after his trees as well as after his flocks and herds. 'Dum' is used with the present, though

Vir gregis ipse caper deerraverat; atque ego Daphnim
 Aspicio. Ille ubi me contra videt: Ocius, inquit,
 Huc ades, o Meliboeus! caper tibi salvus et haedi;
 Et, si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra. 10
 Huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci;
 Hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas
 Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu.
 Quid facerem? neque ego Alcippen, neque Phyllida habebam,
 Depulsos a lacte domi quae clauderet agnos; 15
 Et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum.
 Posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo.
 Alternis igitur contendere versibus ambo
 Coepere; alternos Musae meminisse volebant.

the verb in the principal clause is in the pluperfect, as in A. 6. 171 foll. quoted by Wagn. For 'myrtos' a few MSS. have 'myrtus;' but in this case the usage of Virg. appears to be in favour of the second declension.

7.] 'Vir gregis,' ὁ τράγος, τῶν λευκῶν αἰγῶν ἄνερ, Theocr. 8. 49. 'Ipse:' the leader of the herd had strayed, and therefore of course the herd with him. Heyne, referring to v. 9. 'Deerro' is dissyllabic, as in Lucr. 3. 860. 'Atque' used in a style of poetical simplicity, where, in connected writing, we should have had 'cum.' Other instances, collected by Wagn., are A. 4. 663., 6. 162., 7. 29., 10. 219. Comp. the traditional explanation of G. 1. 203. Gebauer, p. 31, comp. the similar use of καὶ Theocr. 7. 11; there however καὶ seems to answer to καὶ in the line preceding. Here the sense is, 'I had just observed that he had strayed, when I caught sight of Daphnis.'

11.] The bullocks are clearly those of Meliboeus, who accordingly must be supposed to be in charge of them as well as of the goats, and also of lambs, v. 15, as Damoetas, 3. 6, 29, is both shepherd and cowherd. 'Ipsi' as in 4. 21 (note).

12.] Comp. 1. 49 foll., G. 3. 14, 15, A. 10. 205. The Mincius is evidently mentioned to give the reason why Meliboeus' bullocks will not go out of sight; but the mention of it suggests the thought of the invitingness of the spot, which is the thing dwelt on in the second clause, 'eque . . . quercu.'

13.] Comp. 1. 54 foll. 'Sacra,' as being the tree of Jupiter.

14.] 'Alcippe' and 'Phyllis' seem to be partners (see on 1. 31), perhaps former

partners, of Meliboeus, not, as Serv. supposes, partners respectively of Corydon and Thyrsis.

15.] Med. has 'haedos' before 'agnos,' from a recollection of v. 9 and perhaps of 3. 82.

16.] 'Corydon cum Thyrside' is connected by a loose apposition with 'certamen.' Somewhat similar is Soph. Ant. 259, λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρρόθουν κακοί, φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα. 'Magnum' seems to be a predicate. 'Et' couples the two antagonistic considerations. Thyrsis is the name of one of the personages in Theocr. Idyl 1.

18.] 'Alternis:' introduction to Ecl. 3.

19.] 'Volebam,' a variant mentioned by Serv., is found in one or two MSS. and adopted by Voss; but 'volebant' is clearly right. There is no need (as Ameis Spic., p. 14, has rightly perceived) to supply 'eos' before 'meminisse,' with Wagn. and Forb., or 'me' with Spohn and Jahn. 'Musae' are the Muses of the two rivals, who are said to remember the amoebean strains, as recalling them to the memory of the shepherds, the Muses being mythologically connected with memory, who was said to be their mother. Comp. A. 7. 645, "Et meministis enim, Divae, et memorare potestis." The language is worded as if the shepherds had a number of verses in their minds, and the Muses chose to remember amoebeans rather than others; but it must not be pressed to mean that the contest had been studied or rehearsed beforehand (see v. 5, note), as by the act of memory probably no more is intended than the act of composition, which Virg. elsewhere (1. 2, &c.) expresses by the word 'meditari.'

Hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis. 20

C. Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen,
Quale meo Codro, concedite; proxima Phoebe
Versibus ille facit; aut, si non possumus omnes,
Hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu.

T. Pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam, 25
Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro;
Aut, si ultra plaecitum laudarit, baccare frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

21—24.] 'Cor. Muses, grant that I may sing like my Codrus; if not, I abandon the art.'

21.] 'Libethrus,' 'Libethra,' or 'Libethrum,' was a fountain in Helicon, with a cavern, mentioned by Strabo, 9. p. 629, A, τὸ τῶν Λιβηθρίδων νυμφῶν ἑντρον. Pausanias speaks also of a mountain of the same name. They are mentioned as distinct from the Muses, though equally with them patronesses of song. Comp. 10. 1, where Arethusa is invoked. In Theoc. 7. 91, the nymphs teach a shepherd song.

22.] 'Codrus,' 5. 11. [The Verona Scholia say that Codrus was understood by some critics to be Virg., by others to be Cornificius, and by others Helvius Cinna. They go on to quote some lines of Valgius upon this Codrus: "Codrusque ille canit, quali tu voce caneas, Atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos, Dulcior ut numquam Pylio profuxerit ore Nestoris, aut docto pectore Demodoci," etc.—H. N.] It signifies little whether 'proxima' be constructed with 'carmina' supplied from 'carmen,' or taken as a verbal acc. after 'facit.' With the sense comp. Theoc. 1. 2, μετὰ Πάνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισῇ.

23.] 'Non possumus omnes,' 8. 63. Corydon, as Voss remarks, modestly classes himself with the many. Ribbeck restores 'possumus,' the original reading of Med., Pal., Gud., and another cursive, referring to Marius Victorinus p. 8 Gaisford, where we are told that Messala, Brutus, and Agrippa wrote 'simus' for 'sumus.' But it is more likely that the copyists should have blundered than that they should have preserved an orthographical peculiarity of which we have no direct notice.

24.] He hangs up his pipe as abandoning the art. Comp. Hor. 3 Od. 26. 3, &c., and Maclean on 1 Ep. 1. 4. The pine is sacred to Pan, Prop. 1. 18. 20, "Arcadio pinus amica deo," being the tree into which a nymph whom he loved, Pitys,

was transformed. So Tibull. 2. 5. 29, "Pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum, Garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo."

25—28.] 'Th. Crown me, in spite of Codrus' envy, and protect me against his evil tongue.'

25.] The arrogance and spleen of Thyrsis are contrasted with the modesty of Corydon. 'Hedera,' 8. 13. "Doctarum hederas praemia frontium," Hor. 1 Od. 1. 29. For 'crescentem' Med. originally and some other MSS. have 'nascentem,' which Wagn. adopts. The question seems to be one of external authority: intrinsically there is little to choose between them. Comp. G. 2. 336.

26.] 'Invidia rumpantur,' a colloquial expression, doubtless intended as a characteristic trait of Thyrsis. Emm. quotes Cic. in Vatin. 4, "ut aliquando ista ilia, quae sunt inflata, rumpantur." The supposed allusion to the story of Codrus the Moor, glanced at by Hor. 1 Ep. 19. 15, would be quite out of place, were it only that Virg. evidently sympathizes with Corydon and his friend.

27.] Thyrsis affects to fear that Codrus may attempt to injure him by extravagant praise, which when bestowed on a person either by himself or by another, was considered likely to provoke the jealousy of the gods, and so used to be guarded by the apologetic expression 'prae-fascine.' Cerda refers to a fragment of Titinius (Charis. p. 210), "Pol tu ad laudem addito praefascine, ne puella fascinetur." 'Ultra placitum' is generally understood 'beyond his judgment,' i.e. with extravagant insincerity; but it more probably refers to the pleasure of the gods. 'Baccare,' 4. 19. '[Herba est ad repellendum fascinum,' Serv.—H. N.]

28.] 'Mala lingua,' "nec mala fascinare lingua," Catull. 7. 12. 'Vati futuro' is a stronger expression than 'crescentem poetam' (see note on 9. 32), and so argues increased self-confidence in Thyrsis.

C. Saetosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, parvus
 Et ramosa Micon vivacis cornua cervi. 80
Si proprium hoc fuerit, lēvi de marmore tota
 Puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno.
T. Sinum lactis et haec te liba, Priape, quot annis
 Exspectare sat est: custos es pauperis horti.
 Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu, 85
 Si fetura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.
C. Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,

29—32.] *Cor.* Micon offers to Diana a boar's head and a stag's horns, promising her a marble statue if his success in hunting should continue.

29.] Corydon speaks in the character of Micon (see on 3. 10, 79), who is supposed to dedicate an offering to Diana with an address in the form of an inscription. 'Parvus,' as Menalcas, Theocr. 8. 64, calls himself μικρός, a young boy.

30.] The verb is omitted, as frequently in inscriptions, A. 3. 288. For the custom of offering spoils of hunting to Diana, comp. A. 9. 407, Soph. Aj. 178. The longevity of the stag was proverbial among the ancients. 'Vivacis cornua cervi' is copied by Ov. M. 3. 194. 'Ramosa' like "cornibus arboreis" A. 1. 190.

31.] 'Proprium,' one's own property, and hence permanent, coupled by Cic. Pro Lege Manil. 16 with 'perpetuum,' with 'perenne' De Sen. 4. So A. 6. 871, "propria haec si dona fuissent," Hor. 2 S. 6. 5, "propria ut mihi munera faxis." The thought is the same as in the well-known line, Lucr. 3. 971, "Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu." The thing of which a continuance is prayed for is no doubt success in hunting. 'Tota,' not a mere head or bust. Serv.

32.] Comp. A. 1. 337, where this line is almost verbally repeated of a Tyrian huntress. A similar line is quoted by Terentianus Maurus De Metris, professedly from the Ino of Livius Andronicus, "Iam nunc purpureo suras include coturno." Diana is generally represented with buskins. 'Puniceo:' colouring was frequent in the case of marble statues. 'De marmore stabis:' "aeneus ut stes," Hor. 2 S. 3. 183, σφυρήλατος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήθητι, Plato Phaedr. p. 215. ['Coturno' Med. Pal. Ver. fragm. Gud.—H. N.]

33—36.] *Th.* Priapus, we offer thee cakes and milk, being poor; however, though thou hast only a marble statue now, thou shalt have a golden one if the

lambling turns out well.

33.] Thyrsis fails first in his subject, Priapus instead of Diana, and then in the sudden and absurd change from ostentatious homeliness to lavish promises. ['Sinum' or 'sinus': a note of Asper quoted in the Verona Scholia, and partly by Serv. and Nonius, p. 547, says "Sinum est vas vinarium, ut Cicero significat, non ut quidam, lactarium. Plautus in Curculione (1. 1. 82), "cedo puere sinum" ... "Sinum ergo vas patulum, quod et masculine sinus vocitatum." He illustrates the word further from Atta and Varro. 'Sinus' is distinguished by Varro from 'poculum,' "quod maiorem cavationem habet." (L. L. 4. 26.) The resemblance in appearance and sense to 'sinus' seems merely accidental. 'Quot annis,' comp. the yearly offering to Daphnis, 5. 67.

35.] 'Pro tempore' is coupled with 'pro re' by Caes. B. G. 5. 8, 'according to our circumstances,' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, as Heyne renders it. The statues of Priapus were commonly of wood; but Thyrsis intends to insult Micon and his Diana, by apologizing for having had to make his god of the same material which his rivals promise to their goddess—not remembering that such extravagant language is utterly out of character. With 'marmoreum' and 'aureus' Gebauer comp. Theocr. Id. 10. 23, Epigr. 17. 3 foll., 20. 6 foll., and with the general sense Epigr. 4. 13 foll.

37—40.] *Cor.* Sweet Galatea, lovelier than every thing in nature, come to thy Corydon at evenfall.

37.] Galatea, the Nereid, appears in Theocr. (Idyls 6 and 11) as the love of Polyphemus. Virg., who, as Keightley remarks, had transferred the language and feelings of Polyphemus to Corydon in Ecl. 2, here makes him address Galatea, who is his love, just as Daphnis, who in Idyl 8 answers to Corydon here, marries a nymph.

Candidior cyncis, hedera formosior alba,
 Cum primum pasti repetent praesepia tauri,
 Si qua tui Corydonis habet te cura, venito. 40
T. Immo ego Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis,
 Horridior rusco, proiecta vilior alga,
 Si mihi non haec lux toto iam longior anno est.
 Ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite iuveni.
C. Muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba, 45
 Et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra,
 Solstitium pecori defendite; iam venit aestas
 Torrida, iam laeto turgent in palmit gemmae.

The words are imitated more or less from Theocr. 11. 19 foll., and both passages are copied and characteristically amplified by Ov. M. 13. 739 foll. 'Nerine' seems not to occur elsewhere in Latin as a patronymic, but Catull. 64. 28 calls Thetis 'Nereine,' [according to Haupt's almost certain conjecture.] 'Hyblae;' see on l. 55, though here it need not be a piece of mannerism, as a shepherd speaking as a Sicilian would naturally allude to Hybla.

38.] 'Hedera alba,' 3. 39. [Formosior, Pal. originally.—H. N.]

39.] He bids her come to him in the pastoral evening. See on 3. 67.

41—44.] 'Th. May I be more hateful to thee than every thing in nature if I can bear thy absence longer. Go home, my herds.'

41.] Thyrsis thinks first of his rivalry with Corydon, 'immo' implying that he seeks a better way of expressing his passion, and then of his own feelings rather than of his love's, and fails accordingly. It is not necessary to suppose that he is addressing Galatea also, as he may only mean to show how much better he loves *his* love. With the form of the wish Gebauer comp. Theocr. 5. 20 &c. 'Sardoniis,' in one form or another, is found in all Ribbeck's MSS., so that Wagn. did rightly in restoring it for 'Sardois.' The technical name for the plant is 'Ranunculus Sardous,' βαρδαχίον χλωδοέστερον, known in England as the celery-leaved crowfoot, so acrid that its leaves applied externally produce inflammation. Those who ate it had their faces distorted into the proverbial Sardonic smile. Thyrsis contrasts it with the thyme of Hybla, as producing proverbially bitter honey, "Sardum mel," Hor. A. P. 375, as

'horridior rusco' is contrasted with 'candidior cyncis,' and 'vilior alga' with 'hedera formosior alba.'

42.] 'Rusco,' G. 2. 413. 'Proiecta' is emphatic: which is thrown on the shore, and which no one cares to take up. 'Vilior alga,' Hor. 2 S. 5. 8.

43.] Theocr. 12. 2, *οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσι*.

44.] He lays the blame on the cattle, as if they were delaying his pleasure by delaying at their food. 'Si quis pudor' seems to be an appeal at once to their moderation in eating, and to their regard for him. It is the same notion as "improbus anser," G. 1. 119, where see note.

45—48.] 'Cor. My flocks shall have water, and grass, and shade: summer is at the full of heat and beauty.'

45.] 'Muscosi,' gushing from the mossy rock. Catull. 68. 58, Hor. 1 Ep. 10. 7. 'Somno mollior,' ὕπνῳ μαλακότερα, Theocr. 5. 51, of a fleece (comp. 15. 125). *μαλακός* is an epithet of ὕπνος, as old as Hom. (Il. 10. 2), like 'mollis' of 'somnus,' G. 2. 470, &c., which is as likely to have suggested the comparison as any resemblance in the things themselves. The address is imitated from Theocr. 8. 33 foll. 37 foll.

46.] 'Rara,' see on 5. 7.

47.] "Defendit aestatem capellis," Hor. 1 Od. 17. 3. It is difficult to say whether in this and similar instances the dative is to be explained as one of personal relation, 'on behalf of,' or as originally identical with the ablative. 'Solstitium,' G. 1. 100.

48.] With 'aestas torrida' Gebauer comp. Theocr. 6. 16., 9. 12. Corydon mentioned the summer for its heat, but he is led to dwell on its beauty, a characteristic proof of his superiority to

T. Hic focus et taedae pingues, hic plurimus ignis
Semper, et adsidua postes fuligine nigri; 50
Hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora, quantum
Aut numerum lupus, aut torrentia flumina ripas.

C. Stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae;
Strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma;
Omnia nunc rident; at si formosus Alexis 55
Montibus his abeat, videas et flumina sicca.

Thyrsis. For 'laeto' Wagn. inclines to read 'lento' from Med. (corrected) and Pal., alleging that the buds appear on the vine before the leaves: but leaves are not the only mark of luxuriance, which is here doubtless indicated by the appearance of the buds. Forb. well comp. G. 2. 262, "laetum vitis genus," which shows that the epithet is virtually a perpetual one of the vine. Ribbeck adopts 'lento.' The words are confused elsewhere, 'leto,' as Wagn. observes, being a way of expressing both. It is not clear what Serv. read; if 'lento,' he interpreted it in the sense of putting forth leaves slowly, which can hardly be right.

49—53.] *Th.* Here we are at our fire-side, where we can bid defiance to the cold.

49.] Thyrsis' picture, as Keightley aptly remarks, is a sort of Dutch pendant to Corydon's Claude Lorraine. Its fault is its subject: yet it is the one which would most naturally be expected to follow Corydon's, according to the division of the year in 5. 70. The 'focus' is one of the details of rural life seemingly ridiculed as a subject for poetry by Persius 1. 72.

50.] 'Semper,' like 'adsidua,' forms part of Thyrsis' boast, and it leads him to dwell on what is itself an unpleasing detail, the *δόσκαρνα δάματα*. This and the preceding line seem to be from Theocr. 11. 50, as Keightley remarks, though the context there is quite different.

51.] Theocr. 9. 12 foll., 19 foll. [Serv. mentions a variant 'hinc' for 'hic,' and explains 'hinc' as='therefore.' Gud. originally has 'hinc.'—H. N.]

52.] 'Numerum' is understood by Heyne and the later editors of the counting of the sheep, the prospect of which does not deter the wolf from devouring any of them: but the old interpretation seems simpler, the wolf not fearing the multitude of the sheep, where the notion is the same as that of Juvenal's "defendit numerus," and not unlike

Horace's "nos numerus sumus," 'a mere set of figures,' 'a mere throng.' Alexander, when told of the number of the Persian army, replied that a single butcher is not afraid of a number of sleep.

53—56.] *Cor.* It is the fruit season, and all is luxuriant: but the absence of Alexis would blight all.

53.] 'Stant' is more than 'sunt,' by which Heyne explains it: but it merely gives the picture. The non-elision of 'iuniperi' and 'castaneae' is a metrical variety borrowed by Virg. from the Greeks. The passage is imitated from Theocr. 8. 41 foll.

54.] Perhaps from Theocr. 7. 144 foll. 'Quaque,' the conjecture of Heins., Gronovius, and Bentley for 'quaeque,' has been adopted by many editors, including Heyne and Wagn., and is actually found in one of Ribbeck's cursives, and as a correction in another. But Lachm. on Lucr. 2. 371 has shown from other passages that 'quaque' here would be equally correct, and Wagn. Lect. Verg. pp. 368 foll., does not seem to break down his case. The construction is doubtless to be explained by attraction. Another suggestion is to make 'sua' the abl. sing. pronounced monosyllabically, after the example of Enn. and Lucr.; but to this Wagn. replies with force that it is strange that Virg. should have preferred an archaism of this kind when a more obvious expression was close at hand.

55.] 'Alexis' is doubtless introduced with a reference to E. 2 (compare the mention of mountains in 2. 5), but as Corydon does not always adhere to his own character (see v. 30), we need not suppose that he is always speaking of those whom he has himself loved. ['Formosus' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

56.] The general drought would affect even the rivers, which are the natural resource when there is no rain. Pal. has 'aberit.'

T. Aret ager; vitio moriens sitit aëris herba;
 Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras:
 Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit,
 Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbris.

60

C. Populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis Iaccho,
 Formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebo;
 Phyllis amat corylos; illas dum Phyllis amabit,
 Nec myrtus vincet corylos, nec laurea Phoebi.

T. Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis,
 Populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis;
 Saepius at si me, Lycida formose, revisas,
 Fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis.

65

57—60.] *Th.* Every thing is parched up: but Phyllis' arrival will bring fertility and refreshing showers.

57.] All that can be said against *Thyrsis* here is that he dwells more on unpleasing objects than *Corydon*: but this was forced on him by the subject of his picture, and he makes what he can of the anticipated contrast, vv. 59, 60. '*Vitio*,' disease, a sense more common in the cognate words, '*vitiosus*' and '*vitiare*.' "*Dira lues quondam Latias vitiaverat auras*," *Ov. M.* 15. 626. *Forb.* thinks that *Virg.* may be referring to *Lucr.* 6. 1090 foll., where diseased states of the air are treated of as causes of pestilence. *Comp.* "*morbo caeli*" *G.* 3. 478, "*corrupto caeli tractu*" *A.* 3. 138.

58.] 'The vines on the slopes of the hills are all withering.'

59.] '*Phyllidis*,' 3. 76, &c. '*Nemus omne*' may refer to the plantations, or perhaps, as vines have just been spoken of, to the '*arbutum*,' which appears to be its sense, *G.* 2. 308, 401. [*Med.* originally had '*videbat*.'—*H. N.*]

60.] The image is that of *G.* 2. 325, the marriage of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, *Aether* and *Earth*. *Comp.* also "*ruit arduus aether*" *G.* 1. 824, "*caeli ruina*" *A.* 1. 129, which is the same picture, the whole sky appearing to pour down, though without the added personification. '*Iuppiter*' is used of the air, *G.* 1. 418, 2. 419.

61—64.] '*Cor.* Each god has his favourite tree: but *Phyllis* is fond of the hazel, so that is the tree for me.'

61.] '*Populus*,' *λευκάν*, '*Ηρακλέος ιερὸν ἕρνος*,' *Theoc.* 2. 121. So *G.* 2. 66, *A.* 8. 276. The story was that *Leuce* was a nymph beloved by *Pluto*, who caused a white poplar to grow up in the shades after her death: and that *Heracles*, on

his way from the infernal regions, made himself a garland from its leaves

62.] The myrtle, being a sea-side plant ("*amantis litora myrtos*," *G.* 4. 124), was supposed to have sheltered *Venus* on her first rising from the sea. [*Formonsae*' originally, *Pal.*—*H. N.*]

64.] *Serv.* seems to have read '*Veneris*,' for '*corylos*,' and *Heyne* prefers it, but it would rather weaken the emphasis which at present falls on '*laurea Phoebi*.'

65—68.] '*Th.* Each spot has its favourite tree: but *Lycidas* will grace any spot more than any tree.'

65.] If *Thyrsis* fails at all here, it is that he does not pay so high a compliment as *Corydon*: but his language is more natural. *Corydon* had spoken merely of favourite trees: *Thyrsis* compares *Lycidas* himself to a tree, as being like it, the glory of the place which he frequents. *Comp.* 5. 32 foll. '*Silvis*' are probably the plantations which the shepherd has to take care of, as '*horti*' are his gardens or orchards. For this reason the trees belonging to them seem to be chosen rather than the river and mountain trees to be compared with *Lycidas* in v. 68, as it is to the scenes of his labour that *Thyrsis* wishes to invite his beloved one. '*Pinus*' is the *πίτυς*, *ἡμερος*, called by *Ov. A.* 3. 692, '*pinus culta*.'

66.] '*In fluviis*' merely means that the poplar is a river-tree. "*Fluminibus salices crassique paludibus alni nascuntur*," *G.* 2. 110.

67.] [*Formonsae*' originally, *Pal.*—*H. N.*]

68.] *Comp.* *Hom.*'s comparison of a beautiful youth killed to a poplar cut down, *Il.* 4. 482. *Pal.* and *Gud.* have '*cedet*' [and so *Serv.*—*H. N.*].

M. Haec memini, et victum frustra contendere Thyrsim.
Ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis. 70

69, 70.] 'Thyrsis was vanquished, and Corydon crowned with lasting glory.'

70.] Virg. imitates Theoc. 8. 92. *κῆκ τούτῳ Δάφνις παρὰ ποιμέσι πρῶτος ἔγεντο*, but the meaning of the words is not clear. The choice lies between 'henceforth Corydon is Corydon with us,' as if, intending to say 'primus,' or some such word, he had changed the expression, as if to show that the highest praise that could be bestowed on Corydon was to say that he was himself, and 'henceforth it is Corydon, Corydon with us'—Corydon is in all our mouths; but though either would yield a sufficiently good sense, no adequate parallel has been adduced either for the identical proposition, 'Corydon est Corydon,' or for the use of 'est nobis' to signify

'all our talk is about him.' *Παρὰ ποιμέσι*, however, as Gebauer remarks, is in favour of taking 'nobis' as "apud nos," "nostro iudicio:" and perhaps we may illustrate 'Corydon est Corydon' by the opposite *ἵπος ἕϊπος* of Hom. Od. 15. 73, with a possible reference to the meaning of *κορυδαῖον* or *κορυδαῖος*, a lark. See on 8. 84. [Serv. says Corydon means 'victor, nobilis supra omnes.' This may either mean that 'Corydon' was a colloquial term for a victor, or (as Ladewig thinks) that the name Corydon could now stand as a symbol for the highest excellence in singing, as that of Cicero or Demosthenes in the sphere of oratory: 'Corydon will be a Corydon.'—H. N.]

ECLOGA VIII.

PHARMACEUTRIA.

DAMON. ALPHESIBOEUS.

WE have here again the songs of two shepherds, Damon, in the character of a despairing lover lamenting over his faithless Nysa, who has taken a less worthy mate, and finally resolving on self-destruction, and Alpheisiboeus, in the character of a woman also forsaken by her lover, though only for a time, and trying to recover him by enchantments, which at last prove successful.

[Serv. says that this poem is addressed to Augustus, though he mentions commentators who took it as referring to Pollio. The reference to Augustus can only be defended by an unnatural if not impossible interpretation of v. 10. It is much more probable that the piece is addressed to] Pollio, in a preface running parallel with that to E. 6 (see Introduction there, and note on v. 7 here). Its date may be fixed from vv. 6 foll., which apparently point to the time when Pollio had gained his victory over the Parthini in Illyricum ('victicis laurus,' v. 13, refuting the hypothesis that it was addressed to him when setting out on the expedition), and was on his way home to receive the triumph which he celebrated Oct. 25, A.U. 715. Whether "iussis carmina coepta tuis," v. 11, actually means that Pollio suggested one or both of the subjects of the Eclogue, or merely that he asked to have another pastoral written, is of course impossible to say. Voss chooses to fancy that it was for the second song, as an imitation of the Pharmaceutria of Theocritus, that Pollio had asked, and that Virgil intends to give it the preference, both by the appeal to the Muses, vv. 62, 63, and by the title of the whole poem. But Virgil's own words need convey no such notion (see note there), and there seems no reason to suppose that the title Pharmaceutria was affixed by the poet, especially as the Med. MS. has a different title, "Damonis et Alpheisiboei Certatio."

The Eclogue itself is so far parallel to E. 5 that it contains a species of amoebean, consisting not, like Eclogues 3 and 7, of a number of short efforts, but of two continuous strains of equal lengths—the difference between a dialogue and a set oration followed by a set reply—suggested perhaps by Theocr. Id. 9, where there are two songs of seven lines each. But the detail here is much more complicated, each of the poems being composed of ten stanzas (so to call them), consisting respectively of two, three, four, and five lines, and separated from each other by a burden. The arrangement of the stanzas however is not quite the same in the two poems, as the last three stanzas of Damon's song consist respectively of four, five, and three lines with their burdens, while in Alpheisiboeus' the order of the concluding stanzas runs, five lines, three lines, and four lines.

The circumstances under which this amoebean exercise takes place are not stated (note on v. 14). The two songs have no formal connexion, though baffled love is the theme of both. The first is imitated from various passages in the first, third, and eleventh Idyls of Theocritus, the second entirely from Idyl 2, which Virgil abridges and fits with a more prosperous conclusion.

The lynxes (v. 3) and the mention of Oeta (v. 30) show that the scenery is not national.

PASTORUM Musam Damonis et Alpheisiboei,
Immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuvenca
Certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces,
Et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus,
Damonis Musam dicemus et Alpheisiboei.

5

Tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi,

1—5.] 'My subject is the songs of Damon and Alpheisiboeus, which entranced all that heard them, inanimate as well as animate.'

1.] Forb. seems right in supposing that 'pastorum Musam' is meant to be equivalent to 'silvestrem Musam,' as 'coniugis amore,' v. 18, appears to be to 'coniugali amore,' though of course the genitive in each case is still in apposition to the name of the person or persons following. 'Alpheisiboei,' 5. 73.

2.] For the effect of song upon nature comp. 6. 27 foll., 71. The cattle forget to graze for joy and wonder, as in 5. 26 for grief.

3.] The lynx, like the lion, 5. 27, seems to be neither Italian nor Sicilian, so that its introduction is an additional element of unreality. Virg. was doubtless thinking of the effect of the legendary song of Orpheus, and named any savage beast as a proof of the power of music. ['Stupefacta est,' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

4.] 'Cursus' might very well be constructed with 'mutata,' as the course of a river by being checked would in effect be changed, though the words, as Wagn. remarks, would rather point to a magician's spell, making the river roll back, like

Medea's, Val. Fl. 6. 443, "Mutat agros fluviumque vias." The traditional explanation of 'requierunt,' as active, is however strongly supported by Prop. 3. 15. 25, "Iuppiter Alomenae geminos requieverat Arctos," and a line of Calvus'lo quoted by Serv., "Sol quoque perpetuos meminit requiescere cursus" (not to mention Ciris, v. 232). The later editors of Propertius understand the construction to be that of an intransitive verb with a sort of cognate acc.; but such a Grecism is not in the style of Virg. Some MSS., including Gud., have 'liquerunt.'

6—13.] 'This poem is for Pollio, to greet his triumphal return. Would that I could hope ever to celebrate him worthily! As it is, I can only offer him a few verses written at his bidding.'

6.] 'Tu mihi' is rightly taken by Wagn. and Forb. with 'superaa,' so as to prevent the need of supposing a parenthesis from 'seu magni' to 'desinet' (v. 11) with Heyne, or an aposiopesis with the earlier editors. Pollio is returning from his expedition against the Parthini to triumph at Rome. Virg., at the moment of writing, wonders whether the fortunate ship has yet reached Italy or not, the ethical dative expressing that the poet's feeling

Sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris, en erit umquam
 Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta ?
 En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
 Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno ? 10
 A te principium, tibi desinet. Accipe iussis
 Carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum
 Inter victricis hederam tibi serpere laurus.
 Frigida vix caelo noctis decesserat umbra,
 Cum ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba, 15
 Incumbens tereti Damon sic coepit olivae.

goes along with his patron. 'Superas,' as 'legis' shows, is to be understood of passing by sea, as in the parallel passage A. 1. 244 (where see the note), "fontem superare Tiuvavi." 'Magni' expresses the breadth of the stream, and 'saxa' the character of the region about, as described in the note referred to.

7.] 'En erit umquam,' 1. 68. Comp. 6. 6 foll., where the general effect is the same, an apology for not celebrating his patron, though Virg. does not hide his unwillingness there, as he seems to be doing here, under a mask of eager regret.

8.] 'Tua dicere facta,' 4. 54.

10.] Pollio's tragedies have been glanced at, 3. 84, and are more particularly mentioned by Hor. 2 Od. 1. 9., 1 S. 10. 42. 'Digna,' like "dicere Cinna digna," 9. 35. Heyne remarks that it is a questionable compliment from Virg. to talk of making Pollio's verses known by means of his own, though we may suppose the tragedies had not yet been given to the public. [Serv. would interpret 'tua carmina' as 'tuas laudes,' 'your praises worthy to be celebrated by the Muse of Sophocles;' and so Schaper, who thinks that this Eclogue was revised from 27-25 B.C., and refers not to Pollio but to Augustus, would take the passage. But can 'tua carmina' mean anything but 'your poems'?—H. N.]

11.] Imitated from Theocr. 17. 1, who in his turn has imitated Il. 9. 97. With the language comp. 3. 60. The nom. to 'desinet' must be 'principium,' though Virg. writes as if he had said, 'a te coepit Musa,' or words to that effect. Pal. and perhaps Gud. (originally) have 'desinam,' which Ribbeck adopts. The reading is plausible, as the non-elision of the syllable, with which comp. Hor. 2 S. 2. 28, may have led to the alteration. The promise, which is the same as Horace's to Maecenas, 1 Ep. 1. 1, is rather premature, as it is

only in the Eclogues that any allusion to Pollio occurs. The editors, however, remark that Nestor makes the same promise with regard to Agamemnon in his speech, Il. 9. 97, and does not keep it much better.

12.] 'Coepta' need not imply that he had taken up the poem and laid it down again, as Spohn thinks, though that of course may be its meaning. 'Hanc sine,' accept this praise of your tragedies ('hederam' as in 7. 25 note) along with the military honours which are to be paid to you at your triumph.

13.] 'Serpere' expresses the character of the ivy, like Persius' "quorum imagines lambunt Hederae sequaces," Prol. v. 5. ['Laurus,' Quint. 10. 1. 92. Charis. p. 135. Keil. 'lauros,' Med. Pal. Gud.—H. N.]

14-16.] 'It was just daybreak when Damon began.'

14.] Damon and Alpheisiboeus had driven their flocks afield before daybreak, as Virg. himself prescribes, G. 3. 322 foll., for the summer months. Nothing is said of any challenge to sing; the contest may have been agreed on before; or Virg. may have chosen to pass over the preliminaries altogether, as he has done partially in E. 7; or Damon's song may have been answered by Alpheisiboeus without any previous concert. Damon need not be supposed to be singing of his own despair, but merely to be performing in character, as Alpheisiboeus evidently is; he takes advantage, however, of the early morning, as if he had been bewailing his lost love all night.

15.] Repeated G. 3. 326, with the change of 'cum' into 'et.'

16.] 'Tereti olivae,' not the trunk of an olive, which would suit neither 'incumbens' nor the epithet 'teres;' but his staff of smoothed olive, which he carried like Lycidas in Theocr. 7. 18, *ποικῶν δ'*

*D. Nascere, praeque diem veniens age, Lucifer, alnum,
 Coniugis indigno Nysae deceptus amore
 Dum queror, et divos, quamquam nil testibus illis
 Profeci, extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora. 20
 Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.
 Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis
 Semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores,
 Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.
 Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus. 25
 Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?
 Iungentur iam grypes equis, aevoque sequenti*

ἔχεν ἀγριελαῖω Δεξιτέρῳ κορόνῳ, or Apollo, Ov. M. 2. 680, "pastoria pellis Textit, onusque fuit dextrae silvestris oliva" (where; however, Heins. and Merkel give 'baculum silvestre sinistrae').

17—21.] *'Da. Come, gentle day, I am mourning the broken faith of my love, and appealing to the gods as a dying man.'*

17.] He sees the day-star rising, and bids it perform its office. "Surgebat Lucifer . . . Ducebatque diem," A. 2. 802.

18.] 'Indigno amore,' as in 10. 10, unworthy, because unreturned. Nysa is called 'coniunx,' because it was as his wife that Damon loved her. In translating freely we might talk of 'a husband's love.' So "creptae magno inflammatus amore Coniugis," A. 3. 330, of Orestes' baffled love for Hermione. Comp. also A. 2. 344, and see above on v. 1.

19.] 'Testibus illis:' their testimony has stood me in no stead hitherto, as Nysa has broken the vows made before them.

20.] ['Adloquar' Med. and Pal. originally, and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

21.] 'Maenalios,' Arcadian, note on 7. 3, an equivalent to Theocr.'s βακκολικὰς αἰδέας. 'Tibia,' the flute, was used by shepherds as well as the reed or the Pan-pipe, as appears from Theocr. 20. 29 (comp. Lucr. 5. 1385); but here it need merely be a variety for 'fistula,' v. 33. 'Mecum,' because the music accompanies the song. Forb. comp. Hor. 1 Od. 32. 1, "Lusinus tecum . . . Barbite." Theocr. introduces a refrain into his first and second Idyls, but generally with more obvious regularity of recurrence, and occasionally where there is no pause in the sense, so that they seem to represent something in the music. The present line is from Id. 1. 66, &c., ἄρχετε βακκολικὰς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αἰδέας, where it does

not end but begin the stanzas.

22—25.] 'Arcadia is the country for pastoral song: Pan and the shepherds sing there.'

22.] He dwells on the thought suggested by the refrain. 'Argutum' and 'loquentis' are worded as if to express the natural music of the whispering trees (see 7. 1), though the reference is really to the echo of the songs. Compare a similar double meaning in 5. 62 (note). "Pini-fer Maenalus," 10. 15. ['Pinus' originally, Pal. and Gud.—H. N.]

23.] 'Amores,' of love-songs, 10. 53.

24.] Comp. 2. 32. Pan here appears as a promoter of civilization, by applying natural things to the use of man—the language, as Heyne remarks, resembling G. 1. 124, "Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno." The reeds were not left to murmur chance music (comp. Lucr. 5. 1382 foll.), but were taken and disciplined for regular use.

26—31.] 'Nysa marries Mopso, an ill-omened and unnatural union: yes, he has the honours of a bridegroom.'

26.] 'Dare,' of giving in marriage, A. 1. 345. 'Quid—amantes?' 'what may we not expect as lovers?' i. e. what may we not expect to happen in love?

27.] 'Iungentur,' of marriage (A. 1. 73), as in similar proverbial expressions, Aristoph. Peace 1076, πρὶν κεν λύκος οὖν ὀμεναιοί, Hor. A. P. 13, "Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni." This suits the context better than the interpretation of later editors, of yoking horses and griffins in a car, as in 3. 91. So the next verse is intended to express intimate daily association. For the griffins, lions with eagles' heads and wings, see Hdt. 3. 116. 'Iam' seems to be distinguished from 'aevo sequenti,' the latter marking a later step in the monstrous revolution.

Cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula dammae.

Incipe Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus.

Mopse, novas incide faces : tibi ducitur uxor ; 80

Sparge, marite, nuces : tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam.

Incipe Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus.

O digno coniuncta viro, dum despicias omnis,

Dumque tibi est odio mea fistula dumque capellae

Hirsutumque supercilium promissaque barba, 85

28.] 'Timidi dammae,' G. 3. 539. Virg.'s use of the masc. is noted by Serv. and other grammarians, and perhaps by Quint. 9. 3. 6, though as he merely quotes the two words without the context, he may be referring to G. 3. l. c. Pal. (originally) and Med. have 'timidae.' The epithet marks their ordinary nature, in spite of which they are to herd with their enemies. 'Pocula' is frequently used to signify not only a cup but its contents, G. 1. 8, so that it may easily be used here, where the notion of a cup is merely metaphorical. The editors comp. G. 3. 529, "Pocula sunt fontes liquidi," where the metaphor almost passes into a simile—"fontes liquidi sunt pro poculis."

29.] With Ribbeck I have ventured to introduce this intercalary line from Gud. As Hermann remarked on Bion, p. 46, either it should be inserted, or v. 76 omitted. The latter would be the preferable alternative so far as concerns the structure of the two songs, each of which would then fall into three equal divisions; but there seems no authority whatever for the omission, and the argument from symmetry would be more forcible if the two songs exactly corresponded in all other respects, which, as we have seen in the Introduction to this Eclogue, is not the case. The fact too that this stanza is capable of being broken into two looks rather the result of design than of accident, as in general the stanzas of the two poems are not made to resemble each other in grammatical structure.

30.] The bridegroom is bidden to prepare for the wedding by getting the torches ready himself. 'Incide faces' is a natural rustic image, as such things were part of a countryman's work, G. 1. 292, where see note, and 'novas' is equally natural, as the occasion would doubtless seem to require new torches. 'Tibi ducitur,' is being brought home to you.

31.] 'Nuces:' nuts were flung by the bridegroom among the boys carrying the

torches, as the bride approached, Catull. 61. 128 foll. The ceremonies are now supposed to have begun, the signal being the rising of the evening star: see Catull. 62 throughout. 'Deserit Oetam,' 6. 86, note. Catull. 62. 7 says, "Nimirum Oetaeos ostendit Noctifer ignis." Serv. hints at a legend connecting Oeta with the worship of Hesperus, who loved a youth named Hymenaeus, possibly as the story of Diana and Endymion is connected with Latmos. If Virg. referred to this or any thing like it, we need not suppose him to be here following a Greek original, though he is likely enough to have been guilty of the incongruity of making a Greek shepherd allude to the details of a Roman marriage. Keightley remarks on the ignorance shown in supposing that there can be a morning and evening star at the same time of the year (comp. v. 17), observing that the same error is committed by Catull. 62. 34, Hor. 2 Od. 9. 10, and other Latin poets, so as to show that in general they were but careless observers of nature.

33—37.] 'A suitable match for one who scorns my rusticity, and perjures herself fearlessly.'

33.] This marriage has come upon Nysa as a punishment for her scorn and perfidy. Damon evidently means that Mopsus is confessedly inferior to himself—a satyr to Hyperion.

34.] The maiden scorning the rusticity and unsightliness of her lover is from various passages in Theoc. Idyls 3, 11, 20.

35.] 'Hirsutumque supercilium.' *λαρὰ δόφρυς*, Theoc. 11. 31. 'Promissa' was restored by Heins. from Med., Gud. &c., for the old reading 'prolixa,' which is found in two of Ribbeck's cursives. Pal. has 'demissa.' "Immissaque barba," A. 3. 593. Virg. may have intended it as an imitation of *προγύριος*, Theoc. 3. 9 (comp. Id. 20. 8), which is interpreted to mean 'having a prominent chin.'

Nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam.
 Incipe Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus.
 Saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala—
 Dux ego vester eram—vidi cum matre legentem.
 Alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus; 40
 Iam fragilis poteram ab terra contingere ramos.
 Ut vidi, ut perii! ut me malus abstulit error!
 Incipe Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus.
 Nunc scio, quid sit Amor; duris in cotibus illum
 Aut Tmaros, aut Rhodope, aut extremi Garamantes, 45

36.] οὐκ ἔφα τις θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν, Aesch. Ag. 369. 'Mortalia' for 'res mortaliū,' A. 1. 461. Lucr. 6. 29 has "rebus mortaliū" in the same sense.

38—43.] 'My first sight of you was when I was a child and you came to gather our apples. That moment was my fate.'

38.] From Theocr. 11. 25 foll., where the Cyclope tells Galatea he has loved her ever since she came to gather hyacinths. 'Saepibus in nostris,' within our enclosure (1. 54), in our orchard 'Roscida,' with the morning dew on them.

39.] The boy, knowing every nook of the orchard, comes to show the way to his mother's guest. The reference of 'matre' is fixed by the passage in Theocr. ἐμὴ σὺν μητρὶ.

40.] Authorities were at one time divided on the question whether 'alter ab undecimo' meant the twelfth or the thirteenth, the former view being supported by Vives, Camerarius, Nannius, Sigonius, the elder Scaliger, and Castalio; the latter by Servius, Eugraphius, Manutius, and the younger Scaliger. See Taubmann's note. Modern editors have found little difficulty in deciding it to be the twelfth, considering 'alter' to be convertible with 'secundus,' but following the inclusive mode of counting. Comp. "alter ab illo," 5. 49: "heros ab Achille secundus," Hor 2 S. 3. 193. The Romans counted both inclusively and exclusively. 'Acceperat,' the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS., is restored by Wagn. for 'ceperat.' 'Accipere' is the correlative of 'inire' or 'ingredi,' the year receiving those who enter on it.

41.] 'Fragilis' implies that he was just able to reach them and snap them off. 'Ab terra' is restored by Wagn. from Med., and originally Pal., for 'a terra.' His general doctrine is that 'ab' is used by Virg. before consonants only when it has the force of ἀπό, and then only before

certain words, of which 'terra' is allowed to be one on the strength of this line and G. 1. 457.

42.] Theocr. 2. 82, ὥς ἔδον, ὥς ἐμάνην, ὥς μιν περὶ θυμὸς ἰδῶθη (comp. 3. 42. Hom. Il. 14. 294), where the second ὥς should probably be ὅς—'when I saw, I at once became mad,' or, 'as surely as I saw. I became mad'—so that Virg.'s 'ut' would be a mistranslation. The meaning here apparently is 'when I saw, how was I undone!' 'Error,' madness. Comp. Hor. 2 Ep 1. 118, where it is coupled with 'insania,' A. P. 454. The line is found in the Ciris, v. 430.

43—47.] 'Now I know what love is—nothing human, but the savage growth of the wilds.'

43.] From Theocr. 3. 15. Comp. A. 4. 365 note. 'Scio' and 'nescio' are the only instances in which Virg. shortens the final 'o' in a verb (comp. A. 9. 296), which is to be accounted for by their constant colloquial use, and possibly also by 'scio' having come to be pronounced as a monosyllable. 'Cotibus,' the older form of 'cautibus,' like 'plostrum' of 'plastrum,' &c.

44.] 'Aut Tmaros,' in one form or another, is read by the extant uncial MSS., including Verona fragm. 'Ismarus,' the reading of many early editions, is found in those of Ribbeck's cursives (in one of them in an erasure), and we have already seen it coupled with 'Rhodope' 6. 30. There is a similar variety A. 5. 620. The line is formed on the Greek model, but it need not be a translation. From Il. 16. 34 it would appear that the intention was to represent a savage man as actually sprung from a rock: but 'extremi Garamantes' here seems to show that Virg. was thinking less of the rocks than of their inhabitants.

45.] 'Nostris,' human, like the trans-

Nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt.
 Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.
 Saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem
 Commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater;
 Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille? 50
 Improbus ille puer; crudelis tu quoque, mater.
 Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.
 Nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupus, aurea duræ
 Mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
 Pingua corticibus sudent electra myricæ, 55

ferred sense of 'humanus,' savages not being included in humanity. 'Edunt' seems rightly explained by Wagn. as equivalent to 'parentes sunt,' as if giving birth were a continuing act, like 'creat,' G. 1. 279, A. 10. 705; 'generat,' A. 8. 141; 'educat,' A. 10. 518.

48—52.] 'The cruelty of love is an old story: he made Medea kill her children, though her heart was hard too.'

49.] 'Mater' is obviously to be explained from 'matrem' of Medea, not, as Burmann thought, of Venus, though the close connexion of 'mater' and 'puer,' when the terms are not intended to be correlative, is certainly awkward. The shepherd is naturally led to blame Medea—she must have had a hard heart to have let love impel her to a crime like this; then recurring to his old complaint against love, he proceeds to balance the criminality in each case, but cannot adjust the proportions. There is nothing particularly inappropriate in this, though Catron thinks it mere playing on words, and Heyne would omit vv. 50, 51. Herm. (see on v. 29) would reduce this and the following lines to two, reading 'commaculare manus; puer a puer improbus ille: Improbus' &c., and Ribbeck arrives at the same result by omitting v. 51, and reading 'commaculare manus crudelis! tu quoque, mater, Crudelis mater, magis at puer improbus ille.' Each critic supposes a line to be lost after v. 59. But even this would not restore the symmetry of the two songs, as the present stanza, the eighth of Damon's, would thus answer not to the eighth but to the ninth of Alpheisiboeus, so that Herm. is further obliged to transpose vv. 96—101, inserting them after v. 105.

50.] 'Is the cruelty of the mother, or the wickedness of the boy greater?' Voss supposes the question to be whether the mother or the wicked boy be the more

cruel, the answer being, 'the wicked boy; though the mother is cruel still;' but this is far less natural, and overlooks the obvious distinction between the cruelty of Medea and the wanton malice of the god who drove her to crime, which may be compared in point of criminality, but cannot be identified. So "Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?" A. 4. 413. "Vanum mendacemque improba (Fortuna) finget," A. 2. 80.

53—57.] 'Let the order of nature be reversed henceforth, barren things becoming fruitful, and base things honourable.'

53.] He had before prophesied unequal and unnatural unions, vv. 27, 28: he now prays that as he is to die despairing and a meaner man to triumph, a similar change may take effect on all nature. It is noticeable that the changes he desires are those which are mentioned elsewhere as the results of the golden age (3. 89., 4. 30, &c., 5. 60), the same events being capable of being regarded either as a bestowal of favour on the less favoured parts of nature, or as a transference of the just rights of the strong and beautiful to the weak and contemptible. Thus the prayer of v. 56 may be paralleled with Horace's address to the Muse (4 Od. 3. 19), "O mutis quoque piscibus Donatura cygni, ai libeat, sonum," and the change of Tityrus into Orpheus with the shepherd-poet's boast (4. 55 foll.), that he will equal Orpheus and Linus if allowed to sing in the golden age. In Theocr. 1. 132 foll., from which the passage is copied, the instances seem merely to be chosen as involving a reversal of the order of nature, not as symbolizing the dishonour done to Daphnis. 'Ultro,' not only forbear to molest them, but actually fly from them in his turn. 'Aurea mala,' 3. 71.

55.] The tamarisk, as in 4. 2., 6. 10,

Certent et cyncis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus,
 Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion,
 (Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus)
 Omnia vel medium fiat mare. Vivite, silvae :
 Praeceptis aërii specula de montis in undas 80
 Deferar ; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto.
 Desine Maenalios, iam desine, tibia, versus.
 Haec Damon ; vos, quae responderit Alpheisiboeus,
 Dicite, Pierides ; non omnia possumus omnes.

seems to be chosen as one of the meaner plants, which is supposed to be raised to the privileges of the alder or poplar, the river-trees (6. 63) which were believed to distil amber (Ov. M. 2. 364).

56.] 'Certent—ululae,' a proverbial expression, which appears in various forms, Theocr. 1. 136., 5. 136, 137 ; Lucr. 3. 6 : see also on 9. 36.

57.] 'Arion,' the sea being an element for the shepherd, as a bather or a fisher, as well as the land.

59—62.] 'Let earth be turned to sea. I at least will find my death in the deep, and she may delight in it.'

59.] Ribbeck restores 'flat' from Med. and Pal. for 'flant.' The sense is of course the same either way. 'Medium,' the mid or deep sea. "Graditurque per aequor Iam medium," A. 3. 665. The wish, as Elmsley pointed out, appears to be a mis-translation of Theocr. 1. 134, *πάντα δ' ἕναλλα γένονται*, as if the word were *ἐνδύα*. Virg. may have intended to lead up to this thought by the mention of Tityrus in the sea, v. 57, 'in short, let earth take the place of sea.' So the farewell to the woods, 'silvae' contrasted with the sea, as in v. 57, and the shepherd's resolution to drown himself, are introduced as if in anticipation of this general change. The notion certainly cannot be called appropriate, though we are in some measure prepared for it by such passages as l. 60, and that quoted from Hdt. in the note there. The farewell is from Theocr. 1. 115, where it is given in much greater detail. "Concedite silvae," 10. 63.

60]. Again from Theocr. 3. 25, *τὰν βαλ- ταν ἀποδὺς ἐς κύματα τὴνᾶ ἀλεύμαι* 'Ἵππερ τὼς θύνας σκοπιάσθεται,' Ὀλπις δ' ὑπὸ πτερός, where *σκοπιάσθεται* suggested 'specula' here, though the word, like the Homeric *σκοπή*, evidently means no more than a mountain-top which may be used as a watch-tower. "Specula ab alta," A. 10. 451. The author of the Ciris has a

similar line, v. 301.

61.] It is doubtful whether 'munus' is to be understood of the song, with Heyne, or of his death, with the majority of editors. The latter is recommended by Theocr. 23. 20, *δῶρά τοι ἦρθον Ἀολῶνια ταῦτα φέρων, τὸν ἐμὸν βρόχον* : still there is something awkward in death's being called the last gift of a dying man, and it would be more satisfactory if there were any thing connected with his death, like the halber in Theocr., which he could be supposed to offer her. Virg. however probably meant to convey the sense of Theocr. 3. 27 (see last note), *κῆ κα δὴ 'ποθῶνα, τό γε μὰν τὸν ἀδὲ τέτυκται*.

62.] Theocr. 1. 127, *ἀγγετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι, ἴτε, ἀγγετ' αἰοιδᾶς*, a line which occurs not only at the end of Thyrsis' song, but several times during the latter part of it.

63, 64.] 'Alpheisiboeus replies.' Virg. having rehearsed Damon's song in his own person, asks the Muses to repeat that of Alpheisiboeus, alleging that one man is not equal to both. There is nothing here to indicate a preference of the latter, or to countenance Voss's notion referred to in the Introduction. Alpheisiboeus' song is in a totally different style from Damon's : and whether the Muses are invoked as goddesses of memory, or song, or both (see note on 7. 19), it is not extraordinary that the narrator should request for the second song an assistance which he did not require for the first. In fact the words 'non omnia possumus omnes,' 'every one has not power for every thing,' a hemistich from Lucilius, Sat. 5. 52 (Müller), seemingly proverbial (comp. 7. 23, G. 2. 109 note), sufficiently explain themselves. The sentiment is as old as Hom., Il. 23. 670, *οὐδ' ἄρα πῶς ἦν 'Εν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι δαίμονα φῶτα γενέσθαι*. That the song is meant to correspond to Damon's, like Menalcas' in E. 5 to Mopsus', is clear from the whole language of the Eclogue,

A. Effer aquam, et molli cinge haec altaria vitta, 65
 Verbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura :
 Coniugis ut magicis sanos avertere sacris
 Experiar sensus ; nihil hic nisi carmina desunt.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
 Carmina vel caelo possunt deducere Lunam ; 70
 Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi ;

as well as from the similarity of detail (see note on v. 76) : but an amoeban exercise does not involve a contest here any more than there.

65—69.] 'A. Bring lustral water : wreath the altar with wool : throw sacred boughs and frankincense into the fire : I am trying to bring back my lover by enchantment : now for a magic song.'

65.] The maiden is standing before the altar, and about to commence. 'Effer aquam,' addressed to her attendant, Amarillis (vv. 76, 77, 101), who is bidden to bring the lustral water out into the 'impluvium,' where these solemnities seem to be going on. 'Molli' probably, as Serv. thinks, because the fillet was of wool. "Terque focum circa laneus orbis eat," Prop. 5. 6. 6. The passage is imitated more or less closely from Theocr. 2. 1 foll.

66.] "*Verbae sunt omnes herbae frondesque festae ad aras coronandas, vel omnes herbae frondesque ex aliquo loco puro decerptae: verbae autem dictae quasi herbae.*" Donatus on Ter. Andr. 4. 3. 11. [Another etymology, from 'viridis,' is given in Serv. The real derivation is as yet uncertain.—H. N.] For its use in the sense of vervain see G. 4. 131. 'Pinguis,' unctuous, and so fit for burning. 'Mascula' was the name given to the best kind of frankincense, also called 'stagonias,' being shaped like a round drop. Pliny 12. 62. Comp. Hor. 1 Od. 19. 13, "Verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque." 'Adolere' occurs also A. 1. 704., 3. 547., 7. 51, each time in connexion with sacrifice, an association as old as Ennius and Valerius Antias, though it would not be easy to determine from Virg.'s use of the word whether it means originally to cause it to grow ('adolesco'), thence to honour, like the Greek *αὐξάνειν*, especially by sacrifice, and finally to burn, as Voigtländer in Forcell. thinks, following in the track of Serv., or in the first instance to smell or make to smell, thence to burn, especially in sacrifice, and finally to honour by burning, like the Greek *κρίσαν*,

which is the view taken in Dr. Smith's Lat. Dict. The question itself is the more difficult to decide, as we cannot tell how far the Latin writers themselves understood the original meaning of the word: Virg. at least seems more than once to have availed himself of the similarity in form between 'oleo' and 'olesco,' so as to communicate to a compound of one of them a shade of meaning borrowed from the other. See notes on G. 3. 560., 4. 379.

67.] 'Coniugis' occupies the same place as in v. 18, near the opening of Damon's song, so as to suggest the intended parallel between the two. Here the lovers would seem to have been already united, if we may argue from the *Idyl* in Theocr. "*Avertere, a sanitae mutare,*" Serv. rightly, 'sanos avertere sensus' being probably a translation of the Homeric *βλάπτειν φρένας ἑσας*, Od. 14. 178, quoted by Voss, where *βλάπτειν* may have its primary sense of to cause to stumble. She wishes him to be 'insanus,' passionately in love, not cold and indifferent.

68.] 'Carmina' is her magic song, the same which she has just begun, as the Furies in Aesch. Eum. 306 call their choral ode *ῥυμος δέσμιος*.

69.] Imitated from the burden in Theocr. 2. 17, &c., *ἔλκε τὸ τῆμον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἑνδρα*. 'Ab urbe' seems to imply that the speaker is a countrywoman whose lover is away at Mantua, l. 34.

70—73.] 'Great is the power of magic song: it can bring down the moon, change men into brutes, burst serpents asunder.'

70.] Observe the correspondence of the opening of Alpheisiboeus' song with that of Damon's. The first stanza in each gives the subject of the song: the second speaks of the associations connected with the kind of song chosen. With the present passage comp. Tibull. 1. 8. 19 foll., which resembles it closely, A. 4. 487—491. The power of sorceresses to draw down the moon is frequently referred to by the ancients, Aristoph. Clouds 749, Hor. Epod. 5. 45., 17. 77.

71.] See Od. 10. 203 foll.

Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
 Terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore
 Licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum 75
 Effigiem duco; numero deus impare gaudet.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
 Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
 Necte, Amarylli, modo, et, Veneris, dic, vincula necto.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 80
 Limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit
 Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.

72.] This effect of incantation is spoken of by Lucil. Sat. 20. 5 (Müller), "Iam dirumpetur medius, iam ut Marsu' colubras Dirumpit cantu, venas cum extenderit omnes," and by Ov. M. 7. 203, Id. Am. 2. 1. 25. 'Frigidus anguis,' 3. 93. 'Cantando' is used substantively or impersonally, like "habendo" G. 2. 250, "tegender" G. 3. 454, &c.

74—80.] 'I twist three threads of different colours round Daphnis' image, which I carry thrice round the altar, for the virtue of the number. Let them be knit into a love-knot.'

74.] 'Terna' probably is put for 'tres,' though Serv. supposes that there are nine threads of three different colours, and so the author of the Ciris, v. 370 foll., where this passage is imitated. 'Primum,' as her first effort at incantation. 'Tibi' is explained by 'effigiem,' v. 75. For the magic force of the number three, comp. Theocr. 2. 43, A. 4. 511, Ov. M. 7. 189 foll. The three colours, according to Serv., are white, rose-red, and black. ['Primus' Pal originally.—H. N.]

75.] For 'haec altaria' one MS., the Lombard, gives 'hanc,' which Wagn. would restore even if it had no MS. authority. But Jahn and Forb. seem right in remarking that 'tibi' is the keynote of the sentence. 'I bind these threads thrice round thee (thy image), and I carry thee in effigy thrice round this altar.' In this view 'hanc' would rather disturb the sense, as if the 'effigies' were not merely Daphnis' representative, but something distinct.

76.] For the use of images in love-charms, comp. A. 4. 508, Hor. 1 S. 8. 30. 'Numero deus impare gaudet:' the superstition, according to Serv., was that odd numbers were immortal, because they

cannot be divided into two equal parts, the even being mortal. With the expression comp. 3. 59, "amant alterna Camenae." The hemistich occurs in the Ciris, v. 373.

78.] 'Twine three colours in three knots;' i.e. make three knots, each of a thread with a different colour.

79.] 'Modo' adds emphasis to the command thus repeated. 'Just twine them.' "I modo," Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 182. 'Veneris vincula:' for other allusions to these knots, Voss refers to Synestius, Ep. 121, and Apuleius, Met. 3. 137. The expression is from Theocr. 2. 20, *πάσσ' ἄμα καὶ λέγε ταῦτα τὰ Δελφίδος ὁστέα πάσσα*. This line greatly perplexed the early critics, who were anxious to read 'nodos' for 'modo,' and had recourse to various devices to account for the metre.

81—85.] 'I put clay, wax, and bay-leaves into the fire, each to work a corresponding effect on Daphnis.'

81.] The commentators explain 'limus' and 'cera' of images of clay and wax; but Keightley rightly denies that any thing more is meant than pieces of clay and wax, which are put into the fire like the sprigs of bay, the 'mola' and the bitumen. This is evident from the words in Theocr. 2. 28, *ὣς τοῦτον τὸν καθὼν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὣς τάκοισ' ὅπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μόνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφει*. The rhyme is meant to imitate the jingle usual in charms, as Voss remarks, comparing Cato, R. R. 160, where some seemingly unmeaning specimens of the sort are given.

82.] 'Eodem,' dissyllable. "Una eademque via," A. 10. 487. 'Sic:' so may my love act in two ways, softening Daphnis to me and hardening him to others. Voss.

Sparge molam, et fragilis incende bitumine laurus.
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 85
 Talis amor Daphnim, qualis cum fessa iuvenum
 Per nemora atque altos quaerendo bucula lucos
 Propter aquae rivum viridi procumbit in ulva,
 Perdita, nec serae meminit decedere nocti,
 Talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura mederi. 90
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
 Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
 Pignora cara sui; quae nunc ego limine in ipso,

83.] 'Sparge molam: ἑλπίδι τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάκεται ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσε, Theocr. 2. 18. For the 'mola' in sacrifices, comp. A. 2. 133, 4. 517. 'Fragilis,' crackling. "Et fragilis sonitus chartarum commeditatur," Lucr. 6. 112. Bay-leaves were thrown on the altar, and their crackling was thought auspicious. "Et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis, Omne quo felix et sacer annus eat. Laurus, io, bona signa dedit: gaudete, coloni," Tibull. 2. 5. 81 foll. Comp. also Theocr. 2. 24. [Laurus, Pal., Gud. and three of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

84.] Δέλφιδις ἐμὴ ἀνίασεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δέλφιδι δάφναν Αἰθῶ, Theocr. 2. 23. 'Ἐπὶ Δέλφιδι' explains 'in Daphnide,' in the case of Daphnis, nearly equivalent to 'in Daphnim,' like 'talis in hoste fuit Priamo,' A. 2. 541. Possibly there may be a play intended between 'Daphnis' and δάφνη.

86—91.] 'May Daphnis' longing be like the heifer's, who, tired with seeking her mate in vain, throws herself on the grass, and will not return to her stall at night.'

86.] Virg. can hardly have any other meaning than that the heifer is seeking her mate, like Pasiphae 6. 52 foll.; but the picture is not unlike the celebrated one in Lucr. 2. 352 foll. (compared by Cerda), of a cow looking for her lost calf, "desiderio perfixa iuveni."

87.] 'Bucula,' G. 1. 375.

88.] 'Propter aquae rivum,' Lucr. 2. 30. Pal. originally had 'concupere,' and so the text of Gud. The reading before Heins. was 'in herba,' which is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS.

89.] This whole line is said by Macrobi. Sat. 6. 2 to be taken from Varius' poem De Morte Caesaris, where a dog chasing a stag is thus described, "Non amnes illam

medii, non ardua tardant, Perdita nec serae meminit decedere nocti." If this be so, Virg. must be held to have proved his right to the line by the use he has made of it. Both the thought itself, the turn of the expression, and the rhythm of the verse, are better suited to the love-stricken heifer than to the eager hound. The word 'perdita' in particular suggests the abandonment of love more naturally than recklessness in pursuit, while it is undoubtedly much more effective when hanging, as it were, between two clauses, a position with which Forb. aptly comp. A. 4. 562, than when necessarily attached to the latter. With 'decedere nocti,' which occurs again G. 3. 467, comp. "decedere calori," G. 4. 23. The expression is not unlike Gray's "leaves the world to darkness and to me." Perhaps Virg. or Varius may have thought of Hom. ἡ πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίῃ (Il. 8. 502). With 'perdita' Keightley comp. 2. 59.

90.] With 'talis amor Daphnim—talis amor teneat,' comp. vv. 1, 5.

92—95.] 'These things which he has left I will bury at the door, in the hope that they will bring him back.'

92.] From Theocr. 2. 53, where the border of the lover's robe which he has left behind is thrown into the fire. So Dido proposes to burn the relics (called 'exuviae') of Aeneas, A. 4. 495 foll. 'Perfidus ille,' A. 4. 421.

93.] 'Pignora' seems to imply that they were left purposely, not by accident. 'Limine in ipso' must be her own threshold, to which she wishes to attract him, the threshold being, as Heyne remarks, a common-place in Latin poetry in connexion with lovers' visits, so that there is no allusion to the practice mentioned by Theocr. 2. 60, of performing incantations at the

Terra, tibi mando ; debent haec pignora Daphnim.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 95
 Has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena
 Ipse dedit Moeris ; nascuntur plurima Ponto.
 His ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis
 Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulchris
 Atque satas alio vidi traducere messis. 100
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
 Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti

door of the person whose presence was desired.

94.] 'Debent' is explained by 'pignora.' They are his pledges, and so bind him to redeem them.

96—101.] 'These poison-plants I had from the great Moeris, who by their help could transform himself, conjure up spirits, and charm away crops.'

96.] 'Herbas atque venena,' apparently a hendiadys. 'Pontus' had a reputation of its own for poisons from its connexion with Mithridates, and produced a particular poison-plant, the aconite: but it may possibly be put for Colchis, the country of Medea, by the same wilful or careless confusion which we find in Cic. Pro Lege Man. 9, Juv. 14. 114, cited by Forb.

97.] 'Moeris' is mentioned nowhere else; but as his name is given to a shepherd in the next Eclogue, he was doubtless meant to be a noted country wizard. 'Plurima' closely connected with 'nascuntur.'

98.] The change of men into wolves, *λυκανθρωπία*, was a common superstition, extending down to the Middle Ages. See the story of Lycaon, Ov. M. 1. 209 foll., seemingly one of the earliest traditions on the subject. 'Et se condere silvis' goes closely with 'lupum fieri,' his 'belonging to the one clause only in its connexion with the other. In Ov. l. c. Lycaon "nactus silentia ruris exululat." So in 6. 80, Tereus or Philomela, immediately on being transformed, flies to the desert.

99.] "Nocturnosque ciet Manis," of the sorceress, A. 4. 493.

100.] "Cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris." Tibull. 1. 8. 19. The practice was actually forbidden in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, under the name of "fruges excantare." Pliny 28. 18. [Serv. on v. 72 says "Sane veteres 'cantare' de magico carmine dicebant, unde et 'excantare' est magicis carminibus obligare: Plautus in

Bacchidibus 'Nam tu quidem cuius ex-cantare cor facile potes,'" See also Nonius, p. 102.—H. N.] Our own unfortunate witches, as Keightley reminds us, were (and are still) accused of charming away butter out of the churn.

102, 100.] 'Take the ashes and throw them over your head into the running stream; perhaps that may have an effect.'

102.] The imitation here is of another passage in Theocr. 24. 91 foll., where Tiresias bids Alcmena burn the serpents which Hercules had strangled in his cradle at midnight, and make one of her maids fling away their ashes in the morning. Here the burning of the sacrificial boughs and frankincense with the wax and clay, the salt cake and sprigs of bay, answers, as Voss suggests, to the burning of the serpents; and the ceremony of flinging away the ashes is evidently meant to be similar, though there is perhaps some little difference in the detail, as in Theocr. the servant is to carry the ashes across the stream, then to fling them away, and return without looking back, while in Virg. she is apparently to fling them away down the stream, not looking back when doing so. Comp. also Aesch. Cho. 98, 99, *στρίχας καθάρμαθ' ὡς τις ἐκπέψας, πάλω, Δικουσα τεύχος, ἀσπρόφρονιν ὄμμασιν*, where Blomfield remarks on Virg. a misunderstanding of Theocr. It is not easy, however, to see what is the supposed object of the process here, as it can hardly be connected with expiation as in Theocr. and Aesch. Voss thinks she intends nothing short of the destruction of Daphnis, which is symbolized by the ashes thrown into the river, and carried into the sea, just as in Theocr. Id. 2 the enchantress finally threatens to poison Delphis; but v. 104 shows that she is still hoping to bring him back. Whatever it is, she seems to look upon it as a last resource, vv. 102, 103. 'Rivo fluenti iace,' like "undis spargere," A. 4. 600.

Transque caput iace; nec respexeris. His ego Daphnim
Adgrediar; nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat.

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 105

Aspice, corripuit tremulis altaria flammis

Sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse. Bonum sit!

Nescio quid certe est, et Hylax in limine latrat.

Credimus? an, qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?

Parcite, ab urbe venit, iam, carmina, parcite, Daphnis. 110

103.] 'Nec' Med., Gud., Pal. originally, 'ne' Pal. corrected and one or two of Ribbeck's cursives. The grounds for deciding between them are slight. Wagn.'s argument for 'nec' that Virg. means her not to look back while flinging the ashes away is rather begging the question, as the passage in Theocr. might suggest another meaning. It would seem, however, from Od. 5. 349 that the two actions of throwing away and turning the back were meant to be closely connected, Ulysses being bidden *ἀν ἀποδησάμενος βάλεϊν εἰς οἶνοπα πόντον, Πολλὸν ἂπ' ἡπείρου, αὐτὸς δ' ἀνδρόσφι τραπέσθαι*, to cast away Leucothea's scarf, and turn his back. Eur. Andr. 294 speaks of flinging an inauspicious thing *ὑπὲρ κεφαλάν*.

106—110.] 'Here is a good sign at last; the ashes flame up suddenly. It must be so: and the dog is barking. Can it be Daphnis? It is; cease, my charms.'

106.] The last command is anticipated by an appearance of a sudden flame in the ashes. Serv. would make Anaryllis the speaker, on account of the words 'dum ferre moror;' but this would be awkward, and we may easily suppose that both the enchantress and her attendant would join in removing the ashes. The blazing of the fire was a good omen, as its smouldering was a bad one (comp. G. 4. 385, 386, Soph. Ant. 1006); and a sudden blaze would naturally be thought an especial token of good. Serv. and Plutarch (life of Cicero, c. 20) relate that this omen happened to Cicero's wife as she was sacrificing to Vesta in the year of Catiline's conspiracy, and that it was interpreted as a sign of honour and glory. [Serv. takes 'altaria' of the

offerings.—H. N.]

107.] Voss distinguishes 'sponte sua' from 'ipse,' making the latter mean 'the mere dying cinders; but the pleonasm would agree better with Virg.'s general use of 'ipse,' and would here, as elsewhere, be highly forcible in itself. 'Bonum sit' or 'bene sit' was the usual form of ejaculation. Cic. Div. 1. 45 (quoted by Emm.) gives a fuller one, "Maiores nostri omnibus rebus agenda quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque esset praeſtabantur."

108.] 'Nescio quid certe est' is copied from Catullus, as it is copied by Persius, a fact which settles that the pre-ent punctuation is the right one, as against Döring's 'Nescio quid . . . certe est!' 'Hylax' is a natural name for a dog, like 'Hylactor' Ov. M. 3. 224. The MSS. seem generally to have 'Hylas,' but on the orthography of proper names their testimony is worth little. See on A. 3. 701. The barking is from Theocr. 2. 35, though the connexion there is different.

109.] Cerda comp. Publ. Syr. "Amans quae suspicatur vigilans somniat." 'Somnia fingere' occurs in Lucr. 1. 104.

110.] Daphnis is seen, and the charms are bidden to cease; a conclusion unlike that in Theocr., where the enchantress is unsuccessful. 'Iam, carmina, parcite' is restored by Voss from Med. and two other MSS. for 'iam parcite, carmina.' Wagn. defends the old reading by referring to v. 67; but the position of 'tibia' there is evidently meant to answer to its position in v. 21, &c., so that we may argue that 'carmina' should stand here where it has stood in v. 68, &c.

ECLOGA IX.

MOERIS.

LYCIDAS. MOERIS.

THE historical occasion of this Eclogue has been already adverted to in the Introduction to E. 1. After obtaining a promise of protection, Virgil, so says the traditional account, returned to his property, when he found his entrance resisted and his life menaced by an intruding soldier, whose name is variously given as Arrius, Claudius, or Milienus Toro. He sought safety in flight, and made a second appeal to the higher authorities, which this time was crowned with more permanent success. Ruæus conjectures that the present Eclogue was in fact a poetical petition presented to Varus or Octavianus. Certainly it is skilfully contrived to interest the reader in the poet's favour. Moeris, one of the servants, is going to the town, Mantua doubtless, with part of the farm produce, which he is to give to the usurping proprietor, when he is stopped by a neighbour, Lycidas, relates his and his master's troubles, and receives a warm expression of sympathy at a loss which had so nearly fallen on the whole district by the death of their illustrious compatriot, some of the poet's verses being quoted by way of showing how great that loss would have been, while Virg.'s successful return is hinted at as an event which will produce further poems. There is a compliment to Varus (v. 27), and another to Caesar (v. 46).

The framework is more or less borrowed from the *Θαλῶσια* of Theocritus (Idyl 7), the most personal of that poet's works, the first part of which is taken up by an account of a country walk, in the course of which Lycidas, a goatherd, and a famous singer, comes up with Simichidas, the representative of Theocritus, and consents to sing with him as they journey along. Some passages in the Eclogue are modelled on passages from other Idyls which are referred to in the notes.

As there are no hills or beeches in the Mantuan territory, which, if any, must be referred to vv. 7 foll., the scenery would seem to be imaginary or confused, a conclusion confirmed by v. 57. (See however note at the end of the Eclogues.)

The allegorizing interpretation spoken of in the Introduction to E. 1 has been applied here, though only in the case of Amaryllis (v. 22), who has been supposed to represent Rome. Moeris too, like Tityrus, has been thought to be the poet's father.

The correspondence between the specimens quoted from Menalcæus' poetry, Lycidas and Moeris first repeating three, then five lines each, is doubtless intentional. See the last paragraph of the Introduction to the Eclogues.

The date of the poem is later than that of Eclogue 5 (see v. 19), and consequently than those of Eclogues 2 and 3. Its relation to Eclogue 1 we can hardly determine in the present state of our knowledge, though Serv. pronounces that Eclogue to be the earlier of the two. [See Excursus at the end of the Eclogue.—H. N.]

L. Quo te, Moeri, pedes? an, quo via ducit, in urbem?

1.] 'L. Whither away, Moeris? to the city?' So the Lycidas of Theoc. (see Intro.) asks Σιμιχίδα, πᾶ δὴ τὸ μέγα μέρων πόδας ἔλκεῖς; 'Quo te pedes?' the ellipse, which is natural in questions of the kind (comp. 3. 25, "cantando tuillum," Madvig, § 479, d), is apparently to be

supplied from 'ducit.' Voss comp. Pliny Ep. 7. 5, "Ad diætā tuā ipsi me, ut verissime dicitur, pedes ducunt," from which he infers that the phrase had come to be used for involuntary motion. So in Theoc. 13. 50., 14. 52, ἡ πόδες ἄγων is said of persons hastening they know or

M. O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri,
 Quod numquam veriti sumus, ut possessor agelli
 Diceret: Haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.
 Nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat, 5
 Hos illi—quod nec vertat bene—mittimus haedos.
L. Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles
 Incipiunt, mollique iugum demittere clivo,
 Usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos

care not whither, like Horace's "I pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae" (3 Od. 11. 49), "ire pedes quocunque ferunt" (Epod. 16. 21). In Hom. however (e.g. Il. 18. 148, τὴν μὲν ἔρ' ὀβλομυπόδε πόδες φέρον) it is merely a primitive expression for walking or running; and it might be doubted whether it is more here, were it not for the passage from Theoc. 7. 21. Virg.'s more usual expression is 'ferre (efferre, referre) pedem,' 'Quo via ducit:' "qua te ducit via, dirige gressum," A. 1. 401. 'Urbem' seemingly Mantua, 1. 20, 34.

2—6.] '*M.* We have lived to be turned out of our farm by an intruder. It is to him I am carrying this present.'

2.] '*Vivi pervenimus,*' we have lived to see, or we have reached the point alive; '*vivi*' expressing both that they might have expected to die before such an outrage, as Wagn. explains it, and also that death would have been a boon. '*Advena,*' used contemptuously, as A. 4. 591., 12. 261. The order of the words seems to express the confusion of Moeris, who brings them out in gasps.

3.] Wagn. reads 'quo' for 'quod,' from three MSS. (none of Ribbeck's), denying '*pervenimus ut*' to be Latin: it is however sufficiently defended by Forb., who contends that '*eo*' is implied in the form of the sentence, a remark which really applies to all cases where '*ut*' has the force of '*so that,*' though no antecedent like '*hic,*' '*adeo,*' or '*talis*' is expressed. On the other hand, '*quo,*' besides its deficiency in external authority, would introduce a confusion into the order of the sentence greater than could well be excused by Moeris' perturbation of mind. Lachm. on Lucr. 6. 324 supports '*quod.*'

4.] '*Haec mea sunt:*' see on 7. 46. It was the natural language in laying a claim.

5.] '*Sors*' is found in some MSS., and approved by Burm., who would read also '*tristis,*' with the copies of Probus, Inst. Gramm.: but '*sors,*' as Wagn. remarks, is

rather the event than the ordaining power. The emphatic word would seem to be '*fors,*' not '*versat*'—since things are regulated by chance, which makes void the rights of property.'

6.] '*Vertat bene*' is the order of Med., Pal. originally, and Gud. corrected, preferred by Wagn. on rhythmical grounds to the common '*bene vertat,*' which is found in Pal. corrected, Gud. originally, and one other of Ribbeck's MSS. The latter order seems more usual in prose, but the former occurs more than once in Terence. '*Mittimus*' is used seemingly because Moeris, though carrying the kids himself, speaks for his master, who is the sender of the present.

7—10.] '*L.* I thought your master's poetry had saved all his property.'

7.] '*Certe equidem*' are not unfrequently found together. Hand, Tursell. 2, p. 28. '*Qua—fagos*' is connected with '*omnia,*' expressing the extent of the property. Though the scenery is imaginary (see Introd.), the specification here seems to show a jealousy on behalf of the strict rights of Menalcas, which, as Voss points out, doubtless represents Virg.'s own feeling. '*Subducere,*' to draw themselves up from the plain—the slope being regarded from below, as in '*iugum demittere*' it is regarded from above.

8.] '*Molli clivo,*' G. 3. 293. Caes. B. C. 2. 10, speaks of "*fastigium molle,*" as he elsewhere uses "*lene,*" like our expression '*a gentle slope.*'

9.] The old reading, '*veteris iam fracta cacumina fagi,*' is found in Pal., Gud. originally, and most of Ribbeck's MSS., and is slightly supported by Pers. 5. 59, "*Frerit articulos, veteris ramalia fagi.*" With the present reading, which was restored by Heins. from Med. and the margin of Gud., and is neater and more poetical, comp. 2. 3 note, 3. 12. Voss contends with some plausibility that the beeches were the boundary of the property, citing Hor. 2 Ep. 2. 170, but as he believes

Omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan. 10
M. Audieras, et fama fuit; sed carmina tantum
 Nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia, quantum
 Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.
 Quod nisi me quacumque novas incidere lites
 Ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix, 15
 Nec tuus hic Moeris, nec viveret ipse Menalcas.
L. Heu, cadit in quemquam tantum scelus? heu, tua nobis
 Paene simul tecum solacia rapta, Menalca?
 Quis caneret Nymphas? quis humum florentibus herbis

the scenery to be real, it is possible that he may be pressing the words more than they will bear.

10.] See *Introd.* 'Vestrum,' because Moeris had spoken in the plural, as for the whole household.

11.—16.] *M.* So people believed: but soldiers do not respect poetry: in fact, we were nearly killed.

11.] 'Audieras' is affirmative, not interrogative, as Wagn. thinks. Moeris asserts what Lycidas had told him, merely to show that he believes it. 'Yes, so you did, and so the story went.' ['Set' Pal.—H. N.]

12.] 'Nostra,' speaking for Menalcas in particular. Serv. quotes Cic. *Pro Milone* 4, "silent leges inter arma."

13.] 'Chaonias,' referring to the doves of Dodona—an epithet of the class mentioned on 1. 55. The language, as Heyne observes, was apparently suggested by Lucr. 3. 752, "accipiter fugiens veniente columba." With the thought comp. Soph. *Aj.* 169.

14.] 'Me.' "We may suppose that it was Moeris who first observed the prophetic bird, and that he then informed Menalcas of what it portended." Keightley. "Incidere ludum," Hor. 1 *Ep.* 14. 36. A similar expression occurs in one of Serv.'s notices, where it is said that Claudius threatened "se omnem litem amputaturum, interfecto Vergilio." Pal. has 'quocumque.'

15.] The appearance of a raven on the left hand seems simply to have constituted the augury a credible one. Cic. *De Div.* 1. 39. 85, "Quid (habet) augur, cur a dextra corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum?" Plaut. *Asin.* 2. 1. 12, "Picus et cornix a laeva, corvus, parra a dextera." What determined the character of the augury to be favourable or the reverse does not appear. Voss, following Serv., thinks that

the unlucky sign here was the hollowness of the oak. Martyn however observes with some justice that the present omen may be regarded as lucky or unlucky, according as we choose to look at Menalcas' escape or the loss of his property. All that we can say is that it was a warning, as in Hor. 3. *Od.* 27. 15, "Teque nec laevus vetet ire picus Nec vaga cornix."

16.] 'Hic,' the speaker himself, like 33e. "Tibi erunt parata verba, huic homini verbera," Ter. *Haut.* 2. 3. 115. Comp. A. 1. 98. So 'hic' and 'ipse' are contrasted 3. 3. Serv. says in one place that Virg. had to throw himself into the Mincius in order to escape, an event to which he supposes him to refer in 3. 95; another account which he quotes says that he took refuge in the shop of a charcoal-maker, who let him out another way.

17.—25.] *L.* Was Menalcas so near death? Who could write verses like his, such as those of his where he commends his sheep to Tityrus?

17.] 'Cadit': "non cadit . . . in hunc hominem ista suspicio," Cic. *Pro Sull.* 27. In such expressions 'cadere' seems to be used in the sense of 'is the lot' or 'part of,' so that "suspicio cadit in aliquem" is little more than equivalent to "cadit aliquis in suspicionem," just as τυγχάνειν is used indifferently of the thing happening and the person to whom it happens.

18.] 'Solacia' is referred by Voss specifically to the song on Daphnis, which is alluded to in the next verse; but the application is doubtless more general.

19.] The allusion is seemingly to 5. 20, 40, on which latter see the note. The song is that of Mopsus, not that of Menalcas; but Menalcas is apparently regarded as the poet who rehearses his friend's song as well as his own, just as he there declares himself the poet of E. 3 (5. 86, note)—

Spargeret, aut viridi fontes induceret umbra ? 20
 Vel quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper,
 Cum te ad delicias ferres, Amaryllida, nostras ?
 "Tityre, dum redeo—brevis est via—pasce capellas,
 Et potum pastas age, Tityre, et inter agendum
 Occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto." 25
M. Immo haec, quae Varo necdum perfecta canebat :
 "Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,
 Mantua, vae, miserae nimium vicina Cremonae,
 Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cynci."

in other words he is Virg. For the representation of the poet as actually doing what he only sings of, comp. 6. 46, 62.

21.] 'Or who would sing the songs I lately stole from you?' 'Caneret,' or some such word, is supplied in thought from the two preceding lines. 'Tibi' is evidently not Moeris, but Menalcas, who is going to visit Amaryllis, like the *κωμοποις* in Theocr. Id. 3, and like him, ib. vv. 3 foll., asks Tityrus to take care of his goats till he comes back. Lycidas hears him singing on the way, and catches the words and the air. Vv. 23—25 are a close version of Theocr. l. c., so that Virg. must be understood as indirectly praising himself not only as the rustic poet who sings to his friend and to his love, but as the Roman Theocritus. See Introduction to the Eclogues.

22.] 'Nostras' does not imply that there was any rivalry between Lycidas and Menalcas, but merely that Amaryllis was such 'that the swains desired her.'

23.] 'Dum redeo' is not 'till I come back,' but 'while I am on my way back.'—in other words the use of the present shows that it is the continuance of the time, not its completion, that is thought of. In strictness we should have expected 'dum absum;' but the speaker in asking to be waited for naturally talks of himself not as absent, but as coming back. In Theocr. there is nothing answering to 'dum redeo' or 'brevis est via,' though the former is implied in the context.

24.] 'Inter agendum:' Serv. cites 'inter loquendum' from Afranius, and 'inter ponendum' from Ennius.

25.] One of Ribbeck's cursives has 'cornu petit,' which is apparently a variant in Gud.

26—29.] 'M. Yes, or the verses he wrote to Varus, about sparing Mantua.'

26.] Moeris quotes another triplet of Menalcas, apparently with a preference,

adding that the poem is not yet finished, so as to show the loss which lovers of song would have suffered in the poet's death. There is some skill in the intimation of the preference, which implies not only a compliment to Varus, but a recommendation of Virg.'s own interests. For Varus, see E. 6, Introd. 'Necdum' is not simply for 'nondum,' as Voss thinks. 'nec' having the force of 'and that not,' or 'not either,' and thus laying a stress on the unfinished state of the poem. Pal. originally had 'canebam.'

27.] 'Superet' = 'supersit:' see on G. 2. 235. Serv. says Virg. interceded for the Mantuan district as well as for his own lands, and obtained the restitution of a part of it.

28.] 'Nimium vicina,' though they were forty miles apart, because Mantua suffered for its proximity to its disaffected neighbour. Serv. says that Octavius Musa, who had been appointed to fix the boundaries, finding the territory of Cremona insufficient for the wants of the soldiers, assigned to them fifteen miles' length of that of Mantua, in revenge for an offence formerly given him by the inhabitants. In another passage Alfr. nus Varus is said to have treated the Mantuans unjustly, exceeding his instructions in the extent of territory which he took from them, and leaving them only the swampy ground, a proceeding with which he was taxed in a speech by a certain Cornelius.

29.] The same promise is made to Varus which we have had 6. 10, though the image is varied. Mantua was celebrated for its swans, G. 2. 199, and the music of swans was a commonplace with the ancients, so that the song of the swans aptly represents Virg.'s gratitude, at the same time making it contingent on the preservation of his lands. Pal. corrected and Gud. have 'ferant.'

L. Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos, 30
 Sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae,
 Incipe, si quid habes. Et me fecere poetam
 Pierides; sunt et mihi carmina; me quoque dicunt
 Vatem pastores; sed non ego credulus illis.
 Nam neque adhuc Vario videor, nec dicere Cinna 35
 Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

30—36.] 'L. As you hope for a farmer's blessings, let me hear more of such verses. I am something of a poet myself, though the shepherds overrate me.'

30.] 'Sic' in adjurations, as in 10. 5. 'May your bees (1. 55., 7. 13) continue to give good honey.' The use is virtually the same as that of 'sic' or 'ita' in protestations, when it is frequently, though not always, followed by 'ut.' 'Sic has deus aequoris artis Adiuvet, ut nemo iam dudum litore in isto . . . Constitit,' Ov. M. 8. 867. Thus the Greek *ὅπως* and our 'so.' In a passage like the present we should say 'As you hope for this or that.' It is true that in Hor. 1 Od. 3. 1 foll. such an adjuration, as Maclean there objects, involves a violation of logic: but the very inconsequence there may be said to add to the feeling of the passage. ['Cyneas' Med. corrected, Serv., the Berne Scholia, and Isid. 14. 6. 42: 'Grynacae,' Med. originally Pal. Gud., and the lemma of the Berne Schol.—H. N.] There seems no authority for representing Corsica (called Cymus by the Greeks; see Dict. Geogr.) as famous for yews, which is assumed by several of the commentators; but as the honey of Corsica, though known historically as one of its articles of produce, was, like that of Sardinia (7. 41), proverbially bitter (Ov. Am. 1. 12. 20, where it is called "mel infame"), and as 'the balcyon yew' (G. 2. 257) was prejudicial to bees (G. 4. 47), Virg. seems, as Martyn observes, to have thought himself at liberty to connect the two, as Ov. l. c. affects to suppose that the Corsican honey must be collected from hemlock-flowers. It is however just possible that 'taxos' may be an error for 'buxos,' as Diodorus (5. 14) expressly attributes the bitterness of the honey to the number of box-trees on the island. [Ribbeck writes *exagmina* from the first reading of Med.—H. N.]

31.] 'Cytiso,' 1. 79, G. 3. 394 foll., where it is given to goats, as here to cows, to increase their milk. 'Distendant,'

Heins. for 'distendent,' which none of Ribbeck's MSS. support.

32.] 'Si quid habes,' 3. 52, note. The remainder of Lycidas' speech is from Theocr. 7. 37 foll. It can hardly be doubted that Virg. means to distinguish between 'poeta' and 'vates,' Lycidas asserting himself to be the former, while he does not claim the honours of the latter. What the precise distinction is, cannot easily be determined from the usage of words either in Virg. (who scarcely uses 'poeta' except in the Eclogues) or in other writers; but we may perhaps infer from the other sense of 'vates' that it would naturally denote a bard in his inspired character, and its transference to other acts, "medicinae vates," Pliny 11. 219, "legum vates," Val. Max. 8. 12. 1 (quoted by Martyn), as we, though from a different point of view, should say, 'an adept,' shows that it suggested the notion of eminence. In Theocr. l. c. the shepherd says that he is the shrill mouth of the Muses, and that all call him the best singer. ['Set' Pal.—H. N.]

35.] 'Varo' Med. and some of Ribbeck's cursives; but 'Vario' is supported by Pal., Serv., and Cruquius' Schol. on Hor. 1 Od. 6, and required by the context, as the mention of Cinna and the parallel in Theocr. l. c., where Aesclepiades and Philetas are spoken of, show that two poets are here intended. 'Varo' is easily to be accounted for from vv. 26, 27. [Varius is the celebrated poet of epic and tragedy: C. Helvius Cinna, a friend of Catullus, was chiefly known for his 'Smyrna,' a learned poem in the Alexandrian manner, on which he was engaged nine years (Catullus, 93); a fact to which Horace was supposed to have alluded in his "nonumque prematur in annum." Philargyrius on this place.—H. N.]

36.] 'Argutos—olores,' an expression of the same class as those referred to on 8. 55, though the allusion here seemingly is not to a contest between geese and swans,

M. Id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipse voluto,
Si valeam meminisse; neque est ignobile carmen.

"Huc ades, o Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis?"

Hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum 40

Fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro

Imminet, et lentae texunt umbracula vites;

Huc ades; insani feriant sine litora fluctus."

L. Quid, quae te pura solum sub nocte canentem

Audieram? numeros memini, si verba tenerem. 45

but to geese spoiling the melody of swans' songs by their cackling. 'Anser,' Serv. tells us, is a punning reference to a contemporary poet of that name, mentioned by Ov. Trist. 2. 435, along with Cinna, and by Cic. Phil. 13. 5 as a friend of Antony, and probably, like Bavius and Maevius, personally obnoxious to Virg., as would appear from an obscure, if not corrupt, passage in Prop. 3. 32. 83, 84. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

37—43.] '*M.* I am trying to recollect. Here are some lines in which he asks Galatea to leave the sea, and come on shore and enjoy the glories of spring.'

37.] 'Id agere' is a common phrase for being busy about an object, as in the well-known expression "hoc age," the same sense doubtless which appears in the common use of the imperative "age," though in the Greek ἀγε, from which it obviously comes, the notion must be that of leading or going along with.

38.] 'Si valeam,' in the hope that I may be able, like "si forte," 6. 57, A. 2. 756. 'Neque' here gives the reason why he is trying to recollect the verses, like 'et' in such passages as A. 11. 901.

39.] Condensed from Theocr. 11. 42 foll. Galatea is addressed as in 7. 37 (note). 'Quisnam' or 'nam quis' (G. 4. 445) is a common form of interrogation, the thought on which 'nam' depends being suppressed: here however it is contained in 'Huc ades.' For the interposition of a word between 'quis' and 'nam' see on G. 4. l. c. 'Ludus in undis' comp. Theocr. 11. 62, ὡς κεν Ἰδω τί ποχ' ἄδῃ κατακλῆν τὸν Βυθὸν ὕμνῃ.

40.] 'Purpureum,' 5. 38 note, red being doubtless meant here as the prominent colour of blooming flowers, like "vere rubenti," G. 2. 319. Theocr. 18. 27 has λευκὸν ἔαρ.

41.] 'Candida populus,' called 'alba' Hor. 2 Od. 3. 9, λεύκη being the Greek

name. 'Antro' carries us back to Polyphemus and his cave in the passage from Theocr. 11. 44.

42.] Pal. originally had 'e' for 'et,' whence Ribbeck gratuitously reads 'en.' Whether the vine grows over the cave, as in 5. 6, or forms a bower of itself, is not clear. 'Umbracula:' "prope aream faciundum umbracula, quo succedant homines in aestu tempore meridiano," Varro, R. R. 1. 51.

43.] 'Insani,' 'the wild waves' play,' as they dash themselves recklessly and blindly on the shore, is contrasted with the quiet beauty of the land, that Galatea may give the latter the preference.

44, 45.] '*L.* What of that song of his I heard you singing to yourself the other night?'

44.] 'Quid, quae,' like the common phrase "quid, quod." 'What do you say to those verses?' 'How about those verses?' 'Pura sub nocte:' comp. G. 2. 364 note. The clearness of the night is doubtless mentioned because Moeris sang in the open air; but there is probably also a reference to the clear sky as a medium for sound. Forb. well comp. Lucr. 1. 142, "inducit noctes vigilare serenas."

45.] 'I remember the tune, if I only had the words.' ['Numeri' is explained by Serv. on A. 6. 645 as = 'rhythmi, soni,' and here as = 'metra vel rhythmos.' It seems to mean the air and the rhythm, which would probably, in ancient music, be inseparably connected.—H. N.] In the construction 'memini—si tenerem,' the conditional clause is not logically connected with the other, but with something understood, e.g. it might be 'numeros memini, et carmen ipsum revocarem, si verba tenerem,' so that we may compare the use of 'si' to express a wish.

M. "Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?
 Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
 Astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus, et quo
 Duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.
 Insere, Daphni, piros; carpent tua poma nepotes." 50
 Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque; saepe ego longos
 Cantando puerum meminisse me condere soles:
 Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina; vox quoque Moerim

46—55.] '*M.* The Julian is the star of stars: it will tell us when to sow, and plant, and graft.—Memory fails me—memory, that was once so good—and voice too: but Menalcas will gratify you him-self.'

46.] Ribbeck, following Med. and Gud., continues vv. 46—50 to Lycidas, who is thus supposed to recollect what he was trying vainly to recover. But the ordinary arrangement is supported by Pal. and others (if on such a matter MS. evidence can be said to be of value), and vv. 51 foll. would not have much meaning except on the supposition that Moeris had repeated part of what Lycidas had asked for, and was lamenting that he could not recall more. Daphnis is addressed as the representative of the shepherds, who watch the stars for agricultural purposes (G. 1. 204 foll., 257, 258). '*Antiquos*' is transferred from '*signorum*' to '*ortus*.'

47.] The allusion is to the comet which appeared when Octavianus was giving games in honour of Julius, the year after his death, and which was supposed to signify the dictator's apotheosis (Suet. Caes. 88). Comp. Hor. 1 Od. 12. 47, "micat inter omnis Iulium sidus." '*Dionaei*' as the descendant of Venus, who is called "*Dionaea mater*," A. 3. 19. '*Processit*,' of the rising of a star, 6. 86.

48.] The Julian star is to be the farmer's star, as Julius in 5. 79 is the farmer's god, and Octavianus also (G. 1. 24 foll.). '*Quo*' denotes the agency, not, as in "*quo sidere*," G. 1. 1, the time. The rising of the star might naturally be the signal for harvest and vintage (G. 1. 253): but Virg. evidently expresses himself here as if the stars not only formed the shepherd's calendar, but actually foretold or created agricultural prosperity. Keightley suggests that the summer of A.U.C. 711, when the comet appeared, would naturally have been very hot and dry; and we may be reminded of our own belief in the effect of comets upon

the vintage. '*Segetes*,' of fields, as in G. 1. 47.

49.] '*Duceret—colorem*:' "*variis solet uva racemis Ducere purpureum nondum matura colorem*," Ov. M. 3. 484, "*Uvaeque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva*," Juv. 2. 81.

50.] '*Poma*' are the fruit which are to grow on the pear-tree. '*Insere pira*,' 1. 74. The meaning is not merely that the trees shall be good bearing trees for more than one generation, but that the farmer's posterity shall enjoy the property of their progenitor. Serv. says "*Hoc in gratiam Augusti, per cuius beneficium securus de agris suis est... ac si diceret, Nihil est quod possis timere: nam illud respicit quod supra invidiose aiebat* [1. 74]. *Insere nunc, Meliboe, pira*," Palladius (8. 3., 9. 6) says that pears may be grafted in August, or if the soil is moist (which, as Voss reminds us, is the case in the neighbourhood of Mantua), in July.

51.] '*Fert*,' as in 5. 34. Emm. comp. Plato's verses, *αἶὼν πάντα φέρει δολιχὸς χρόνος ὅθεν ἀμείβειν ὄνομα καὶ μορφήν καὶ φύσιν ἢ δὲ τύχην*. '*Animum*:' "*in animo esse*" is used for recollecting (Ter. And. 1. 5. 47), and "*ex animo effluere*" for forgetting (Cic. de Or. 2. 74), as we talk of '*bearing a thing in mind*;' and hence probably '*animus*' comes to be used for the memory itself, like '*mens*' in Cic. Brut. 61, "*huic ex tempore dicenti effluit mens*." Comp. the old English expression '*to bear a brain*' for '*to remember*.'

52.] '*Condere*,' to bury, for to see go down: imitated doubtless from Callim. Ep. 2. 3, *ἦλιν ἐν λείσχη κατεδύσαμεν*, and Lucr. 3. 1090, "*vivendo condere saecula*." So Hor. 4 Od. 5. 29, "*Condit qui-que diem collibus in suis*." Gud. has '*ducere*,' with '*condere*' in the margin. It is singular that in Pers. 2. 14 the MSS. are divided between the two verbs.

53.] '*Oblita*,' passive: a rare use, followed by Val. Fl. 1. 792., 2. 388.

Iam fugit ipsa ; lupi Moerim videre priores.
 Sed tamen ista satis referet tibi saepe Menalcas. 55
L. Causando nostros in longum ducis amores.
 Et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor, et omnes,
 Aspice, ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae ;
 Hinc adeo media est nobis via ; namque sepulchrum
 Incipit apparere Bianoris : hic, ubi densas 60
 Agricolae stringunt frondes, hic, Moeri, canamus ;
 Hic haedos depone, tamen veniemus in urbem.
 Aut si, nox pluviam ne colligat ante, veremur,
 Cantantes licet usque—minus via laedit—eamus ;

54.] A man meeting a wolf and not catching its eye first was supposed to be struck dumb. Pliny, 8. 80, speaks of it as an Italian belief: but it is alluded to by Plato, Rep. 1, p. 336, where Socrates congratulates himself on having first caught sight of Thrasymachus. Theocr. 14. 22 has *οὐ φθέρῃ; λύκον εἶδεν*, where the effect seems to be attributed to meeting a wolf under any circumstances. 'Priores,' like 'prior inquit.' A. 1. 321. ['Moerin' Pal.—H. N.] 55.] "Ordo est, satis saepe." Serv. ['Set' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

56—65.] 'L. Do not put me off—there is perfect stillness about us, and we are half-way to the town: we can afford to stop: or if you want to get on, we can sing as we walk.'

56.] Comp. Lucr. 1. 398, "quamvis causando multa moreris." 'Amores' for 'studium' or 'cupido.' "Si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros," A. 2. 10.

57.] Apparently imitated from Theocr. 2. 38, *ἦνιδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἄηται*, so that 'aequor' seems to be the sea, the scenery being taken from Sicily. Neither the context nor the language of the line itself allows to interpret the word of the swamp of the Mincio. 'Tibi,' for your purpose, so that you may sing.

58.] 'Aspice,' *ἦνιδε*, calling attention. 'Ventosi murmuris' is apparently equivalent to 'venti murmurantis,' with which 'aurae' is naturally connected, like "Zephyri tepentibus auris," G. 2. 330, quoted by Voss. This seems better than with Heyne to make 'murmuris,' the attributive genitive, like 'veneni," 4. 24, though there is not much room for choice. Virg. probably intended a variation on the more natural expression, "ventosae murmuris aurae." 'Cadere,' of winds, G. 1. 354.

59.] 'Adeo' apparently throws a stress either on 'hinc' (see on 4. 11), or on 'media.' The line is imitated from Theocr. 7. 10, *κοῦπω τὰν μεσάταν ὁδὸν ἄνυμες, οὐδὲ τὸ σῆμα Ἀμῶν τῷ Βρασίλῳ κατεφαίνεται*.

60.] Bianor, according to Serv., was the same as Ocnus, the founder of Mantua (A. 10. 198), called by Cato in his *Origines* Ocnus Bianorus. Thus the scenery becomes Mantuan again.

61.] 'Stringere' of the "frondatio," or stripping of leaves, which were used for fodder G. 1. 305., 2. 368, Hor. 1 Ep. 14. 28. "Oleam ubi nigra erit stringito," Cato, R. R. 65. Col. 11. 2, § 65 (referred to by Keightley) says that the "frondatio" should be done "antelucanis et vespertinis temporibus." 'Canamus:' they were to sing alternately, as in Theocr. 7.

62.] 'Tamen,' after all, notwithstanding. "Tamen cantabitis," 10. 31 (note). Keightley thinks the expression strange, as they were within a mile and a half of Mantua: but it seems to be a playful anticipation of an objection from Moeria. ['Aedus' Pal.—H. N.]

63.] The night is said to gather the rain, because the gathering of the clouds is the prelude of rain. Comp. G. 3. 327, "ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora." [For 'veremur' Pal. originally has 'meremus.'—H. N.]

64.] From Theocr. 7. 35. 'Usque' with 'eamus,' let us go straight on. "Iuvat usque morari," A. 6. 487. Heins. read 'laedet,' which is found in one good MS., the first Mentelian, but in none of Ribbeck's. Gud. corrected and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'laedet.' But Wagn. rightly prefers 'laedit,' the reading of Med., Pal., &c. The sense seems to be "cantantis via minus laedere solet." Comp. 10. 75, "Surgamus: solet est gravis cantantibus umbra."

Cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te fasce levabo.

65

M. Desine plura, puer, et, quod nunc instat, agamus ;

Carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus.

65.] 'Fascis,' of a burden generally, as G. 3. 347 of a soldier's baggage, G. 4. 204 of the food brought home by the bees : here of the kids, which may have been carried in some sort of bundle. Comp. Moretum v. 80, "venalis holerum fasces portabat," of things taken to market. Lycidas offers to carry the kids while Moeris is singing, meaning him to begin. 66, 67.] 'M. Best think only of our present business, and leave singing till we

see Menalcas again.'

66.] 'Desine plura, puer,' 5. 19. 'Instat,' reminding Lycidas that the business admits of no delay, not even of singing or talking as they walk along. Some varieties in Ribbeck's MSS. seem to show that there was once a reading 'nunc, quod nunc instat.'

67.] 'Ipse,' Menalcas, designated either as Moeris' master (3. 3 note), or, in relation to the songs, as their author.

EXCURSUS ON THE RELATION OF THE FIRST TO THE NINTH ECLOGUE.

[The first Eclogue represents Virgil as restored to the possession of his estate, while the ninth complains of his violent expulsion from it. This fact was explained by Servius, and is still explained, I think, by all modern critics, by the hypothesis that after the poet had been restored by Octavianus he was again expelled, and afterwards, at some time not specified, again reinstated.

But it may be doubted whether this notion of a double ejection rests on sufficient evidence. The two poems in question lend no real support to it, but, if anything, rather the reverse. The ninth Eclogue represents Virgil as saying that a misfortune had come upon him of which he had never had any apprehension, "quod numquam veriti sumus;" strange language, surely, had he been ejected only a few months before. The poem proceeds: "I had heard that Menalcas' poetry had proved the salvation of his estate," "omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan." "Yes, and it was a mere rumour, for the din of arms has silenced poetry." These words do not necessarily, I think, imply more than that Virgil had hoped at one time to retain his farm, but that it had after all been taken away. It is indeed quite likely that when the first order came for the confiscation of the Mantuan territory, Virgil made interest with Pollio for at least the temporary preservation of it, and that thus arose the rumour alluded to. But if Virgil had really gone to Rome before the ninth Eclogue was written, and returned with an order from Octavianus for the restoration of his estate, is it conceivable that he should have made no mention in the poem of so important a fact? But what does he say of Octavianus? Only this:

"Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
Astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus,"

"the star of Caesar has arisen, under which the fields ought to be rejoicing in their fruits"; for I do not know what other meaning the words can bear. It is his complaint in the fifth Eclogue and in the first Georgic that the overthrow of Julius Caesar's authority has brought with it the ruin of agriculture, and in the same spirit he expresses a faint hope (and no more) in the ninth Eclogue that the star of Caesar may again bless the country.

The Life of Virgil by Suetonius makes no mention of a double ejection.¹ And the

¹ § 19. Ad Bucolica transiit, maxime ut Asinium Pollionem, Alfenum Varum, et Cornelium Gallum celebraret, quia in distributione agrorum qui post Philippensem victoriam veteranis dividebantur indemnem se praestitissent.

commentary attributed to Probus, which in this part seems to be based on the same sources of information as the biography by Suetonius, informs us that Virgil had his estate restored on being introduced to Octavianus by Cornelius Gallus; that the veterans were so irritated at this that the poet was nearly killed by the *primipilaris* Milienius Toro; that the Eclogues were not published in the order in which they were written, for the ninth, a complaint of injury, ought to be placed before the first, which is an expression of gratitude for the redress of the injury. Thus Probus, or the compiler of the commentary attributed to him, regarded the first Eclogue as referring to the final restoration of Virgil to his estate, subsequent to the act of violence of which complaint is made in the ninth.

But Servius, in his commentary on the first Eclogue, says, in explaining the relation of the ninth Eclogue to the first, that, after the first Eclogue was written, Virgil went back to his estate, was then almost killed (not by Milienius Toro but) by one Arrius, saved himself by leaping into the Mincio, and afterwards had his estate again restored by Octavianus. Servius places the ninth Eclogue after the first, and so do "others" (*alii*) whom he quotes, who however give quite a different account of the transaction. According to them Virgil, after obtaining *immunitas agrorum* from Octavianus, fell into a dispute with a neighbour about his boundaries; a man named Clodius threatened to kill him, and pursued him with a drawn sword, but Virgil escaped into a charcoal-burner's shop.

I doubt whether it is worth while attempting, as Ribbeck does in his *Prolegomena*, to weave these different accounts into a consistent whole. It is clear that, as is natural in such a case, different versions of the transaction must have existed in the time of Servius, and very probably much earlier. The main question, however, is, what does the best evidence, that of the Eclogues themselves, warrant us in inferring? The commentators were evidently somewhat puzzled by the fact of the ninth Eclogue coming after the first. The difficulty is noticed by Probus, who accounts for it in a rational way; but I suspect that Servius and the authorities whom he quotes were misled by the order in which the Eclogues stand, and arranged the facts so as to put the ninth chronologically subsequent to the first. I believe that Probus (if it be Probus) was right in supposing the ninth to have been the earliest, and the first to refer to the final restoration of Virgil's estate. This supposition is not contradicted by the mention of Varus in the ninth Eclogue, supposing him, as we must suppose, to be the Alfenus Varus who had succeeded Pollio in Cisalpine Gaul. For Suetonius expressly says that it was this Varus, with Asinius Pollio and Gallus, whose influence secured to Virgil the possession of his estate. In other words, the entreaties addressed to Varus in the ninth Eclogue were successful, Varus not caring to pursue his political differences with Pollio so far as to injure Pollio's friend.

I doubt then whether the evidence afforded by the Eclogues themselves and by the biography of Suetonius (and the other evidence we have seen to be confused and inconsistent) warrants our assuming more than this: that Virgil was ejected with violence and at the peril of his life from his farm, after having been under the impression that he was to keep it; that in his trouble he was assisted by Maecenas (Suetonius, § 20); that he addressed Alfenus Varus on the subject in the ninth Eclogue, and probably also in plain prose; that he then went to Rome, where, backed by the influence of Pollio, Varus, and Gallus (to whom the eighth, ninth, and tenth Eclogues are respectively dedicated), he obtained from Octavianus the restoration of his estate.—H. N.]

ECLOGA X.

GALLUS.

If the claims of friendship were but scantily acknowledged in the sixth and eighth Eclogues, they are abundantly satisfied in the present, which is entirely devoted to Gallus. Like Varus, C. Cornelius Gallus is said by Servius on Eclogue 6—13, to have been Virgil's early associate and fellow-student under Siron. He is said by the same authority to have been appointed by the triumvirs to collect money from those trans-Padane towns whose lands were to be spared; and it is conjectured that he may have been the Cornelius who, according to Serv., attacked Alfenus Varus in a speech for his division of Mantuan territory as unfair to the inhabitants—one or both of which grounds would be sufficient to account for Virgil's connexion with him, even if the story of their previous intimacy should be deemed untrustworthy. Besides, he had been already admitted to Pollio's friendship, and so might easily win the regard of Pollio's protégé. His further life need not be noticed here; all we have to do with is the fact that, as this Eclogue shows at the time of its composition, he had become known as a poet and a lover, having written elegies (four books, Serv. says), chiefly addressed to his mistress Lycoris, like Propertius' to Cynthia, and Tibullus' to Delia, besides translating (if that is to be considered with Serv. a separate work) some of the poems of Euphron (note on v. 50). Lycoris is identified by Serv. with Volumnia Cytheris, a freedwoman of Volumnius Eutrapelus, and at one time mistress of M. Antonius, whom the same account erroneously represents as the rival mentioned v. 23. These elegies are repeatedly mentioned by Ovid, who appears to have regarded them with high admiration, and once, in an obscure passage (3. 26. 91, 92) by Propertius: but only one fragment of them survives, preserved by Vibius Sequester, *De Fluminibus*, p. 333.

Here, as in *E. 1*, the identification of the shepherd and poet is so rudely managed as to amount to absolute confusion. The subject of the Eclogue is the hopeless and absorbing passion of Gallus: Gallus, if not a pastoral poet himself, is the friend of a pastoral poet, and so one of the pastoral company: accordingly he is represented as being at one and the same moment a soldier and a shepherd, serving in the camp in Italy, and lying under a rock in Arcadia with wood-gods to comfort him. As before, the naked simplicity of the explanation has caused it to be missed: Gallus has been supposed to have gone on furlough into Arcadia, while others, who could not reconcile the language of v. 44 with his being in Arcadia at all, have changed the text.

The structure of the poem is taken from the latter part of Theocr. Idyl 1, the dying Daphnis supplying the model for Gallus, whose despair however does not bring him to death. Virgil is supposed to narrate the story in a song as he is tending his goats, and in rising to go home for the evening he gracefully intimates that he is closing the volume of pastoral poetry.

The time is commonly thought [though Ribbeck would date the poem earlier] to be fixed by vv. 23, 46 full., and by general considerations regarding the date of the Eclogues, to the end of 716 or the beginning of 717, when Agrippa was leading an expedition into Gaul and across the Rhine, with which Gallus' rival is supposed to have gone, while Gallus himself was engaged in some other service, perhaps in Italy under Octavianus, acting against Sex. Pompeius. Vv. 20, 23, 47 seem to point to winter or early spring.

The scenery seems to be Arcadian throughout, at least in the narrative part of the Eclogue.

EXTREMUM hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem :
 Pauca meo Gallo, set quae legat ipsa Lycoris,
 Carmina sunt dicenda : neget quis carmina Gallo ?
 Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
 Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam. 5
 Incipe ; sollicitos Galli dicamus amores,
 Dum tenera attendent simae virgulta capellae.
 Non canimus surdis ; respondent omnia silvae.
 Quae nemora, aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae

1—8.] 'My last pastoral strain is in honour of Gallus : I sing of his love with my goats about me in the wood.'

1.] 'Arethusa' was conventionally the pastoral fountain, Mosch. 3. 78, and as such apparently is invoked by the dying Daphnis, Theocr. 1. 117. She is here addressed as a Muse might be, like the "Nymphae Libethrides," 7. 21. 'Concede laborem' like "carmen concede," 7. 22. 'Laborem' as in G. 2. 39. He asks to be allowed to elaborate one song more. Pal. originally had 'laborum,' which Ribbeck arbitrarily adopts.

2.] Wagn., followed by Forb., connects this line with the preceding, placing a period at 'Lycoris,' a change which seems plainly for the worse, as 'meo Gallo' would come awkwardly after 'mihi,' while 'pauca' evidently refers to 'carmina.' For 'Gallo' and 'Lycoris' see Introduction. 'Set quae' is the antithesis to 'pauca,' though few, they must be such as may attract even her scornful eye. ['Set' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

4.] 'Sic' followed by 'incipe,' as in 9. 80—82. The legend of the union between Arethusa and Alpheus (see Dict. B.) is mentioned again A. 3. 694 foll., and is the subject of what remains of Moschus' eighth Idyl, vv. 4, 5 of which Virg. seems to have imitated: καὶ βαθεὺς ἐμβαίνει τοῖς κύμασι, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν Νέρθεν ὑποτροχάει, καὶ μύρνται ὕδασι ὕδαρ. Alpheus in the legend is the pursuing lover: here Virg. apparently contemplates them as reconciled, and passing to and fro to visit each other, and prays Arethusa to assist his tale of love, if she would have the course of her own love run smooth. That he should conceive of her as constantly flying from Alpheus is less likely.

5.] 'Doris,' wife of Nerens and mother of the Nereids (Hes. Theog. 240), is here put for the sea, perhaps, as Heyne suggests, after some Alexandrian poet, like

Amphitrite, the wife of Neptune, Hom. Od. 12. 60, 97 (referred to by Voss), Thetis, E. 4. 32. 'Amara' is here equivalent to 'salsa,' with which it is coupled G. 2. 238.

6.] 'Sollicitus' is used as an epithet of love here and in Ov. Her. 18. 196, and of a lover Hor. 3 Od. 7. 9, just as "cura" is a common synonyme of "amor."

7.] 'Simae capellae,' σιμαὶ κριφοί, Theocr. 8. 50. 'Virgulta,' note on G. 2. 2. The goats browse while the goatherd is singing, as in 5. 12.

8.] 'Non canimus surdis,' like "non in iussa cano," 6. 9. 'We are not singing to deaf ears.' There is an allusion, as Emm. remarks, to the proverbial expression "surdo canere," or "surdo narrare fabulam," Livy 40. 8, Ter. Haut. 2. 1. 10, Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 200. 'Respondere' takes an acc. of the answer made. Here it has the wider sense of 'reddere' or 'referre,' to repeat or give back. Comp. Ov. M. 11. 52, "febile lingua Murmurat exanimis : respondent fabile ripae," and for the general sense "resonare doces Amyrillida silvas," 1. 5.

9—30.] 'Why were not the nymphs present when their favourite lay dying? All nature mourned for him: his sheep grieved for their master: the swains came to visit him: Apollo was there, and Silvanus and Pan, bidding him leave brooding to no end over blighted hopes.'

9.] This and the three following lines are from Theocr. 1. 66 foll., where the nymphs are naturally mentioned in connexion with Daphnis, who, according to Id. 7. 92, was married to a Naad. Here, as in v. 1, they seemed to play the part of the Muses, and are consequently associated with Parnassus, Pindus, and Aganippe. This connects them not only with Gallus, but with Virg., who had just addressed Arethusa, and at the end of his song, v. 70, turns to them again.

Naides, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat ? 10
 Nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi
 Ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.
 Illum etiam lauri, etiam flevire myricae ;
 Pini fer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
 Maenalus et gelidi flevērunt saxa Lycaeī. 15
 Stant et oves circum ;—nostri nec paenitet illas,
 Nec te paeniteat pecoris, divine poeta :
 Et formosus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis—
 Venit et upilio ; tardi venere subulci ;

10.] 'Peribat' Pal., Rom. (which is resumed at this line after the lacuna), Med. second reading, &c., 'periret' Med. first reading, Gud. corrected, and others of Ribbeck's cursives. External evidence justifies Wagn. in restoring the former. Intrinsically either might stand. See *Madv.* § 358. 'Indigno amore,' 8. 18. note.

11.] 'Ye were not in any of your usual haunts,' implying that search had been made for them there. The two mountains are mentioned, as Heyne observes, with a reference to the springs belonging to each.

12.] 'Ulla' has the force of 'ullo modo.' Comp. 1. 53 note. "Moram fecere:" "fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti," A. 3. 473. 'Aonie' Pal., and two or three of Ribbeck's cursives, supported by Serv. 'Aoniae' Med., Rom., Gud., supported by Charisius and other grammarians, who however read 'Aganippae' also. Ribbeck restores 'Aoniae:' but the Greek nominative is more likely to have been misunderstood by copyists, and is the natural form in a metrical licence like this, intended as an imitation of the Greek. So *Sil.* 14. 515, quoted by Wund., has "Ortygie Arethusa," which Heins. restored "ex scriptis" for "Ortygiae Arethusae."

13.] From *Theoc.* 1. 71, 72, where however the mourners are wolves, jackals, and lions, as in E. 5. 26. The neglect of the nymphs is contrasted with the sorrow of the trees and shrubs, which were vocal as echoing to Gallus' lament, the bays being introduced as in 6. 83, the tamarisks as in 6. 10. Such an explanation of the image was evidently in Virg.'s mind (comp. 5. 62 note, 8. 22 note), but he does not put it forward prominently, as it would interfere with the effect of the rest of the passage, where actual mourners are introduced. There is some doubt about

the reading of the line, Rom. substituting a second 'illum' for the second 'etiam,' which in Gud. is written over an erasure. Another of Ribbeck's cursives reads 'illum' with 'etiam' written over it, apparently as an insertion, not as a correction; and 'illum etiam' is found in the Lombard and a few other MSS., and was the old reading before Heins. However we may account for the variations, both language and rhythm plead for the text as now generally received. One inferior copy gives 'laurus.'

14.] Comp. 8. 22. 'Sola sub rupe;' so Orpheus, G. 4. 508, 509, is said "rupe sub aëria deserti ad Strymonis undam Flevisse, et gelidis haec evolvisse sub antris."

15.] 'Lycaeī,' G. 1. 16.

16.] 'Nostri,' of us shepherds. The sheep do not regret their connexion with us, and the best of us need not regret his with them. Keightley takes 'nostri' of Gallus, which is possible, though he can hardly be right in attempting (Horace, *Excursus* 2) to get rid of all the instances in which 'nos,' like 'vos,' borrows the genitive sing. of the neuter of its possessive (*Madv.* § 79, obs. 1).

17.] 'Nec te paeniteat,' 2. 34 note. Gallus is addressed as if he had been a shepherd, and so doubtless Virg. chooses to regard him; but the language here seems intended to meet an objection that the connexion might disgrace him, so that the sense, stripped of metaphor, will be 'do not regret or think scorn of your association with pastoral poetry.' 'Divine poeta,' 5. 45, also of a shepherd.

18.] From *Theoc.* 1. 109, 20. 33, where however the connexion is quite different. The thought here is like that in E. 2. 60. ['Formonsus,' the uncials.—H. N.]

19.] 'Upilio' is generally considered a lengthened form of "opilio," an old word

Uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas. 20
 Omnes "Unde amor iste, rogant, tibi?" Venit Apollo:
 Galle, quid insanis? inquit; tua cura Lycoris
 Perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est.
 Venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore,

for a shepherd found in Plaut. Asin. 3. 1. 36, and doubtless connected with "ovis." No authority however is quoted for this lengthening by a change of vowels, which can scarcely be, as Serv. thinks, a hint taken from the Greek use of *ὄβρυα* for *ὄβρυα*, &c., and the word "ovilio," of which it is supposed to be a variety (found in Javolenus, Dig. 33. 7. 26, § 2), would have the second syllable long. It would seem more probable therefore that the word may be really a contraction of "ovipilio" (with which we may perhaps compare *οἰσπῶλος*, and possibly the root "pell" in "compellere," "depellere"), and that there may have been two forms of the word, "opilio" and "upilio," like "bobus" and "bubus" from "bovibus," each of them long. [Vaniček, in his Griechisch-Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, vol. 1, p. 450, is more probably right in connecting the second part of the word with the root *pal*, to protect: comp. *Pal-es*, *pollere*—H. N.] Unfortunately the passage in Plautus does not enable us to determine the quantity: indeed it rather tends to complicate the question further, by raising a doubt about the second syllable, which there must be scanned as long, unless we admit a hiatus. Thus it is possible that 'upilio' may be intended by Virg. to be scanned as a trisyllable, the lengthening of the first vowel being explained as above. 'Opilio' here is the original reading of Pal., found also in one or two of Ribbeck's cursives, and supported by the grammarian Caper. The "opilio" is mentioned by Cato R. R. 10 among the staff of farm labourers, one being required for a property of two hundred and forty jugera. 'Subulci' is the reading of all the MSS., 'bubulci,' which Heyne retained and Voss defends, being due to the earlier modern critics (Parhasius, Ursinus, Erythraeus, Stephanus, Cerda: see Taubmann's note). The reasons alleged for the change were, the parallel passage in Theocr. 1. 80, where swineherds are not named, the absence of any mention of swineherds elsewhere in the Eclogues, only cowherds, shepherds, and goatherds, coming within the dignity

of pastoral poetry, the probability that Menalcas from his occupation is himself intended for a swineherd, the allusion in two passages of Apuleius (Flor. 1. 3, Apol. p. 407) to Virg.'s "opiliones" and "busequae," a quotation in Terent. Maur. v. 1191, where however 'subulci' has recently been restored on MSS. authority, and the epithet 'tardi,' which is supposed to point to the motion of cows, and consequently of cowherds. In reply it is sufficient to say that swine are elsewhere referred to by Virg. (G. 1. 400., 2. 72, 520) as belonging to rustic life, while, as Voss admits, there is a distinct propriety in mentioning them here, as they were plentiful in Arcadia: that the passages in Apul. do not prove that he read 'bubulci,' [any more than Metam. 8. 1. where he again has 'opiliones et busequae,' that 'bubulci,'] indeed, would not necessarily be synonymous with "busequae," the former word generally meaning a ploughman, not a herdman; and that 'tardi' implies no more than weariness with their day's labour, which might easily be conceived of a swineherd, even if we had not Eumaeus' complaint of the hardship of the life, Od. 14. 415 foll.

20.] Menalcas is probably a husbandman who has been gathering and steeping acorns, which were the food not only of swine, but, in the winter, of cattle also. Wagn. refers to Cato 54, "Ubi sementim patraveris, glandem parari legique oportet et in aquam concio. Inde semodios singulis bubus in dies dari oportet." This explains both 'hiberna' and 'uvidus.' For the time of year see Introd. Rom. has 'umidus.'

21.] Theocr. 1. 81 foll. 'Apollo' appears as the god both of the poet and the shepherd.

22.] 'Tua cura,' 1. 57. 'She for whom you care so cares nought for you.'

23.] See Introd.

24.] 'Silvanus,' G. 1. 20., 2. 494. A. 8. 600, Dict. B. Wund. seems right in replacing the comma, omitted by Heyne, after 'honore,' so as to make v. 25 epexegetical of 'venit agresti honore.' With the construction he comp. Juv. 11. 106,

Florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. 25
 Pan deus Arcadiae venit, quem vidimus ipsi
 Sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem.
 Ecquis erit modus? inquit; Amor non talia curat;
 Nec lacrimis crudelis Amor, nec gramina rivis,
 Nec cytiso saturantur apes, nec fronde capellae. 30
 Tristis at ille: Tamen cantabitis, Arcades, inquit,

"clipeo venientis et hasta." 'Honore' is here beauty or ornament, like 'decus,' as in G. 2. 404, &c.

25.] Imitated from Lucr. 4. 587, "Pan Pineae semiferi capitis velamina quassans," a passage which Virg. has more than once had before him: see on 2. 24., 6. 27. 'Quassans' here expresses the size and length of the fennel and lilies. The use of fennel flowers for garlands is vouched for by Pliny 21. 55, referred to by Voss.

26.] Virg. lays stress on his having been allowed to look on Pan, as he was a formidable personage (Theocr. 1. 16 foll.), and the sudden sight of him produced madness, hence called 'panic' (Eur. Rhes. 36, &c.). See on 6. 13, 24.

27.] The details vouch for the reality of the vision, perhaps in a spirit of rustic simplicity. Both the Greeks and Romans seem not infrequently to have painted their gods red (see Plutarch, Q. Rom. 98, and other passages referred to by Voss), especially perhaps the deities of the country, such as Bacchus and Priapus, which probably accounts for the trick played on Silenus in 6. 22. In Tibull. 2. 1. 55 the rustic worshipper of Bacchus paints himself with vermilion ('minium'): and Pliny tells us (83. 111) that the bodies of generals who triumphed were coloured with the same substance. "The Latin 'minium' was the sulphide of mercury, the Greek *κιννάβαρι*, our cinabar or vermilion. It came chiefly from Spain, whose quicksilver mines of Almaden are still prolific." Keightley.

28.] "Sed quis erit modus?" A. 4. 98. 'Amor non tali curat' answers to Theocritus' ἀπάντητος ἔπος. Pan, as Serv. remarks, may be speaking from his own experience, "bethinking him," in Keats' words, "how melancholy loath he was to lose fair Syrinx."

29, 30.] Pan, as the patron of rural life, chooses his images from the country. Voss observes that he is elsewhere connected with bees, being called *μελισσοκόμος* in the Anthology, while honey is offered

to him, Theocr. 5. 58. Is it merely by accident that in the song to Pan, just quoted, in Keats' Endymion, book 1, 'yellow-girted bees' are said to 'foredoom their golden honeycombs' to him? For 'gramina rivis' see 3. 111., G. 1. 269. 'Cytiso apes:' "Cytisum in agro esse quam plurimum maxime refert, quod gallinis, apibus, ovibus, capris, bubus quoque et omni generi pecudum utilissimum est," Col. 5. 12. It is not named in G. 4. 'Fronde' seems to mean leaves stripped for fodder: otherwise we should have expected some other tree to be particularized as a pendant to 'cytissus.'

31—43.] 'So they: but Gallus replied: Let me be remembered in your songs, Arcadians; would that I only had been one of you, living your life and enjoying my love; even Lycoris might have stayed with me then.'

31.] Doubts about the pointing of this line existed as early as the time of Serv., who rightly decides that 'tamen' forms part of Gallus' speech. It is more easy to feel the force of the word here than to define it. Wagn. seems right in saying that it naturally introduces a consolatory thought, as in A. 4. 329., 10. 509, though he spoils the effect by referring it directly to what goes before: "licet sciam nullum amoris esse remedium in luctu et lacrimis, iuvat tamen indulgere huic dolori, quod meos amores non tacebunt Arcadiae pastores." Serv. shows a truer appreciation: "licet ego duro amore consumar, tamen erit solacium, quia meus amor erit vestra cantilena quandoque," adding, not less justly, "videtur enim neque oburgationes neque consolationes (sc. deorum) recipere obstinate moriturus: nihil enim ad dicta ab eis respondit." In English we may perhaps express it, 'you will sing for me, though, when I am gone.' 'Cantabitis' seems to be used in an imperative sense, as in Hor. 1 Ep. 13. 2, &c., the speaker assuming what he desires. 'Quiescant,' v. 33, shows that it can scarcely be an ordinary future.

Montibus haec vestris : soli cantare periti
 Arcades. O mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
 Vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores !
 Atque utinam ex vobis unus, vestrique fuisset 85
 Aut custos gregis, aut maturae vinitor uvae !
 Certe, sive mihi Phyllis, sive esset Amyntas ?
 Seu quicumque furor,—quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas ?
 Et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra—
 Mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret ; 40
 Serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.
 Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,
 Hic nemus ; hic ipso tecum consumerer aëvo.
 Nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis

32.] 'Montibus' seems to be the dative, as in 2. 5, "Montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani," rather than the local ablative. 'Haec' is explained by 'meos amores,' v. 34. Pal. and one of Ribbeck's cursives originally had 'nostris,' out of which Ribbeck extracts 'vostris.' 'Soli cantare periti Arcades' may be either a vocative in apposition, or a separate sentence, 'none but Arcadians know how to sing,' which last seems preferable. For the general sense comp. note on 7. 4.

33.] One of the countless variations of the common formula, "Sit tibi terra levis."

35.] The feeling is like that of 2. 28 foll., a comparison of which will show that Gallus does not wish, as Voss thinks, to be a slave in Arcadia, as if even the lowest condition there would be bliss, but merely to take part in their simple rustic life. At the same time it is not wrong to bear in mind that in Italy, at least, such occupations would probably imply slavery, as it helps us to estimate the reality of the feeling expressed in the Eclogues. See the general Introduction.

36.] 'Vinitor uvae' is a pleonasm (not unlike the Homeric *ἐκταρ ἐνορχέει*), introduced doubtless on account of the epithet 'maturae' and the picture of the vintage thus presented to the mind.

37.] In Arcadia he could have found some rustic love, and their mode of life would have kept them united. The passage is slightly imitated from Theocr. 7. 86 foll. 'Certe,' at any rate. 'I could have counted on having my love, whoever it might be, with me.' In 'esset—iaceret,' &c. the tense is changed from 'fuissem,' as Gallus is speaking of what, had his lot been cast in Arcadia, might then be

going on.

38.] 'Furor,' like "cura," v. 22, "ignis," 3. 66.

39.] Theocr. 10. 28, καὶ τὸ ἴον μέλαν ἐντὶ, καὶ ἡ γραπτὰ ἰάκυνθος. Comp. 'also E. 2. 16 foll.

40.] The association of the willow with the vine has caused a good deal of perplexity. Vines however are, I am told, trained on willows in Lombardy in the present day: and Columella tells us (5.7), that this was done in the 'Gallicum arbustum,' or 'rumpotinum,' though he himself thinks the practice prejudicial to the vine, and only allows it when no other tree can be found. Voss puts a comma after 'salices,' making 'lenta sub vite' mark a different spot, which is to a certain extent countenanced by Theocr. 7. 83, *ἐπὶ δρυσίν, ἢ ὑπὸ πεύκαις*, but can hardly stand from the harshness of the omission of 'aut.' Schrader ingeniously proposed 'inter calices,' which would answer to "sub arta Vite bibentem," Hor. 1 Od. 38. 7. Pal. (originally) and Med. have 'iaceres,' which can hardly be any thing but a slip.

42.] 'But why dream of Phyllis and Amyntas? Why might I not be enjoying this life with Lycoris?' The line is imitated from Theocr. 5. 33, where one shepherd points out to another a place for singing in. ['Lycoris' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

43.] 'Here we might grow old together, decaying by mere lapse of time.' 'Aevum' is not old age, here or elsewhere in Virg., but simply time or time of life, the notion of old age coming from the context. See on A. 2. 435, 509., 8. 307., 11. 85.

44—49.] 'As it is, I am mad enough to serve in the wars, and you have gone to

Tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis: 45
 Tu procul a patria—nec sit mihi credere tantum!—
 Alpinas, a dura, nives et frigora Rheni
 Me sine sola vides. A, te ne frigora laedant!
 A, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!
 Ibo, et, Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu 50

those wintry Alps—may the frost and ice spare you!

44.] Heyne had long ago remarked that 'Martis' might be taken either with 'amor' or with 'armis,' the former view, however, has been ignored by most of the editors, except Forb., who quotes two strongly parallel passages, "Accendamque animos insani Martis amore," A. 7. 550; "Saevit amor ferri et acclerata insania belli," ib. 461. Love can have nothing to do with keeping Gallus in the camp away from Lycoris; and to say with Catrou and Ruæus that his passion drove him to the war in despair is to say what Virg. does not say, and no authority confirms. On the other hand the connexion 'insanus amor Martis' is recommended by the whole tone of the passage, 'Would I had been a peaceful shepherd, living my life and loving my love! but military madness has made me a soldier, and my love has easily left me.' Heyne read 'te' from a conjecture of Heumann, supposing that Lycoris had gone after a soldier lover, leaving Gallus to pastoral poetry and sorrow: but see the Introduction. 'Nunc,' as things are, used frequently to contrast an actual state with a hypothesis. Forb. comp. Tibull. 1. 10. 11 foll. "Tunc mihi vita foret . . . nunc ad bella trahor," where the subject as well as the expression is more or less similar.

46.] 'Tantum' seems best taken as equivalent to "tantum rem," the object of 'credere,' as "credita res" is used A. 2. 196, of a thing believed. 'Would that I might find myself unable to believe it!' Heyne comp. Tibull. 3. 4. 82, "A ego ne possim tanta videre mala!" 'Procul tantum' (6. 16 note) would be out of place here, besides the harshness of separating the words, and 'tantum' with 'nives vides' would be exceedingly weak. Serv. says on this line that all these verses are really Gallus' own, extracted from his poems; but he does not say where the extract begins or ends.

47.] Humboldt (Cosmos, vol. ii. Sabine's trans.) instances the uniform language of

the Romans about the savageness and physical discomforts of the Alps as a proof of their insensibility to beauty of scenery. So there is nothing in the Prometheus to show that Aeschylus felt with any distinctness the sublimity of the landscape, on which a modern poet could hardly have failed to dwell. 'Frigora' is in itself no more than cold weather or winter, as in v. 65, but in connexion with 'Rheni' it may imply that the river is frozen. In that case, 'frigora laedant' in the next verse will be the same as "glacies secet aspera plantas," v. 49. 'Dura:' the same hardness of nature which steeled Lycoris against Gallus' love would lead her to brave the Alpine snows. Comp. such passages as Hor. 1 Od. 3. 9 foll.

48.] Voss comp. Prop. 1. 8. 7, "Tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas, Tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?" Emm. comp. Ov. M. 1. 508, "ne prona cadas, indignave laedi Crura secent sentes," which seems to show that Virg. here may be expressing a caution rather than a wish.

50—61.] 'I will turn my poems into pastorals, and record my love on the barks of trees; I will hunt with the nymphs and the shepherds, in the hope—a vain hope—of cure.'

50.] Gallus had translated or imitated Euphronion of Chalcis, whose poems, chiefly mythological and of the Alexandrine school, are enumerated in Dict. B. As he is said to have been imitated also by Tibullus and Propertius, it seems likely that his elegiac poems may have been those most in favour at Rome; and these accordingly may have been the poems which Gallus put into a Roman dress (possibly in his elegies to Lycoris), and which he now proposes to adapt to the pastoral model of Theocritus. (For other conjectures see Heyne's Exoursus.) How the adaptation was to be made is not very easy to see, unless we suppose that Gallus was to speak of himself and his sufferings in pastoral phraseology, changing his actual circumstances into the accidents of

Carmina, pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.
 Certum est in silvis, inter spelea ferarum
 Malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
 Arboribus; crescent illae, crescetis, amores.
 Interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis, 55
 Aut acris venabor apros; non me ulla vetabunt
 Frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus;
 Iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis
 Ire; libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu
 Spicula: Tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris, 60
 Aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat!

a shepherd's life, as Virg. has done for him in this Eclogue. Euphion was popular in the time of Cicero, who complains (Tusc. 3. 19) of his being preferred to Ennius by the taste of the day, and elsewhere (De Div. 2. 64) speaks of his obscurity, a common Alexandrian vice, which, however, seems to have recommended him to Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 70). [*Calchidico* Med. Pal.—H. N.]

51.] 'Modulabor,' 5. 14. The image by which the change is expressed is that of setting to tune or playing verses already composed.

52.] 'Spelea,' σπήλαια, a word which seems not to occur again till Claudian (B. Get. v. 354), who doubtless copied Virgil, unless we except the author of the Ciris (v. 466).

53.] 'Malle,' rather than live a soldier's life. 'Pati,' absolutely. "Disce sine armis Posse pati," Lucan 5. 313, "Et nescis sine rege pati," Id. 9. 262, quoted by Emm.—as we should say, 'to get through life.' 'Amores' used as Ovid uses it as the title of his poems. Perhaps it may have been the title of Gallus' elegies, as the words of Serv. (on v. 1) are "amorum suorum de Cytheride libros scripsit quatuor." With the whole passage comp. Prop. 1. 18. For carving verses on trees see 5. 13.

54.] Heyne comp. Ov. Her. 5. 23, "Et quantum trunci, tantum mea nomina crescent: Crescite, et in titulos surgite recta meos." Perhaps Virg. may mean, as Voss thinks, not merely that the verses will grow with the tree, but that the passion will increase.

55.] He will throw himself into the hunting part of a shepherd's life (2. 29 note). 'Mixtis Nymphis,' a common variety for 'mixtus.' "Mixtoque insania

luctu," A. 10. 871. The nymphs of the wood and mountain would take part in the chase, as when they attend on Diana, Od. 6. 105. 'Lustrare' need not refer specially to dancing, as Voss thinks, though that may have been the motion in the chase (comp. A. 1. 499). With the passage generally comp. G. 3. 40 foll.

56.] 'Aut' merely distinguishes the actual chase from its preliminaries. So A. 1. 322, "errantem . . . succinctam . . . aut apumantis apri cursum clamore prementem."

57.] 'Parthenios,' Dict. Geogr., agrees with the Arcadian scenery. 'Canibus circumdare saltus,' G. 1. 140. See on 6. 56.

58.] 'Lucusque sonantis,' with the cry of the hunt (G. 3. 43). The same words occur G. 4. 364, where the noise is that of water.

59.] 'Partho' and 'Cydonia' ("Gnosia spicula," A. 5. 306), the Cretan reeds being especially good for arrows, are probably literary epithets (note on 1. 54). 'Cornu' for a bow of horn, A. 7. 497. See the description of Pandarus' bow, Il. 4. 105 foll. 'Torquere,' improperly used of shooting an arrow, as in A. 5. 497.

60.] In the full burst of his enthusiasm he feels that he is deluding himself, as Heyne remarks. 'Sint' was adopted by Heyne after Heins. from Med., but Wagn. justly regards this as a case of the confusion of numbers, not uncommon even in the best MSS. (see on 6. 30), 'haec' having been wrongly supposed to refer to 'spicula.'

61.] 'Ille,' whom we know so well—too well to think him capable of pity. So 'illum,' v. 64.

Iam neque Amadryades rursus nec carmina nobis
Ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite silvae.

Non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,

Nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus

65

Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,

Nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,

Aethiopum versemus oves sub sidere Cancri.

Omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori.

Haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,

70

Dum sedet et gracili fiscellam textit hibisco,

62—69.] 'No, woodland and song are delusions after all; love is not to be baffled by the most violent change of scene—we have only to give way to him.'

62.] 'Iam' expresses that the change of feeling is already begun. 'Amadryades,' referring to the nymphs of v. 55. 'Rursus' is restored by Wagn. here and in the next line from Pal. Rom. and corrections in Med., with the remark that in the best MSS. 'rursus' is generally found only before a vowel. ['Amadryades,' the uncials.—H. N.]

63.] 'Ipsae' emphasizes the second negative clause, as in A. 4. 601, "non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro Ascanium?" Songs had formerly been his especial passion. So 'ipsae silvae,' because it is the whole of woodland life that he quarrels with. 'Concedite.' "Concedite atque abscedite, omnes de via decedite," Plaut. Amph. 3. 4. 1: a less courteous phrase than "vivite silvae," 8. 59.

64.] 'He is not one on whom any hardships of ours (see the preceding and succeeding verses) can work a change.' Both hardship and effort seem included in 'labores' here. 'Mutare,' of effecting a change in a person, A. 5. 679, 12. 240. The sentiment resembles that of Horace's well-known line, "Caelum non animum," &c.

65.] Imitated from Theocr. 7. 111. where the subject is a menace to Pan. The Hebrus, spoken of by Hor. 1 Ep. 3. 3, as "nivali compede victus," was, as Forb. remarks, one of the first ice-bound rivers which the Romans had encountered in their expeditions. Virg. may be thinking of hunting in winter, as in v. 56, but there is nothing to fix it definitely.

66.] 'Sithonia,' Dict. Geogr. "Memphim carentem Sithonia nive," Hor. 3 Od. 26. 10. The second syllable is long in Hdt. 7. 122, but shortened by Lycophron v. 1357 and the Latin writers. 'Aquosae,'

as Wagn. observes, is an epithet of an Italian rather than of a Thracian winter. "Dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion," A. 4. 52. "Torquet aquosam hiemem," A. 4. 671. "Frigoribus mediis" belongs to this line as well as the former, as 'Hebrumque' seems to show. See however on G. 2. 119.

67.] 'When the elm is paroled to the quick,' 'liber' being the inner bark. 'Liber moriens,' however, is a somewhat extravagant expression, and it may be worth while suggesting as a possibility that 'aret Liber' may be the true reading. Comp. 7. 57, "Aret ager: vitio moriens sitit aëris herba: Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras." The elm and vine together would not be more inappropriate in Aethiopia than the elm alone, if Virg. means any thing more by the clause than to mark the time.

68.] 'Should ply a shepherd's calling in Aethiopia,' as Pan in Theocr. l. c. is told *παρ' Αἰθιοῶσσι νομῆτοισι*, with reference rather to his own habits than to their fitness for the country. 'Versemus,' perhaps a translation of the Greek *πολεῖν*: though the word was doubtless chosen to express the long weary wanderings of a shepherd in the desert, for which Voss refers to G. 3. 339 foll. 'Cancri': "Aestus erat mediusque dies, solisque vapore Concavalitorea fervebant brachia Cancri," Ov. M. 10. 126.

69.] 'Since love conquers every thing, change of climate, occupation and all, why should I hold out?' Med. has 'vincet,' Rom. 'vicit.'

70—77.] 'So much for my pastoral song for Gallus; may it be worthy of my ever-growing love for him! A shepherd must not remain in the shade too long, and the flock must be driven home.'

70.] 'Divae' see on v. 9.

71.] 'Hibisco,' 2. 30. Basket-work is

Pierides; vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,
 Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas,
 Quantum vere novo viridis se subicit alnus.
 Surgamus; solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra; 75
 Iuniperi gravis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.
 Ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.

the shepherd's employment for idler hours. See on 2. 71. The object of the 'fiscella' is shown by the imitation in Tibull. 3. 15, "Tum fiscella levi detexta est vimine iunci, Raraque per nexus est via facta sero." See also Col. 7. 8.

72.] 'Slight as this is, you will make it of highest worth for Gallus,' will give it a peculiar charm in his eyes: "quae Maxima semper Dicetur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper," A. 8. 271.

73.] 'My love for Gallus grows as fast, hour by hour, as the alder in spring,' Ursinus comp. Pind. Nem. 8. 40, ἀλγεραὶ δ' ἀπερτά, χαλκωπαῖς ἐέρσαις ὥς δτε δένδρεον ῥῖσαι. Pal. has 'hora,' which, if more than a slip, is an odd exaggeration.

74.] 'Vere novo,' as the growing time, G. 2. 323 foll. 'Se subicit,' ib. 19.

75.] 'Gravis umbra:' comp. Lucr. 6. 783, "Arboribus primum certis gravis umbra tributa Usque adeo, capitis faciant ut saepe dolores, Si quis eas subter

iacuit prostratus in herbis." 'Cantantibus,' to those who sit and sing under them—not with reference to any effect on the voice, as Dryden translates it.

76.] 'Iuniperi,' 7. 53. He is sitting then under a juniper. Martyn declares that the smell of the juniper is considered wholesome; but Heyne refers to Apoll. R. 4. 156, where Medea uses a branch of juniper as the vehicle for sprinkling her drugs on the dragon's eyes, as a proof that the ancients thought there was something prejudicial about it. "Nocent et frugibus umbrae," G. 1. 121. The fact seems mentioned here as a shepherd's way of confirming his statement—"It is bad singing in the shade: why, shade does harm to the crops."

77.] For the turn of the line comp. 1. 74., 7. 44; for the sense, 6. 85, 86. 'Venit,' of a star rising, as in 5. 82 of a wind getting up.

NOTE ON THE SCENERY ABOUT MANTUA.

Readers of Eustace's Classical Tour through Italy may remember that while asserting that "Virgil's pastorals ought in general to be considered not as pictures of real scenery . . . but as mere *lusus poetici* composed in imitation of Theocritus," he excepts the descriptive passages in the First, Seventh, and Ninth Eclogues, and discovers the place

qua se subducere colles

Incipiunt, mollique iugum demittere clivo

in the neighbourhood of Valeggio, "near which town they (the hills) begin to subside, and gradually lose themselves in the immense plain of Mantua." There, and nowhere else on the banks of the Mincius, he finds the rocks, crags, and mountains of the first Eclogue. (Tour, vol. i., pp. 217 foll., third edition.) I have applied to Mr. Keightley on the subject, and have pleasure in extracting part of the answer with which he has favoured me. "All I can tell you is that on my arriving in Mantua in company with two French gentlemen, whose sight was better than mine, we all ascended the Torre di Gabbia to view the surrounding country, which I swept with a good opera-glass, and we came, without a moment's hesitation, to the conclusion expressed in p. 15 of my Virgil. I had intended walking out to Pietola, but from the view I had of it I saw that it would be quite a work of supererogation. Next day a gentleman who resided in Cremona accompanied us to Milan, when, finding that he was a sportsman and was in the habit of traversing the country in all directions, I asked him about

rocks, &c., and he assured me there was no stone at all in the plain—nothing but *gesso*, sulphate of lime.”

I ought also to mention that, according to Eustace, “the ‘spreading beech’ still delights in the soil and adorns the banks of the Mincius in all its windings.”

So far as Virgil is concerned, it is obvious that the question is an unimportant one, as it is admitted on both sides that the scenery of the Eclogue is generally Theocritean, but that the actual features of the Mantuan district are represented in one or two exceptional instances.

ON
THE LATER BUCOLIC POETS OF ROME.

IF bucolic poetry found no cultivators at Rome before the time of Virgil, it does not seem to have enjoyed much more popularity afterwards. Wernsdorf (*Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. 2, *praef.* pp. vi, vii), who wonders that it should not have flourished more among a people originally sprung from shepherds and preserving the recollection of their origin by annual festivals, and inclines to lay the blame on the luxurious temper of the great city, as being naturally antagonistic to a taste for rustic simplicity, is sufficiently explicit in his testimony to the fact, stating that no trace can be discovered of the existence of any bucolic writer after Virgil earlier than Calpurnius, while the pastoral poets of a later period, with the exception of Nemesianus, who, in his view, as we shall see, is not really one of them, are inelegant and hardly worth reprinting. Calpurnius and Nemesianus themselves cannot be said to stand high in the list of post-Augustan authors; but as they happen to fall within the classical period, as commonly understood, and conform more closely than their successors to the Theocritean or Virgilian type in the treatment of their subject, perhaps a brief account of them may not be unacceptable.

At the outset we are met by a critical question, affecting the authorship of the works which bear their name. These amount jointly to eleven pastorals, most of them averaging less than one hundred lines. All of them were assigned by the five first editions, following the majority of the MSS., to a single writer, T. (or, as the first edition gives it, after one MS., C.) Calpurnius Siculus. The sixth edition, '*impresum Parmae per Angelū Ugoletū*,' without a date, but referred by Ulitius to the year 1500, made a division of the authorship, attributing the seven first pastorals to Calpurnius, the remaining four to [M. Aurelius Olympius] Nemesianus, on the authority of a 'most ancient and correct' MS. from Germany belonging to Thadaeus Ugoletus. It also prefixed a title to the bucolics of Calpurnius, inscribing them to this same Nemesianus. This arrangement seems to have been followed almost unhesitatingly by subsequent editors till the time of Janus Ulitius, who, in his '*Venatio Novantiqua*' (Elzevir, 1645, an edition of the didactic writers on hunting, together with the pastorals of Calpur-

nus and Nemesianus), stated reasons for restoring the whole to Calpurnius. The tide now turned: Burmann, in the preface to his *'Poetae Latini Minores'* (Leyden, 1731), accepted Ulitius' view, though, like him, he did not venture in his text to disturb the received division; and Wernsdorf, fifty years afterwards, in his preface cited above, and in an introductory essay on Calpurnius and his *Eclogues*, enforced the same doctrine by an array of arguments which till very lately were generally supposed to have set the question at rest. The main considerations on which he relies are the absence of any mention of Nemesianus as a pastoral writer by Vopiscus, who alludes to his other works, as well as by the earlier scholars after the revival of learning, the fact that no MS. containing his undisputed works contains these pastorals, the insufficiency of a single MS. authority, the self-contradictory character of the testimony supplied by the Parma edition, which apparently shows that in that single MS. the arrangement had been tampered with by a later hand, the similarity of the style of the two sets of poems, *'ut lac lacti simillimus,'* and the probability that Calpurnius would write neither more nor less than eleven pastorals, that being the number of the *Idyls* of Theocritus which may fairly be called rustic proper—an argument somewhat recondite in itself, and depending on a proposition which has itself to be supported by a good deal of wire-drawn reasoning, of too special a character to be detailed here. So matters appear to have stood till the publication of Maurice Haupt's *'De Carminibus Bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani Liber'* (Leipsic, 1854). In this monograph, which in its comprehensive knowledge and ingenuity of conjecture is a fair specimen of the best German scholarship of our day, the divided authorship of these *Eclogues* is strongly asserted. Rejecting considerations grounded on the literary character of the several poems as too dependent on individual taste to furnish material for argument, the writer points out one remarkable peculiarity which discriminates the undisputed Calpurnian *Eclogues* from the others, the absence of elisions in any foot but the first, most of the few apparent exceptions being shown either to arise from strange readings, or to be such as really prove the rule—a degree of strictness transcending that of Tibullus, Lygdamus, and Ovid, who are particular only not to elide long vowels after the first foot, whereas Calpurnius does not elide long vowels at all. From this positive proof of a distinction of authors, a proof all the stronger as being furnished, as it were, unconsciously by the poems themselves, he proceeds to controvert Wernsdorf's arguments for identity. The argument drawn from the supposed number of the rustic *Idyls* of Theocritus he meets not only by denying the proposition on which it rests, but by showing how easily a counter argument might be constructed to prove that Calpurnius wrote only

seven Eclogues, because, according to Servius, only seven of Virgil's are rustic proper. Wernsdorf had passed lightly over an apparent objection to his theory founded on the similarity of passages in the earlier Eclogues to passages in the later, alleging other instances in which poets repeat themselves: Haupt contends that this apology does not touch the case of the third and ninth Eclogues, the latter of which is an obvious though unskilful imitation of the former. Having thus, as he conceives, shown that the poems in question cannot be by Calpurnius, he endeavours to prove that they are rightly attributed to Nemesianus, pointing out some resemblances between them and Nemesianus' *Cynegetica*, and urging that the silence of Vopiscus is not of that kind which would establish a negative. He shows that the MS. evidence for divided authorship, instead of resting on a single copy, is really supported by two others, one of them the best of all, the Neapolitan, and by the tradition of a third; while he considers the inscription of Calpurnius' Eclogues to Nemesianus to have arisen from a confusion between the concluding 'Explicit Calpurnii bucolicon' and the opening 'Aurelii Nemesiani Carthaginiensis bucolicon incipit,' which would follow it immediately, and cites other instances of similar amalgamations by transcribers. Lastly, he separates the two poets, who had been previously supposed to be contemporaries, by a gulf of more than two centuries, leaving Nemesianus at the date to which he is commonly fixed by external evidence, the date of the emperor Carus and his sons, and advancing Calpurnius, whose ordinary date rests partly on the inscription to Nemesianus mentioned above, partly on an arbitrary identification of him with a certain Junius Calpurnius, named by Vopiscus as the emperor's 'magister memoriae,' to the time of Nero, to whose reign he points out several allusions in the Eclogues. Without presuming to affirm or deny the validity of this chain¹ of reasoning, I may perhaps be allowed so far to adopt Haupt's position as to speak of Nemesianus as the author of four out of the eleven pastorals.

Calpurnius' first Eclogue is a sort of imitation of the Pollio, introduced by a dialogue between two shepherds, brothers, Ornitus and Corydon, who, as they take refuge from the heat in a cave sacred to Faunus, observe some verses carved on a beech-tree, apparently, so it is intimated, by the prophetic god himself. In these verses Faunus, in language reminding us sometimes of Virgil's *Daphnis*, sometimes of Jupiter's speech to Venus in *Aeneid* 1, sometimes again of the portents at the end of *Georgic* 1, announces that the golden age has come, that justice has returned under the auspices of the youth who became a pleader

¹ Mr. Merivale (*Hist.*, vol. vii, p. 41) thinks Haupt's arguments about the date of Calpurnius inconclusive, and contends that the allusion to the emperor at the end of the seventh Eclogue "points much better to Domitian." On the other hand, Mr. Greswell believes the emperor in question to be the youngest Gordian.

in his mother's arms—an allusion, Haupt thinks, to the early forensic efforts of Nero—that civil war shall be bound in chains, the senate no longer be sent to the block, and civic honours no more be a mockery—in confirmation of which blissful prediction he points to the meteor, then shining, not with a bloody glare, but in a clear sky. The brothers receive the intimation with becoming awe, and resolve to record the verses, in the hope that Meliboëus—perhaps Seneca, perhaps, as Haupt thinks more probable, C. Calpurnius Piso—may convey them to the ears of Augustus. The MSS. give this Eclogue the somewhat inappropriate title *Delos*, which may have arisen, as Wernsdorf suggests, from an association in the transcriber's mind between the prophetic island and prophecy of any sort.

The second Eclogue is called *Crocale*, from a maiden with whom Astacus, a gardener, and Idas, a shepherd, are in love, and whom they accordingly celebrate in amoebean strains, with their respective produce as the stakes, Thyrsis as the umpire, and Faunus and the Satyrs, the Dryads and Naiads, “sicco Dryades pede, Naides udo,” and all nature, animate and inanimate, as the audience. They appeal to their patron gods, talk of their respective occupations, vie with each other in offers to any deity who will bring the absent Crocale, enumerate their wealth, boast of their personal attractions, and finally are each reminded that it is time to go home. Thyrsis pronounces them equal in the following words :

“Este pares, et ob hoc concordēs vivite : nam vos
Et decor, et cantus, et amor sociavit, et ætas.”

The third Eclogue, entitled *Exoratio*, is pronounced by Scaliger to be “merum rus, idque inficetum :” and certainly, though its coarseness may be paralleled from Theocritus, it is not what we should have expected from an imitator of Virgil. Iolas, on asking another shepherd, Lycidas, after a stray heifer, finds that he can think of nothing but Phyllis, who has deserted him. Lycidas had discovered her under a tree, singing with his rival Mopsus, and inflicted personal chastisement on her : on which she had run off to her friend Alcippe, declaring that she would live with Mopsus for the future. The forsaken lover now wishes for her back on any terms, and bethinks himself of sending her a poetical entreaty, which Iolas good-naturedly offers to convey. It is accordingly recited by Lycidas, and taken down by Iolas on cherry-bark—a piteous composition, describing the lover's desolate condition, reminding Phyllis of her past pleasure in his society, comparing his personal attractions and his wealth with those of Mopsus, offering to let her bind his vindictive hands—hands which nevertheless had given her many presents—sneering at Mopsus' poverty, and finally threatening that the lover will hang himself in the event of rejection from the

tree which first made him jealous. Iolas promises to report it, and is rewarded at the same moment by the sight of his heifer, which he kindly sets down as an omen of his friend's success.

The fourth Eclogue, *Caesar*, is again political. Meliboeus, the shepherd-poet's patron, finds Corydon meditating a more than rustic song in praise of Caesar, a design in which his younger brother Amyntas is also anxious to join. The patron reminds Corydon that he had often warned his brother against the thriftless occupation of singing, and is told that it is his own kindness which has placed them both above want, and has given them the means of thinking of such pursuits. As the lines may, perhaps, possess some biographical interest, though the images are obviously borrowed from Virgil's first Eclogue, it may be worth while to quote them, by way of a specimen of the poet's manner :

"Hæc ego, confiteor, dixi, Meliboeë : sed olim :
 Non eadem nobis sunt tempora, non Deus idem :
 Spes magis adridet. Certe ne fraga rubosque
 Colligerem, viridique famem solarer hibisco,
 Tu facis, et tua nos alit indulgentia farre.
 Tu, nostras miseratus opes docilemque iuventam,
 Hiberna prohibes ieiunia solvere fago.
 Ecce nihil querulum per te, Meliboeë, sonamus,
 Per te secura saturi recubamus in umbra,
 Et fruimur silvis Amaryllidos, ultima nuper
 Litora terrarum, nisi tu, Meliboeë, fuisses,
 Ultima visuri, trucibusque obnoxia Mauris
 Pascua Geryonis, liquidis ubi cursibus ingens
 Dicitur occiduas impellere Baetis harenas.
 Sollicet extremo nunc vilis in orbe iacerem,
 A dolor ! et pecudes inter conductus Iberas
 Inrita septena modularer sibila canna,
 Nec quisquam nostras inter dumeta Camenas
 Respiceret, non ipse daret mihi forsitan aurem,
 Ipse Deus, vacuum, longeque sonantia vota
 Sollicet extremo non exaudiret in orbe."

Meliboeus, after deprecating an expression in which Corydon apparently speaks of himself as successor of the great Tityrus (doubtless Virgil), consents to listen to an amoebæan song from the brothers in honour of the emperor. They invoke Caesar, speak of his superhuman power in calming the woods, rendering the cattle prolific, and fertilizing the country, of the freedom to dig treasure and celebrate rural festivities, and the general security enjoyed under his reign, and finally hope that this Deity may live and rule for ever on earth. Meliboeus compliments them on the improvement in their singing which the change of subject has produced, and Corydon in return hopes that he will prove a second *Mæcenas* to a second Virgil, introducing him to the imperial city, and bidding him rise from rural to martial strains.

Mycon, the fifth Eclogue, is a kind of Georgic in a bucolic form. The person who gives it its title, an old shepherd, takes the opportunity of a mid-day sitting in the shade to lecture a young pupil on the care of sheep and goats, the times for grazing and milking, the cautions to be observed in shearing, the remedies for wounded sheep, the best kind of winter fodder, in a speech of 120 lines, rather closely studied after the third Georgic of Virgil.

A pastoral quarrel, *Litigium*, is the subject of the sixth Eclogue. Lycidas is informed by Astilus that he has just arrived too late for an amoebean contest between Nyctilus and Alcon, in which the latter has been conqueror. Lycidas has a different opinion of the prowess of the combatants, arraigns the judgment, and challenges the judge. A contest is agreed on, Astilus wagering a stag, Lycidas a horse, and Mnasyllus, the umpire, bids them sing of their respective loves. But a taunt from Lycidas rouses his rival, and they appear to be coming to blows, when they are stopped by Mnasyllus, who declines to have anything to do with this physical encounter, and ends an Eclogue, not unreasonably pronounced by Barth and Wernsdorf the most unsuccessful of Calpurnius' bucolic efforts.

In the seventh and last Eclogue, to which a transcriber has given the not very appropriate title of *Templum*, the chief speaker is a shepherd, newly returned from town, and full of a show which he has seen in the amphitheatre, where he has been particularly struck with the beauty of the building and the variety of the wild beasts. He is congratulated on being young when this glorious age is beginning, and questioned about the personal appearance of the imperial deity. The answer which he gives is complimentary enough as far as it goes, but conveys little information, and certainly forms rather an abrupt termination to an Eclogue assumed to be the last of the series.

"O utinam nobis non rustica vestis inesset !
Vidissem propius mea numina : sed mihi sordes,
Pullaque paupertas, et adunco fibula morsu
Obfuerunt. Utumque tamen conspeximus ipsum
Longius, ac, nisi me decepit visus, in uno
Et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse putavi."

Nemesianus, who, if not Calpurnius, was certainly an imitator of Calpurnius, makes his first Eclogue a funeral poem on Meliboeus, an exalted personage resembling the Meliboeus of his prototype. Tityrus is asked by Timetas to sing, but excuses himself on account of his age, and begs that the author of the request, who has become recently distinguished by a victory over Mopsus, will himself perform the task, taking as his subject the death of their common friend. Timetas complies, having recently composed an epicedium which he has inscribed

on the bark of a neighbouring cherry-tree. Air, earth, and water are invoked to carry the lament to the ears of Meliboeus, whom the poet then proceeds to panegyrize.

"Longa tibi cunctisque diu spectata senectus,
 Felicesque anni, nostrique novissimus aevi
 Circulus, innocuae clausurunt tempora vitae.
 Nec minus hinc nobis gemitus lacrimaeque fuere,
 Quam si florentis mors invida pelleret annos.
 Nec tenuit talis communis causa querellas:
 Heu, Meliboe, iaces letali frigore segnis
 Lege hominum, caelo dignus, canente senecta,
 Concilioque Deum. Plenum tibi ponderis aequi
 Pectus erat: tu ruricolum discernere lites
 Adsueras, varias patiens mulcendo querellas.
 Sub te ruris amor, sub te reverentia iusti
 Floruit, ambiguos signavit terminus agros.
 Blanda tibi vultus gravitas, et mite serena
 Fronte supercilium, sed pectus mitius ore."

The usual topics then succeed: the gods of the country bring gifts in honour of the dead: trees and herds, 'nostra armenta,' repeat his name: for the sea and land will change their inhabitants, and the products of the seasons become confused, before Timetas will cease to sing of him. Tityrus compliments the singer, hints that the song may be the means of advancing him from a country life to a life in Rome, a species of promotion which these shepherds appear especially to desire, and finally reminds him that the hour is late. *Epiphunus* (*ἐπι-φунος*) is the title which the MSS. give to the poem—a curiously illiterate confusion of Greek and Latin.

The second Eclogue is entitled *Donace*, the name of a girl who has been removed by her parents from the passionate pursuit of two shepherd boys, Alcon and Idas, and whose absence they accordingly lament in amoebean strains. It is modelled to a certain extent on Calpurnius' second and third Eclogues, not without some exaggeration and coarseness of handling, which are due to the author himself. The images in which the lovers express their longing are, as usual, borrowed from Theocritus or Virgil: one recommends himself on account of his wealth, the other on the score of his personal appearance: one talks of all nature as blighted to him while *Donace* is away, the other reminds her that gods have led a shepherd's life: and evening as usual comes in to stop the singing. The only noticeable passage is about a tame nightingale, which Alcon has sent as a present to *Donace*, though the thought gains but little from its expression.

"Munera namque dedi, noster quae non dedit Idas,
 Vocalem, longos quae ducit, aëdona, cantus;

Quae, licet interdum contexto vimine clausa,
 Cum parvae patuere fores, oeu libera ferri
 Norit, et agrestis inter volitare volucres,
 Scit rursus remeare domum, tectumque subire
 Viminis, et caveam totis praeponere silvis."

It is noticeable that the two songs, which are continuous, are of exactly the same length, like those in Virgil's fifth and eighth Eclogues.

In the third Eclogue Nemesianus has imitated Virgil's sixth. Three shepherds find Pan asleep, take his pipe, and vainly try to perform on it: he awakes, and immediately offers to play, taking for his subject the praises of Bacchus, whose name the copyist has accordingly prefixed to the Eclogue. The song, which is of no great length, being given in the 'oratio recta,' not, like Virgil's, thrown into the form of a rapid summary, speaks of the birth and infancy of the god, and of the production of the grape, the first treading of which is described. There is considerable picturesque power in various parts of the song, which admits, as Wernsdorf remarks, of illustration from various extant gems. Here is a picture of the child in the arms of Silenus.

"Quin et Silenus parvum veneratus alunum
 Aut gremio fovet, aut resupinus sustinet ulnis,
 Et vocat ad risum digito, motuque quietem
 Adlicit, aut tremulis quassat crepitacula palmis:
 Cui deus adridens horrentis pectore setas
 Vellicat, aut digitis auris astringit acutas,
 Applauditive manu mutilum caput aut breve mentum,
 Et simas tenero collidit pollice nares."

Evening ends the Eclogue, which Fontenelle rather boldly pronounces to be superior in elegance of invention to its Virgilian prototype. It is difficult to see the appropriateness of the praises of Bacchus in the mouth of Pan, though they might have come with some grace from Silenus; while the pictorial features, being such as are found represented in works of art, may perhaps be due as much to artistic tradition as to the imagination of the poet.

The fourth Eclogue, *Eros*, is again amoebean, Mopsus and Lycidas singing of their loves, Meroe and Iolas. The strophes are short, five lines each, and each has the same burden, 'Cantet, amat quod quisque: levant et carmina curas.' The topics are, as usual, chiefly Theocritean and Virgilian, the transitoriness of beauty, the universality of passionate pursuit, the lover singing in the heat when all else is sheltered, and the employment of the various resources of magic. As in the eighth Eclogue of Virgil, there is no formal conclusion.

Such are the somewhat meagre products yielded by Roman bucolic poetry after Virgil's time—compositions as unreal as Virgil's own, with-

out that exquisite grace which makes us delight in the poem where we cannot recognize the genuine pastoral. A few other pieces of bucolic verse, included by Wernsdorf in his second volume, may perhaps be worth a few lines of mention. Citerius Sidonius Syracusanus (the suffix is noteworthy, as compared with that of Calpurnius) contributes an 'Epigramma de Tribus Pastoribus,' eight closely packed lines, specifying the antecedents, fortunes, occupations, ages, musical qualifications, loves, and love-presents of three shepherds. Severus Sanctus, 'rhetor et poeta Christianus,' has a dialogue in Asclepiad stanzas, 'de Mortibus Boum,' in which Buculus laments the loss of his cattle by an epidemic, finds that Tityrus' herds have escaped by being signed with the cross, and becomes himself a convert from Paganism to Christianity. One Vespa writes 'Iudicium Coci et Pistoris, indice Vulcano,' in which the baker and the cook extol their own art and depreciate each other's, in verses of no classical merit, but with some humour, the cook being told that he is responsible for the suppers of Thyestes and Tereus, and replying that his art supplies liver for Tityus, wings for Icarus, and beef for Europa. Last comes an Eclogue by the venerable Bede, 'Conflictus Veris et Hiemis, sive Cuculus,' Spring and Winter arguing in verse before a company of shepherds for and against the appearance of the cuckoo, till the judges, naturally enough, decide that the cuckoo shall come, and conclude, 'Salve, dulce decus, cuculus, per saecula salve.'

P. VERGILI MARONIS

• G E O R G I C O N

LIBER PRIMUS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE student of Virgil may be said to enjoy a singular advantage in the preservation of those works of Greek poetry which his author professes to have imitated. A few fragments are all that is left of that glorious body of lyric song which, after having been the delight of Greece, while Greece was yet a nation, lived again at Rome in the Odes of Horace, inspiring their spirit and dictating their metre. Still more scanty is our knowledge of the poems which are supposed to have served as models for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, such as the Hesiodic *Ἡοῖαι*¹ or the *Ἐρεποιοῦμενα* of Nicander. Not only may we suppose that we have lost the key to many thoughts, images, and phrases, which the possession of the Greek would have enabled us to clear up, but the whole relation of the Latin poems to their originals becomes a matter of inference and of vague conjecture. But in possessing Theocritus, Hesiod, and Homer, we may feel that we possess, as it were, the exciting causes of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. They do not indeed represent all the literary influences which must have told upon Virgil's genius, or disclose to us the origin of the peculiar manner in which he has conducted the work of imitation: but they show us what it was that in each successive case first stimulated his general conception of his subject—what it was that he admired in the literature of Greece, and sought to reproduce among his own countrymen: they enable us to judge of him not only as a poet, but as a critic of the poetry of others.

With regard to Hesiod, indeed, there is considerable reason to doubt whether we possess the whole of what Virgil set himself to copy. Various agricultural precepts are cited from Hesiod—for instance, about the culture of the olive and the vine—which find no place in the *Works and Days*, as we now read them; and though some of these may be disposed of by the consideration that the name of Hesiod was often loosely applied to any thing which might fall under the head of rural didactics, enough remains of a more strictly Hesiodic character to render some other hypothesis necessary—whether it be the popular German theory that the extant *Works and Days*, interpolated as the same authority pronounces them to be, represent only a part of the

¹ Mure's *Hist. of the Literature of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 378.

work which was read by Virgil, or the more cautious speculation of Colonel Mure,² who refers the unincorporated fragments to some of the lost poems traditionally ascribed to Hesiod, such as the *Astronomy* and the *Maxims of Cheiron*. Possibly Propertius³ may have been thinking of these when he addressed Virgil as repeating in song the directions of the old Ascræan bard, and telling of the plain in which the corn-crop grows greenest, the slope on which the grape clusters best, though it is equally likely that he simply intended to acknowledge the *Georgics* as a Hesiodic poem, characterizing them, not by any thing in Hesiod, but by their own argument as summed up in the exordium of the First Book. In any case, however, we may be sure that what we have lost bears no proportion in value, as a means of estimating the relations of Hesiod and Virgil, to what we have preserved. The recovery of the whole of Hesiod's poetry would doubtless supply us with illustrations of many passages in the *Georgics*: it is not needed to indicate and shadow forth, though it might possibly deepen, the contrast between the poet of Augustan Rome and the half-mythical minstrel of Boeotia.

[The *Works and Days* are the earliest classical representative of that species of poetry which is known as the Didactic; a variety which has been extensively cultivated in later times, and may be said to have flourished in England down to the end of the last century. Yet it is not too much to assert that a critic who wished to justify the disfavour with which didactic poetry is regarded by the writers and readers of the present day might find his strongest arguments in an examination of Hesiod's poem, not by attempting to derogate from its characteristic excellences, but by using it as a witness to show that the class of compositions of which it is a specimen was not calculated for permanence. Colonel Mure is not exceeding his customary modesty of theorizing when he delivers it as his opinion that⁴ "had prose composition been already popular in Hesiod's time, the *Works and Days* would probably have been embodied in that form." It is indeed obviously the product of a time when verse was the one mode of formal composition, recommending itself to the reader's memory by its portability, and to the writer's imagination, as differing most from that common every-day speech which it must have seemed impossible to invest with any artistic associations. Hesiod doubtless was sensible of the pleasures of a composer, and sought for such graces of imagery and style as lay within his horizon: but his first object was to enunciate those practical rules which

² Vol. ii. pp. 389, 390. 501 foll.

³ "Tu canis Ascræi veteris praecepta poetæ,
Quo seges in campo, quo viret uva iugo."

(Prop. 3. 26. 77, 78.)

⁴ Page 391.

he regarded as necessary to the conduct of life in an agricultural community. But after prose writing had come to be studied, didactic poetry of this kind was no longer possible. It might linger on among the uneducated: but among the cultivators of composition as an art, those who wished really to instruct were sure to write in prose. Theophrastus took the place of Hesiod by the same law which gave the chair of Xenophanes and Empedocles to Plato and Aristotle. The Hesiodic form however remained after its spirit had passed elsewhere. The union of practical teaching with the charms of versification continued to be attempted by writers who forgot to ask themselves under what circumstances that union had first been realized. It was easy to produce something more systematic than the *Works and Days*, while the discovery of images appropriate to rural life, yet not unsuited to the dignity of the Muse, furnished a sufficient employment to the poet's fancy. The poetical grammarians of Alexandria were naturally attracted to a species of composition which, though perhaps incompatible with a spirit of profound criticism, has peculiar points of affinity to the temper of a critical age: and the Alexandrianizing poets of Rome were not unwilling to follow the example. The *Phaenomena* of Aratus found at least two distinguished translators: Lucretius and Manilius gave the form and colour of poetry to the truths of science, Virgil and Horace to the rules of art; and the rear is brought up by such poets as Gratius, Nemesianus, and Serenus Sammonicus. In the so-called Augustan age of English literature the same causes were seen to produce the same effects. We had *Essays on Satire*, *Essays on Unnatural Flights in Poetry*, *Essays on Translated Verse*, *Essays on Criticism*, *Essays on Man: Arts of Preserving Health*, *Arts of Dancing*, and even *Arts of Cookery: the Chase*, and the *Fleece*, and the *Sugar-cane*. Some of these the world has forgotten: others are still read with pleasure, not however for the precepts contained in them, but for the terse language and polished verse in which those precepts are enforced. But whatever may be their beauties, the Hesiodic spirit is absent from one and all alike. If we are resolved to track it to its lurking-places in English poetry, we must ascend to times more nearly resembling Hesiod's own, when old Tusser could write, not for critics, but for farmers, and the *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* were received as respectable poetry because they were known to be good sense.

Colonel Mure rightly remarks^s that the *Works and Days* might be more correctly described as a *Letter of Remonstrance and Advice to a Brother*. It is round the grasping, lazy, improvident Perses, μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, as his brother calls him more than once, that the whole poem

gathers itself, parts of it, it is true, being connected with him somewhat loosely, but never absolutely detaching themselves from him. Hesiod invokes the Muses, but it is that they may tell him of Zeus, and induce the great Father to see that human justice is rightly awarded, while he himself speaks to Perses the words of truth. Perses is no Maecenas, who, though he may have suggested the subject of the song, is addressed in it merely as a sort of ideal reader: he is a wrong-doer in whose mind a change has to be wrought, for his own sake and for the sake of others, and legend, fable, and precept are employed by turns to bring him to a sense of past misconduct and present duty. The subject is introduced, as it were, by a fresh leaf out of the Theogony, in which, however, the mythological element is subordinated to the moral, a description of two goddesses of strife, whom we may distinguish in modern language as Discord and Emulation, the first the source of war and misery, the second of honourable endeavour. But the moral is for Perses, who is warned not to waste time which a busy man can ill spare on the false strife, forensic wrangling, but to have the question of his own and his brother's inheritance settled by impartial arbiters, not, as at the last trial of the suit, by judges whom he had bribed. For him, too, is told the legend of Prometheus and Zeus, showing how Pandora first brought evil among mankind, who had lived till then untroubled by hard toil and grievous sickness, and concluding thence that there is no way of escape from the eye of Zeus. That tale being over, Perses is asked if he will hear another, and bidden to lay it up deep in his heart. Then follows the narrative of the five ages, in the last of which men are now living, an evil time, when father shall be at variance with child, guest with host, friend with friend, and brother with brother; when justice and conscience shall not be found in the hands of men, but the base shall supplant the more noble, speaking crooked words, and shall swear a false oath. One more tale is told, a very brief one, addressed to kings and judges of the earth. It consists simply of a reply by a hawk to a nightingale struggling in his talons, and appealing for mercy, a reply which amounts to no more than that she is absolutely at his disposal and had better not resist; the intention doubtless being to put the case of oppression in all its naked repulsiveness, that human perverters of justice may understand and pause in their wrongful course. Passing from fable to a more direct mode of appeal, he again exhorts both Perses and the judges. The former is bidden to "look on this picture and on this;" on the flourishing city of the just, where there are peace and festal doings, where the oak carries acorns at its top and honey at its core, where the children resemble their parents, and none go on shipboard, for earth produces fruit enough; and on the unjust nation, which is ever wasted

by famine and pestilence, ever cursed with barrenness in its homes, ever feeling the hand of Zeus in the loss of its broad armies, of its walls, or of its ships at sea. The latter are told that there are thirty thousand heavenly watchers over the affairs of men, who walk abroad over the earth, clad in mist, to see the right and wrong that are done, and that Justice when outraged by human crime sits down by her father Zeus, and talks to him of the perverse heart of man, that a people may suffer for the unrighteousness of its kings. And now he quits justice, and dilates with equal emphasis and at still greater length on the second part of his thesis, the duty of work. The two are indeed closely connected, as the opposition is between living on others and living by a man's own exertion. The easy path of vice is contrasted in lines that have become famous, with the up-hill path of virtue, steep and rugged at first, but smooth when the ascent has once been mastered, "Work then, Perses," he continues, "like a man of gentle blood as thou art, that famine may hate thee as its foe, and august Demeter of the bright crown may love thee and fill thy granary with sustenance." One terse proverbial saying follows another, to illustrate the broad distinction between the working and the unworking life: "Shame is found with poverty, boldness with wealth: gain from the hand of rapine is not good, gain from heaven's hand is far better:" while other maxims of virtue and prudence are intermixed, against violations of social and family ties, on neighbours, on gifts, on spending and saving, on women and children, ending with the assurance that if Perses' heart is set on wealth, he must work, work upon work. From this point the precepts assume a more definite and business-like character in reference to agricultural life. The rising of the Pleiades is the signal for reaping, their setting for ploughing. A man should strip to sow, strip to plough, strip to reap, if he would have every thing come up in its season, and not go begging to his neighbours. "It was thus that thou camest to me even now: but I will give thee nought; work, foolish Perses, work the work that the gods have assigned to men, that thou mayest not have to ask from others in vain: twice or thrice thou mayest obtain: but if thou troublest them further, thou wilt gain nought, and lose many words." A house, a female slave, an ox, and household stuff are what a man should provide for himself, and that without delay, for delay fills no granaries. The rainy season of autumn is the time when wood is cut best: it is then that the various parts of the plough should be shaped, each from its proper tree. Two oxen nine years old should be chosen for yoking together, and the ploughman should not be under forty years: a younger man is always flying off to his companions. The cry of the crane is the signal for ploughing: before that every thing should be in readiness. "It is easy to say, Lend

me your oxen and your plough: and it is as easy to reply, My oxen have their own work to do." Slave and master alike should put to their hand, the master guiding the plough, not without prayers to Zeus and Demeter, while the slave a little behind gives trouble to the birds by covering the seed well up. The winter is the time for social meetings: but such things are not for idle waiters on fortune. While it is yet summer, a man should warn his slaves, "Summer does not last for ever: make barns for the corn." But all should avoid the wintry sleet, that pierces even the fur of shaggy beasts, the hide of the ox, and the hair of the goat, but cannot reach the sheep through its thick wool, nor penetrate the tender skin of the maiden that sits at home with her mother, or lies warm in bed, well bathed and anointed. Then is the time to go warm clad and thick shod, finish work early, and get home before the storm. At the rising of Arcturus the vines are to be pruned before the swallow appears; but when House-carrier⁶ (the snail) leaves the earth and mounts the trees, then the sickle should be sharpened and the slaves called early. "Morning cuts off a third of the day's work: morning makes way in travelling, and makes way in working—morning, whose dawn sets many a man on his road, and puts the yoke on many an ox." But when the thistle is in blossom, and the cicada pours its midsummer song from the trees, weary man must look for enjoyment, for a rock to shelter him, milk and wine to drink, and beef and kid's flesh to eat. As soon as Orion rises, the corn should be winnowed: that done, the slave should be turned out, and a spinster without a child fetched in, and the watch-dog fastened up for fear of thieves. When Orion and Sirius are in mid-heaven, let the grapes be gathered: when the Pleiades and Hyades and Orion set, it is time to think of ploughing again. But it is a bad time for having a ship at sea, if Perses should think of sailing, as well he may, seeing that his father and Hesiod's sailed from Cyme to Ascra, a bad dwelling-place either in winter or summer, all that he might fly from poverty. For himself, Hesiod owns that he has had no great experience in ships: he has had a single voyage from Aulis to Euboea, when he went to Chalcis and won a tripod with ears there as a singing-prize: still, the Muses have inspired him, and he will give directions about this also. The best season for sailing is at the end of summer, but the mariner must hasten back and avoid the autumn rains: the other time is in spring, when the leaves at the end of the spray have grown to the length of a crow's foot: he will not, however, recommend it, as there is danger, though men persist in braving it, and it is terrible to die at sea. From sailing he passes to marrying, and from marrying to many smaller moralities and decencies.

⁶ *φερέοικος*, one of a number of descriptive adjectives which Hesiod converts into substantives, like Aeschylus' ἡ ἀμλάρτος, ἡ ἀνθεμουργός.

of life, his direction about which occupy more than fifty lines, the sum of the whole being a caution to avoid ill report. "Ill report is a light load to take up, but a heavy one to carry, and a hard one to shake off: for no report dies altogether which has been reported of many people: for it has something of the god in it." The last series of precepts is about the lucky and unlucky days of the month, which are enumerated with a fulness contrasting strangely with Virgil's brief notice of the subject. "Different men," concludes the old bard, "praise different days, but few have any knowledge: sometimes a day is a stepmother, sometimes a mother: wherefore blessed and happy is he that has knowledge of all, and works his work unblamed by the immortals, distinguishing omens, and avoiding occasions to transgress."

I have thought it worth while to give this sketch of Hesiod's poem, endeavouring to preserve something of its colour as well as its form, that it may be seen how far removed it stands in its rude simplicity from the pomp and circumstance of later didactic poetry, and how little Virgil understood of his author's genius or his own when he spoke of himself as singing the song of Ascrea through the towns of Rome. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, if modern criticism will allow us to enjoy them in their integrity, might easily be shown to possess most of those requisites which the writer of the *Aeneid* and the grammarians whom he not improbably followed doubtless considered the invariable elements of an epic poem: but even though the *Works and Days* should be judged to have successfully resisted the solvent power of German analysis, its relation as a whole to the *Georgics* must still be regarded as one of contrast rather than of similarity. But where a poet avows himself an imitator, traces of imitation are not likely to be wanting in his work: and though Virgil has not followed Hesiod as closely or as constantly as he has followed Theocritus or Homer, the instances of resemblance between them in points of detail are neither few nor equivocal. Even the pervading philosophy, if so it may be called, of the *Works and Days*, the philosophy of labour, reappears, with no perceptible loss of reality, as the animating soul of the *Georgics*, though the plain directness with which it is enforced in the one affords a significant contrast to the artful dexterity with which it is insinuated in the other. The picture of the Five Ages doubtless suggested Virgil's lines on the transition from the reign of Saturn to the reign of Jove, which in their turn supplied some hints to Ovid when he set himself to reproduce the Hesiodic narrative at the opening of his *Metamorphoses*. The story of Prometheus has no counterpart in Virgil, except so far as it may have taught him that an episode may furnish an agreeable relief in didactic poetry, and so have given rise to the narratives which conclude his third and fourth books; but the moral of the story, the duty of sub-

mitting to a dispensation in which those who would live must labour, is identical with the lesson which he draws from his briefer view of the legendary antiquities of his subject. The description of the plough is from Hesiod, though the later poet, in spite of his evident anxiety to attain exactness of detail, does not come up to the fulness of the earlier. The very meagreness of Virgil's paragraph about the lucky and unlucky days, whether it be true or no that the precise substance of it is borrowed from another writer,⁷ may induce us to surmise that he would not have given a paragraph to the subject at all, but for his deference to the example of Hesiod. The famous storm-piece in the *Georgics* was evidently suggested by the winter-piece in the *Works and Days*, both being introduced to warn the farmer of the dangers to which he is liable in his calling, while each is evidently intended by its author as a specimen of elaborate description, at the same time that it is curious to contrast Virgil's rapid enumeration of the more striking features of the scene, the continuous burst of rain, the levelling of the crops, the swelling of torrent and sea, the flashing of the lightning, the terror of man and beast, the fall of the mountain peak, and the howling of the wind, with the Dutch fidelity of drawing with which Hesiod represented a single point, the effect of the sleet on the animals, how it pierces some and fails to pierce others, and how the wilder sort scud to their dens, like an old man moving on three legs, with his back rather broken than bent, and his head looking down to the ground. Not less instructive is the parallel between the two poets in the lines where they speak of the coming in of the warm weather, "when lambs and goats are at their fattest, and wine at its mellowest." Mr. Ruskin might appeal to the sequel of the passage in Hesiod, the wish for a sheltering rock, and wine of Biblos, and a cake raised by yeast, and goat's milk, and the flesh of a cow that has not yet calved, and of firstling kids, as a proof of the utter subordination of any feeling of the picturesque in the early Greek mind to a sense of physical comfort; while it would be only just to note that Virgil, in talking of the pleasure of mid-day sleep, and of the thickness of the shadowing foliage on the mountains, has at any rate omitted the grosser and more purely corporeal accessories of meat and drink. Virgil may be said also to follow Hesiod in his natural calendar, generally fixing the time of the year by the rising or setting of some star, and once or twice noting the return of a season by the return of a bird, such as the stork or the swallow. As in the *Eclogues*, the stately march of his diction has in it nothing of agricultural simplicity; yet there are instances in which he has imitated the proverbial quaintness of some of

⁷ See note on l. 276.

Hesiod's sayings, and expressed an epigrammatic precept in language of no less point and terseness. Owing to the nature of the subject, the passages in which Virgil has directly copied Hesiod are almost entirely confined to the first two-thirds of the First Book of the Georgics. We may conjecture that he may have been indebted in later parts of the poem to lost Hesiodic writings, but we shall be conjecturing with few or no data. Enough however has been said to show that if the rural poetry of Virgil bears the impress of a genius unlike that which produced the rural poetry of Hesiod, it is not because the Roman poet made no attempt to model his work on the Greek.

The same good fortune which has preserved to us the most important of Hesiod's agricultural poems enables us to judge also of Virgil's obligations to another writer, whom he has nowhere named or acknowledged. In the *Phaenomena* and *Diosemeia*, or *Prognostics*, of Aratus, we have a specimen of the didactic poetry of the earlier Alexandrian school. Cicero, who translated both works, speaks of him in a well-known passage⁸ as a writer who, though ignorant of astronomy, made an excellent poem about the heavenly bodies; and one of the early notices of his life helps us to explain the apparent anomaly by telling us that his *Phaenomena* is a metrical paraphrase of a treatise by Endoxus, made at the request of his royal patron, Antigonus Gonnatas. He was in fact a metaphrastes, one of a class of writers not uncommon in the later times of Greek literature, who paraphrased the works of other authors, sometimes versifying a prose writer, at others transposing a poet, sometimes turning a hexameter poem into iambics, at others preserving the metre while they altered the words. Sometimes a successful paraphrase became in its turn the subject of metaphrastic ingenuity. Aratus himself was rewritten in iambics by one Marianus, an unwearied writer, who attempted similar reproductions of Theocritus, the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius, several poems of Callimachus, Nicander's *Theriaca*, and, as Suidas tells us, many others.⁹ Of the two poems now in question, if they are to be regarded as two, and not as one falling into two parts, Virgil has been but sparingly indebted to the first, the plan of the *Georgics* not leading him to attempt any description of the stars as they appear in heaven, which is the subject of the *Phaenomena*. But the other work, the *Diosemeia*, has been laid under heavy contributions, to furnish materials for that account of the

⁸ De Oratore 1. 16: "Etenim si constat inter doctos hominem ignarum astrologiae, ornatissimis atque optimis versibus, Aratum, de caelo stellisque dixisse, si de rebus rusticis hominem ab agro remotissimum, Nicandrum Colophonium, poetica quadam facultate, non rustica, dixisse praeclare, quid est, cur non orator de rebus iis eloquentissime dicat, quas ad certam causam tempusque cognorit?"

⁹ See O. Schneider's *Nicandrea* (Leipsic, 1856), p. 202.

prognostics of the weather which occupies the latter part of Virgil's First Book. The very first words of Aratus' poem, οὐχ ὁράας, evidently suggested the familiar appeal *nonne vides*, which Virgil, in imitation of Lucretius, introduces more than once in the Georgics. The whole of the prognostics that follow, signs of wind, signs of rain, signs of fair weather, signs from sounds by land or by sea, signs from the flight, the motion, or the cry of birds, signs from the actions of beasts, reptiles, and insects, signs from the flames of lamps, and the appearances on water, signs from the sun and moon at their rising and at their setting, are all given nearly as Aratus has given them, though the manner in which they are dealt with is Virgil's own. We know not how closely Aratus may have followed his original, if indeed he had an original in this as in his other poem; but however much or however little scientific precision may have suffered from his language, which is that of a tolerably successful imitator of the old epic style, somewhat diffuse, but on the whole perspicuous, and not greatly over-wrought, the arrangement of his subject is sufficiently like that which we should expect to see in a prose treatise, so that the charms of variety are occasionally sacrificed to the claims of practical utility, the same thing being mentioned more than once where it happens to belong to more than one cluster of phenomena. But Virgil pushes the right of a poet over his materials far beyond Aratus. He delights in the profusion of picturesque images which is to be found in Aratus' collection of prognostics, and he makes free use of them for his own purposes; but those purposes are rather poetical than properly didactic. If the reader is not wearied, it matters little that he is left in ignorance of part of what it concerned him to know. Any one who will compare the hundred and fourteen lines in the Diosemeia, on the signs given by the moon and the sun, with the thirty-seven in the First Book of the Georgics on the same topic, will see at once that the two writers must have proposed to themselves different objects. The first thought of the one was to communicate information; the first thought of the other was to impart pleasure.

In the case of a third writer whom Virgil is supposed to have imitated, circumstances have been less favourable to us. Quintilian, in the well-known chapter in which he reviews the various authors of Greece and Rome, asks whether Virgil can be called an unsuccessful follower of Nicander. But of Nicander's Georgics, which is evidently the work referred to, we possess only fragments; and these, with the exception of one or two of the least important, relate to any part of the subject rather than to those of which Virgil has chosen to treat—to such trees as the beech, the mulberry, the palm, and the chestnut, to turnips, and gourds, and cabbages, to flowers of all kinds, and to

pigeons. We may agree with the last editor of the Nicandrea¹, that notwithstanding these specimens of his work, Nicander probably went over much the same ground as Virgil, only taking a more comprehensive view of his subject; but we have only Quintilian's authority for surmising that the resemblance between the two poems extended beyond the name. Equally tantalizing is the condition of our knowledge about another work by Nicander, the *Μελισσουργικά*, the title of which promises to throw a flood of light on Virgil's Fourth Book, while the notices of it that have been preserved merely tell us that the author used *θύμος*, thyme, as a masculine noun, that he applied the verb *εὐφορέω*, if the reading is right, to the drones, in what connexion we know not, and that he placed the original birth-place of the bees in Crete, in the days of Saturn—the last point, at any rate, being one in which Virgil may seem to have followed his example. But if we are ignorant of those works of Nicander about which, as students of Virgil, we should have most wished to be informed, we can at any rate satisfy ourselves as to the general character of the poet by looking at his two extant productions, the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*. Like Aratus, he appears to have been a metaphrastes; like him, he appears to have been honoured after his death by having his works subjected to the same process which he had tried on those of others; and he receives from Cicero a similar equivocal compliment, that he had written admirably on agricultural subjects, without ever having had the slightest connexion with agriculture. But though the translator of Aratus includes them in the same eulogy, they appear to have received very different degrees of consideration. One of the points on which the latest editor of Nicander has laboured most is to prove that his author was never much read. 'Nicander parum lectus' is a thesis which is dilated on more than once in his *Prolegomena*. The poet had his metaphrastes; he had his scholiasts; he seems even to have had his interpolators; but he was but little read, even by those who, journeying over the same ground, might have been expected to avail themselves of the notes of a former traveller. Dioscorides, Celsus, Scribonius Largus, Galen, Serenus Sammonicus, Oribasius, Aetius Amidenus, Paulus Aegineta, Theophanes Nonnus, and Ioannes Actuarius, are successively passed under review, to show that they attended to Nicander very slightly or not at all. Nor can it be said that he is likely to receive from modern readers the favour which was denied him by those who approached more nearly to his own time. The interest which attaches to him is purely historical and philological. He is supposed to have lived ninety years after Aratus; and his language shows plain marks

¹ O. Schneider: from whose elaborate *Prolegomena* the following account is taken.

of an increasing corruption in taste. He wrote a work on γλῶσσαι, and his own poems contain many words which would fall under that category; terms borrowed from Homer, and used in questionable or altogether unauthorized senses; terms borrowed from the local usage of the different Greek nations, the Aeolians, the Aetolians, the Ambra-cians, the Cyprians, the Dorians, the Peloponnesians, and the Rhodians; terms invented by his own ingenuity, through the process of derivation or composition. The structure of the two poems, so far as I have examined them, seems to be not unlike that which is familiar to the readers of didactic poetry. Each commences with a brief address to the person to whom the poem is inscribed, and a brief statement of the subject, in the one case a description of noxious reptiles, and of the cures for their bites, in the other an account of edible and potable poisons and their remedies; each consists of a number of paragraphs of moderate length, apparently bearing a substantial resemblance to one another, connected by modes of transition which are not quite free from sameness, and occasionally relieved by some mythological or geographical notice; and each ends with a brief reference to the author, whom the person addressed is requested to bear in mind. In the Theriaca there are one or two passages which enable us to compare Nicander more closely with Virgil. The directions in the Third Book of the Georgics to get rid of serpents from the cattle-sheds by fumigation are to be found at the opening of Nicander's poem. Later in the poem occur a few lines on the Chersydros, which have supplied Virgil with the details of his picture of the baleful serpent which haunts the mountain lawns of Calabria. Every reader of the Georgics will recognize² the monster that at first under the wide-throated lake wages truceless war with the frogs, but when Seirius dries up the water, and the dregs at the bottom of the lake are seen, appears that moment on land, adust and bloodless, warming his grim form in the sun, and hissing with out-darted tongue makes a thirsty furrow as he goes.

The mention of these metaphrastae may perhaps indicate the right

² ὅς δ' ἦτοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ὑπὸ βροχθόδεϊ λίμνῃ
ἔσπειστον βατράχοιςι φέρεϊ κότον ἄλλ' ἔταν ὕδωρ
σείριος αἰήνησι, τρύγη δ' ἐν πυθμένι λίμνης,
καὶ τόθ' ὄγ' ἐν χέρσῳ τελέθει ψαφαρός τε καὶ ἔχρους,
θάλλων ἡελίφ βλοσυρὸν δέμας, ἐν δὲ κελεύθοις
γλώσση ποιφύγην νέμεται διψήρεας ὄγμους.

Theriaca, vv. 366—371 (ed. O. Schneider).

I am not sure that I have in all cases rightly interpreted the words, as in a writer like Nicander there is room for considerable differences of opinion: but I have endeavoured to render closely, so as to give some notion of his style.

point of view from which to regard Virgil's own work. Their characteristic was that they furnished metre and language to matter which had been collected by others; and any one who will read the Georgics, verifying the references made by the commentators, such as Heyne, to the prose writers on agriculture, will probably agree that this is substantially what Virgil has done. If he differs from them, it is that he passes from writer to writer, the extent of his subject suggesting that variety which his poetical feeling would lead him joyfully to embrace, that he selects and abridges, instead of simply reproducing, always with a view to poetical effect, and that he is far more partial to digressions and episodes—points of difference which only remove him still further than them from those authors who have written with a practical knowledge. It is certain that he gives few directions in any part of his subject which may not be found in some previous writer; it is, I think, no less certain that he occasionally appears to misapprehend the point of his own precept. The question is one on which I would desire to speak with all the humility of a person professing his own ignorance of agricultural details; but the instances of apparent mistakes which are mentioned from time to time in the notes, many of them pointed out by a commentator who professes to speak as a practical man, Mr. Keightley, seem to show that the supposed reality of the Georgics is as questionable as that of the Eclogues or the Aeneid. It is true that Pliny and, still more, Columella quote Virgil with the respect due to an original authority on matters of agriculture; but we may perhaps see a reason for distrusting their judgments when we consider that both of them have something of the rhetorician in their own composition, and so may be biassed in their estimate of an author who, as one of them has expressed it,^{*} first gave Roman agriculture the power of song. That Cicero at least would have considered the imputation as no reproach is evident from his language already more than once referred to, where his object is to vindicate for the orator that power of dealing with subjects only studied for the occasion which, he tells us, Aratus and Nicander have successfully asserted for the poet. But whatever may have been the extent of Virgil's special familiarity with agriculture, a criticism which professes to regard the Georgics simply in their poetical aspect may waive the discussion of Virgil's relation to the more practical writers who preceded him, Aristotle, Theophrastus, the earlier authors in the Geoponica, Cato, and Varro, and confine its view to those who, being poets themselves, are likely to have influenced in any way the production of a poem which readers ignorant of the simplest processes of

^{*} "Vergilium, qui carminum quoque potentem [agricolationem] fecit."

Columella, 1. 1. § 12.

farming may still study with wonder and delight. Of these the last, and perhaps the greatest, has yet to be noticed. I allude of course to Lucretius.

The poem on the Nature of Things could hardly be overlooked in speaking of the Georgics, even if there were no avowed connexion between the later work and the earlier. Not only is it the single instance of a Latin didactic poem produced by any predecessor of Virgil whose works have come down to us, but it is the only didactic poem of extant antiquity which can be put into comparison with the Georgics for largeness of scope and elaboration of structure. The Works and Days, as I have said, has few of the characteristics of systematic poetry: the poems of Aratus and Nicander embrace each a limited subject, which they handle nearly as it might be handled in a prose treatise. But it is the glory of Lucretius' poem, as it is the glory of the Georgics, that it is founded on a theme which in compass and variety is worthy to be the material of a great work of art, and that it considers that theme with a reference, more or less distinct and unvarying, to its capability of affecting the imagination. The one teaches the laws which govern the universe of nature, that man may cease to quail before an unknown power; the other teaches the appliances by which man may subdue the earth, and live in enjoyment of the simple blessings which nature confers: but both profess to go as deep as life itself, and both seek to impress the mind not only with principles of truth, but with images of beauty. But our interest in the parallel increases when we perceive that there is something in it more than mere coincidence. It is a singular thing that Virgil never mentions by name any of those whom he sets himself to imitate. Even in the Eclogues, where he talks of Pollio and Gallus, of Varius and Cinna,—nay, of Bavius and Maevius, he never names Theocritus, Bion, or Moschus, though we hear of the Sicilian Muses, the verse of Syracuse, and the shepherd of Sicily. In the Georgics he does not name Hesiod otherwise than by glancing at the song of Ascrea and the Aonian⁴ mount, while of Nicander and Aratus there is no hint whatever. The whole of the Aeneid passes without the slightest reference to Homer, though we have occasionally a glimpse of Virgil's own personality, and in one passage⁵ a distinct mention of Greek legends as they are treated in Greek tragedy. Thus it need excite no surprise that Lucretius is nowhere named in the Georgics, or even indicated by any epithet or circumlocutory expression. But there is one remarkable passage which speaks as plainly to any reader of the *De Rerum Natura*, as if Virgil had talked of Lucretius with the same directness with which

⁴ See note on Georg. 3. 11.

⁵ Aen. 4. 471.

Lucretius himself talks of Epicurus, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras. I mean those celebrated lines towards the close of the Second Book,⁶ where the poet prays first of all that the charming Muses, whose minister he is for the great love that has smitten him, would admit him of their company, and teach him the courses of the stars in heaven, the various eclipses of the sun, and the agonies of the moon, whence come quakings of the earth, what is the force by which the deep seas swell to the bursting of their barriers and settle down again on themselves, why the winter suns make such haste to dip in ocean, or what is the retarding cause which makes the nights move slowly;—and then, after adverting to the humbler pleasures of a country life, commemorates the happiness of the man who has gained a knowledge of the causes of things, and so trampled under foot all fears, and fate's relentless decree, and the roar of insatiate Acheron. It is in Lucretius' poem that eclipses, earthquakes, and the varying lengths of days in winter and summer, are discussed and accounted for: it is Lucretius himself who dilates on the beatific vision disclosed to the follower of the Epicurean system, when the terrors of the mind flee away, and the walls of the universe part asunder, and the mansions of the gods appear in calm, unclouded light, but the realms of Acheron are no more seen. Besides this direct recognition, the number of imitations of Lucretius contained in the Georgics is very great. Even Forbiger, who had edited Lucretius before he undertook Virgil, though he has gathered a copious harvest, has left some for a casual reader to glean: and I cannot doubt that an attentive student of Lucretius, who could perceive less obvious resemblances, would be able to collect many more. The invocation of Venus is perhaps rather to be contrasted than compared with the briefer addresses to the different rural gods which open the First Book of the Georgics, but it seems to have supplied a hint for the invocation of Bacchus which stands at the head of the Second, while Memmius, allowance being made for the greater diffuseness in which Lucretius throughout indulges, stands in nearly the same relation to the one poem as Maecenas to the other. The narrative of the plague of Athens, with which Lucretius concludes his poem, was obviously the model of the account of the pestilence in Northern Italy at the end of Virgil's Third Book. Nor, while we remark a general similarity in the structure of the paragraphs in which the strictly didactic portion of the two poems is contained, need we pass over the fact that Virgil is indebted to Lucretius for several of the formulæ with which he introduces these divisions of his subject—for the 'Principio,' for the 'Praeterea,' for the 'Nunc age,' for the 'Quod superest,' and for the 'Contemplator.'

⁶ Vv. 475 foll.

To inquire into the points of dissimilarity between the *De Rerum Natura* and the *Georgics* is virtually to inquire into the causes which have made the latter uniformly popular, while the former has been comparatively neglected. The answer is not to be found in the difference of their subjects. The materialism of Lucretius is cold and cheerless enough : but the details of ploughing and fallowing, of budding trees and training vines, of fattening bulls and curing sick sheep, are not in themselves more inviting, at least to an unprofessional reader. Nor can it be said that Lucretius fails, where such writers as Aratus and Nicander fail, from inferiority in poetical power. The invocation to Venus, the picture of the old age of the world, the expostulation of nature with the mortal who repines at his mortality, the portrait of the seasons and their attendants, and other passages that might be named, appeal to the imagination perhaps more strongly than any thing which can be adduced from the *Georgics*. But it is the artistic part of poetry—that which I have attempted to characterize in the Introduction to the *Eclogues*—which has the most enduring charm for the generality of readers : and there it is that Lucretius falls short and Virgil succeeds. Lucretius wrote before the modulation of the Latin hexameter was thoroughly understood, before the strength and weakness of the Latin language, ‘quid possit oriri, quid nequeat,’ had been sufficiently tested. Even in his finest passages the versification is monotonous, the diction cumbrous and diffuse : his lines follow each other with a certain uniformity, each containing a given portion of the sentence, instead of being fused together into a complex and inextricable harmony : the words are arranged in a prosaic order, adjectives and substantives coming together, though both may be terminated by the same sound : sometimes we are surprised by a new and startling metaphor, sometimes wearied by expressions which appear to be mere surplusage. In Virgil, on the contrary, the imagination may or may not be awakened, but the taste is almost invariably satisfied. The superiority of his versification to that of any earlier author whose works have come down to us is something extraordinary. His lines are as far removed from those of Lucretius or Catullus as Pope’s are, I do not say from Dryden’s, but from Spenser’s. Never harsh or extravagant, his language is at the same time never mean or trivial. The position of his words is a study in itself. Even where he takes a line or phrase from a previous writer, he incorporates it with a skill which, in the absence of evidence to the fact, might make us think that he is not appropriating another’s, but reclaiming his own. This difference is still more perceptible in the strictly didactic parts, the staple, in fact, of the two poems. Few of those who read the *De Rerum Natura* read it continuously : few, if any, of those who read the *Georgics* read them in any other way. There is however another

aspect in which the advantage is not on the side of Virgil. One great reason why Lucretius is found to be unreadable is his enthusiasm for his subject. Whether he thoroughly understood the Epicurean system is, I believe, doubted by some of those who have most right to raise the question: but no one will say that he did not embrace it with all the burning energy of deep conviction. Admitting the uncongeniality of his subject to Latin verse and its distastefulness to the vulgar, he has good hope that he shall be able to make it palatable to his friend: but he does not avoid philosophical detail for fear of being thought tedious or repulsive. If Memmius is weary, the remedy, he tells him, is not to hear less, but to hear more.

“Quod si pigraris paulumve recesseris ab re,
Hoc tibi de plano possum promittere, Memmi;
Usque adeo largos haustus e fontibu' magnis
Lingua meo suavis diti de pectorē fundet,
Ut verear ne tarda prius per membra senectus
Serpat, et in nobis vitæ claustra resolvat,
Quam tibi de quavis una re versibus omnis
Argumentorum sit copia missa per auria.”⁷

Virgil is equally conscious of a difficulty, though the manner in which he expresses it, while partially borrowed from another passage in Lucretius, is characteristically different.⁸ “For myself,” he says, “I too am well assured how hard the struggle will be for language to plant her standard here, and invest a theme so slender with her own peculiar glory: but there is a rapturous charm that whirls me along over Parnassus’ lonely steeps; a joy in surmounting heights where no former wheel has worn a way, no easy slope leads down to the Castalian spring.” “Angustus hunc addere rebus honorem:” such is the object which he proposes to himself: and the way in which he attains it is by keeping out of sight the more prosaic parts of his subject, substituting poetical ornament, as I have said elsewhere, for logical sequence, and too frequently preferring ambiguity to tedious repetition. He had to choose between the farmer and the reader: and in his consideration for the one he has sometimes forgotten the compassion which, at the very outset of his work,⁹ he professes to feel for the other.

But the question of the reality of the Georgics does not wholly depend on the value of the work as an agricultural treatise. It may be true that Virgil is an inaccurate farmer’s guide, yet true, also, that he is a warm and hearty lover of nature. This is a praise which is usually conceded to the Georgics without hesitation. Horace said that Virgil

⁷ Lucr. 1. 410—417.

⁸ Georg. 3. 289 foll. Comp. Lucr. 1. 136 foll.

⁹ Georg. 1. 41.

received the endowment of delicacy and artistic skill from the Muses of the country ; and the sentence which, in the mouth of its author, was merely the expression of a fact, has been accepted and repeated in later times as the announcement of a judgment. Now that Virgil has ceased to be regarded as the rival of Homer, it is common to represent him as the poet of rural life, who is to be estimated not by the ambitious task which imperial vanity thrust upon his manhood, but by the more simple and genial works to which he turned of himself in the freshness of youth. Such is the view which is enforced by Mr. Keble in his *Lectures on Poetry*.¹ That which especially distinguishes Virgil, it is eloquently maintained, is his ardent and irrepressible love of the country. Not only is it the animating soul of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, but it haunts him throughout the *Aeneid*, venting itself in a number of half-melancholy retrospects, and breaking out into "a thousand similes." He seems scarcely to wish to make his hero interesting, but he is never tired of illustrating epic situations by the characteristic beauties and delicate proprieties of natural objects. Nay, it is even suggested that the event in his personal history which most markedly connects him with the country, is likely to have had a large share in determining the character of his poetry. Anxiety about the safety of his farm was one of the presiding feelings in the composition of the *Eclogues* : the tender recollection of the past danger and of the scenes which he may have afterwards revisited hovers over the *Georgics* : gratitude for the protection extended to him induced him to make a sacrifice of his truer instincts, and undertake the *Aeneid*.

To attempt a full discussion of this opinion would be obviously presumptuous in one who is conscious of his own deficiency in the power or habit of appreciating external nature, and so is incapable of rightly estimating those descriptive or allusive touches which undoubtedly appear throughout Virgil's poems. Such a one, however, may perhaps be allowed to state his own impression with regard to the prominence of the position which the feeling in question would seem to have occupied in the poet's mind as unfolded in his works. The choice of a subject certainly furnishes a *prima facie* argument that the subject, or something connected with it, has been thought congenial by the chooser, though we must not forget that Virgil himself speaks of kings and battles as having been the object of his first poetical aspirations, referring, so tradition interprets the passage, to an abandoned intention of celebrating the 'Albani patres,' the royal line from which Rome was derived. Again, we may credit the statement of his biographer that his parentage connected him with the country, where his early life was doubtless

¹ *Prælectiones Academicæ*, vol. ii. præll. xxxvi., xxxvii.

chiefly passed, at the same time that we see the fact to be susceptible of another use, as showing how he may have been drawn to rural poetry, without having felt a decided love for it. But it is difficult to conceive that a man in whose mind the ambition of imitation, the charm of recollected reading, and a taste for conventional conceptions filled so large a space can have found his delight and solace, at least to the extent supposed, in sympathy with external nature. The unreality of the pastoral life in the *Eclogues* does not indeed prove the existence of similar unreality in the *Georgics*; but it prepares us to expect it. Probably there is no passage in the *Georgics* in which sympathy with nature is more strongly expressed than that to which I have already adverted, where he contrasts the vocation of Lucretius with his own. He prays that he may delight in the country and the streams that freshen the valleys—that he may love river and woodland with an unambitious love. He sighs for Sperchius and Taygetus, the revel-ground of Spartan maidens, and longs for some one who will set him down in the cool glens of Haemus, and shelter him with the giant shade of its boughs. He talks of the bliss of the man who has won the friendship of the rural gods, Pan and old Silvanus, and the sisterhood of nymphs. He occupies the rest of the book with the praises of the country life, its tranquillity and purity, its constant round of pleasant employments, its old historic and legendary renown. But he has already painted the destiny of a scientific inquirer into nature in colours which can scarcely be intended to be less glowing, and declared that his first love is centred there. The very distinctness with which Lucretius is indicated as the ideal after which he primarily aspires is itself a presumption that the aspiration is in some sort genuine. There is, indeed, something strange and sad, if this were the place to dwell on it, in the spectacle of a man contemplating the Lucretian system and an attempt to realize the old rural belief as two feasible alternatives, and leaving the choice to be determined by his mental constitution: stranger, perhaps, and sadder still, if we suppose him to be using words without a distinct consciousness of their full meaning, and to be thinking really of the comparative aptitude for poetical purposes of the two opposite aspects of nature. But though such a state of mind has no affinity to the terrible earnestness of Lucretius himself, it is not uncharacteristic of a would-be philosopher: while the touch which immediately follows, the praise of a country life as affording no scope for the pangs of pity or of envy, seems to show a lingering sympathy with philosophic doctrine even after he had resigned himself to an unphilosophic life. Nor is this the only passage in which we find traces of a yearning after philosophy as the true sphere of a poet. The song of Iopas in the First Book of the *Aeneid*, where several lines are repeated from the passage we have just been considering, shows that the con-

ception was one which continued to dwell with him through life: the song of Silenus in the sixth Eclogue is a witness no less to its early formation. In the latter, as we there saw, a cosmogony which, though not strictly Epicurean, is expressed throughout in Lucretian phraseology, is succeeded by a series of mythological stories, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: but the compromise is merely equivalent to the oscillation of mind shown in the *Georgics*, between the scientific temper that defies death by disbelieving the future and the primitive faith in wood-gods and nymphs. The same feeling shows itself in the scattered hints of a pessimist spirit which appear even on trifling occasions, in the reflection on the unequal struggle between man and nature as exemplified in the sowing of pulse, and the exhortation to the breeder of cattle to take advantage of those bright days of life which are the first to fly. The general impression which we thus gain is singularly confirmed by Virgil's biographer, who tells us, with every appearance of truth, that just before his last illness he had resolved to spend three years abroad in polishing the *Aeneid*, and then, for the rest of his life, to devote himself to philosophy. Such a taste is of course not in itself inconsistent with a love of the external aspects of nature; but it shows that, in his judgment at least, natural beauty was not his one congenial element, the only atmosphere which could invigorate the pulses and sustain the wings of his fancy. His philosophical spirations are those of an intellectual amateur rather than of a genuine lover of wisdom: but the temperament which admits of such lukewarm devotion is one which we should expect to find not in the single-minded enthusiast for nature, but in the many-sided cultivator of art.

The *Georgics* have been characterized by Mr. Merivale* as the Glorification of Labour. Such epigrammatic judgments are, from the nature of the case, apt to be too narrow for the facts which they profess to cover: and a reader of Virgil may perhaps be surprised to find an intention attributed to the poet which does not display itself prominently on the surface of the work. Yet I may be allowed to say that my own examination of the poem, extending over a time previous as well as subsequent to the publication of Mr. Merivale's criticism, has led me to believe that the remark is scarcely less true than pointed. Passages may undoubtedly be shown where little or no trace of the feeling appears: but it can be proved to lurk in others where its existence hitherto would seem to have been unsuspected; nor can I doubt, on the whole, that, as I have said in a former page, it was as strongly present to Virgil's mind as to Hesiod's, though it is certainly not put forth in the same homely plain-spoken manner. So far is the

* History of Roman Empire, vol. iv. chapter the last.

poet from masking the toilsome nature of the task to which he calls the farmer, that he everywhere takes occasion to bring it out into strong light, dwelling on it as in itself a source of enthusiasm, and urging those whom he addresses to spare no pains to make the work thorough. Observe the form into which he throws his very first sentence, as soon as the ceremony of invocation is over, and the practical part of the Georgics begun. "In the dawn of spring, when icy streams trickle melting from the hoar mountains, and the crumbling clod breaks its chain at the west wind's touch, even then I would fain see the plough driven deep till the bull groans again, and the share rubbed in the furrow till it shines." All that is ornamental, or, as it may be called, poetical in the latter part of the sentence, the deep-driving of the plough, the groaning of the bull, the shining of the share, tends directly to one point, hard and unsparing labour. The same spirit may be discovered in the next sentence, concealed in the single word 'sensit,' which denotes the laying bare, as it were, of the nerve of the soil to the two opposite influences by a thorough ploughing twice in each season. A few lines further on we have a passage which not only enforces strongly the practical duty of work, but states the theological ground (so to name it) on which it rests. "Remember"—such in effect is Virgil's language—"that the special aptitudes of the soil must be studied. Different regions have different products: corn is more congenial to one, the vine to another. Such," he goes on to say, "is the chain of law, such the eternal covenant, with which nature has bound certain climes, from the day when Deucalion first hurled his stones on the unpeopled globe, stones whence sprung man's race, hard as they." In the fourth Eclogue he had said that when the golden age of the future should at length be fully consummated, the occupations of the sailor and the farmer would cease together: all lands would produce all things: the ground should not feel the harrow, nor the vineyard the pruning-hook: the sturdy ploughman too (mark the epithet) should at length set his bullocks free from the yoke. But such is not the dispensation under which men now live. The appropriation of certain produce to certain soils is expressly intended to make labour necessary: and the same order of things which ordained labour ordained frames of stone and thews of iron to grapple with it. What is the moral? What, but that man and beast should accept the law of their being, and work with all their might? "Ergo age," concludes the poet,

"Ergo age, terrae

Pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni
Fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis
Pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas."

The soil is rich (in the supposed case), requiring and repaying work : the bullocks are to be strong : the very line in which they are mentioned labours with the intensity of their exertion, which is to begin with the year itself and to be repeated in the summer : and when the clods have thus been a second time turned up and exposed to the sky, the sun is to perform its part in the great confederacy of toil, darting its meridian beams upon them, and baking them thoroughly till they crumble into dust. Having delivered his precepts for ploughing, fallowing, stubble-burning, harrowing, cross-ploughing, irrigating, and draining, he reflects again on the arduousness of a farmer's duties, and proceeds again to lay a mythological foundation for their support. Following what is apparently a different, if not an inconsistent line of legend, he refers the origin of labour not to Deucalion's time, but to the coming in of the silver age under Jupiter. In Saturn's days mankind had one common stock, and earth yielded every thing freely : Jove was the first to break up the land by human skill, using care to sharpen men's wits, nor letting the realm which he had made his own grow dull under the weight of lethargy. Then came the divers arts of life : so Toil conquered the world, relentless Toil, and Want that grinds in adversity. The acorns had begun to fail in the sacred forests and Dodona to withhold her sustenance, when Ceres taught men to plough and sow. Soon the corn itself had hardship and sickness laid upon it : those plagues came in which gave the farmer no respite, and, if he relaxes his vigilance, drive him back into a barbarism which resembles the golden age only in what it is without. "Unless your rake is ever ready to exterminate weeds, your shout to scare away birds, your hook to restrain the shade which darkens the land, and your prayers to call down rain, poor man, you will gaze on your neighbour's big heap of grain with unavailing envy, betake yourself to the woods again, and shake the oak to allay your hunger." The same indomitable enthusiasm animates the poet, when, with the Second Book, a fresh division of his subject opens upon him. In a second invocation he sees himself and Bacchus as fellow-labourers, taking part in every detail of the vintage. "Come hither, Father of the winepress ! strip off thy buskins, bare thy legs, and plunge them with me in the new must." He surveys his new province in all its length and breadth ; and the result is a fresh access of exulting energy. "Come then, husbandmen, and learn the culture proper to each according to its kind, and so mellow your wild fruits by cultivation, nor let the ground lie idle. What joy to plant Ismarus all over with the progeny of the wine-god, and clothe the mighty sides of Taburnus with a garment of olives !" No jot of the difficulty is abated or omitted : the objects of labour are mountains, which themselves suggest the notion of an arduous undertaking : but

the planting is to be thorough, the clothing entire: and the reward is to be found in the work itself—that the wine-god should be propagated by human aid—that the weaving of so vast a robe should be in human hands. But the poet is a worker too. His task is to instruct the labourer in his manifold duties, and record his manifold triumphs. He has launched his bark, and must perform the voyage; and he calls on his patron to stand at his side, and spread with him the flying sail over this broad ocean. Again and again in the book we see glimpses of the same unflinching resolution:

“terram multo ante memento
Excoquere, et magnos scrobibus concidere montis.”

“Seminibus positis, superest diducere terram
Sæpius ad capita, et duros iactare bidentis,
Aut presso exercere solum sub vomere, et ipsa
Flectere luctantis inter vineta iuvencos.”

The ploughing is to be across, as well as up and down the lines of vines. The bullocks may be restiff: the turns may be sharp and awkward: but the work is to be done. So when he passes from the vine, the olive, and the apple and its cognates, to less favoured trees, he seeks to shame the reluctant husbandman into a sense of his duty. “I speak of fruit-trees—while the whole forest is teeming with produce, and the haunts of the birds, that know nought of culture, are red all over with blood-dyed berries. The lowly lucerne is food for cattle: the tall grove supplies pine-torches: hence are fed the flames that give us light by night. And are men to hesitate about planting and bestowing their pains?” “Shall nature do her part, and shall not man do his?” For the Third Book I need only refer to the passage which I instanced in a preceding paragraph—that where he talks of the arduous nature of the work to which he has bound himself, and the joy which for that very reason attends it. As before, he mentions his own labours in connexion with those of the husbandman. “Enough of herds: another part of our charge is yet to do, the ceaseless care of the woolly sheep and shaggy goat. Here is a task indeed: here fix your hopes of renown, ye brave sons of the soil.” The nature of his own exertion is changed: it is not the immensity of his work which he contemplates now, but the resistance to be overcome in expressing a mean subject in the language of poetry: but it is labour still, and it is the effort required that makes him love it. In the Fourth Book, it must be confessed, there seem to be few, if any, touches of this feeling. Yet some may perhaps be inclined to think that it does really appear there, only in another shape. There is no other part of the Georgics where we hear so little of the human labourer. But the pervading atmosphere of the book is one of labour,

from beginning to end. The community which is the subject of the labourer's care is itself a miracle of labour: and the poet for the time is absorbed in it. He gives directions as usual to the husbandman about the position and construction of the hive, the taking of the honey, the remedies for disease, and the like: the cares of a bee-keeper are in some measure illustrated by the elaborate episode in which he tells how the means of producing a new swarm came to be discovered: but his enthusiasm is reserved for the unflagging toil of the bees themselves, for that organized industry to which the superhuman labours of the Cyclopes are supposed to furnish no exaggerated parallel—for that self-sacrificing patriotism which makes them brave death in carrying home their contribution to the common stock of honey. In the exordium of the First Book, at the end of a summary which speaks of nothing but human labour, an epithet is introduced which strikes a chord, as some have thought, out of harmony with the context, by commemorating the frugality of the bee side by side with the weight of experience required for rearing and keeping it. If that epithet was not intended, as it may well have been, to announce to the reader that the poem would treat of bees as fully as of their keepers, it may at least witness to the division of interests even then existing in the poet's mind, and show that in the brief glance with which he took in the whole of his subject he thought not of man alone, but of all that can combine intelligence with energetic toil.

Suetonius informs us that the composition of the *Georgics* occupied seven years; a statement which appears to meet the facts of the case as nearly as possible. The last date of the *Eclogues*, as we saw, is probably 717; the concluding lines of the *Georgics* tell us that Virgil was writing while Caesar was conquering in the East, a time which seems most naturally to refer to the victorious progress of Octavianus after the battle of Actium in 724 (see Merivale, vol. iii. pp. 358, 359). Forbiger rightly maintains that there is nothing to favour Wagner's inference from those lines, that the poem was entirely composed during the events there spoken of. It is not likely that the poet rested on his oars for five years after the completion of the *Eclogues*; it is not likely that he employed himself on any other work: and we can easily understand that his habits of composition, and the preparation necessary for an undertaking of such a character and magnitude, may have made a period of seven years not more than sufficient for the production of the poem. At the same time it is natural enough that he should have made alterations in it during the remaining years of his life, though it was doubtless published soon after its completion. Perhaps the only passage which inevitably points to a later date than 724 is vv. 31 foll. of Book 3; but the legend mentioned in the In-

trodition to Book 4 would support the hypothesis of more extensive changes, though we need not suppose them in any case to have been such as seriously to interrupt the composition of the *Aeneid*. Whether the poet's residence at Naples (G. 4. 564), which is mentioned as if it synchronized with Caesar's progress in the East, is to be understood as referring to the entire time during which the *Georgics* were written, or only to their completion, is not clear. Mr. Keightley remarks that the whole aspect of the poem is Campanian : others have maintained as decidedly that it is Mantuan. The language in G. 2. 197 would suit Mantua better, as I have there observed, while Spohn argues that southern Italy can hardly have been sufficiently tranquil to induce Virgil to fix his residence there before 718. It would be easy to suggest that the poem was written partly at Mantua, partly, if not principally, at Naples : but perhaps we have not data enough even for so unambitious a hypothesis.

P. VERGILI MARONIS
G E O R G I C O N
LIBER PRIMUS.

THE subject of the First Book is the tillage of the ground with a view to crops, chiefly corn. The mention of the uncertainty of the weather at different times of the year leads the poet to give a list of the signs of a storm and of fair weather, which he abridges from the *Dioemeia* of Aratus. From this he passes to the signs of the political storm which had broken over Rome, and shows that external nature had been no less eloquent there, while he prays that Octavianus Caesar may yet be spared to save society.

The various events mentioned in the concluding lines are generally considered to point to the earlier part of the period of seven years during which Virgil is supposed to have been composing the *Georgica*, or to the time immediately preceding that period. Mr. Merivale, on the other hand, believes the passage to have been written early in 722, during the general expectation of war between Octavianus and Antonius. His explanation of the poet's supposed position deserves quoting, both for the ingenuity of the conception and for the rhetorical ability with which it is enforced. "The prevailing sentiment of gloomy yet vague foreboding found expression in the voice of a youthful enthusiast. Cherished by Maecenas, and honoured with the smiles of Octavius himself, Virgil beheld in the sway of the chief of the Romans the fairest augury of legitimate and peaceful government. With strains of thrilling eloquence not less musical than those with which Lucretius had soared into the airy realms of imagination, he descended to the subject of the hour, and gave words to the thoughts with which every bosom was heaving. He invoked the native gods of Italy, with Romulus and Vesta, guardians of Tuscan Tiber and Roman Palatine, to permit the youthful hero to save a sinking world. He reminded his countrymen of the guilt of their fathers' fathers, which had effaced the landmarks of right, and filled the world with wars and a thousand forms of crime. He mourned the decay of husbandry, the dishonour of the plough, the desolation of the fields: he sighed over the clank of the armourer's forge, and the training of the rustic conscript. It was not the border skirmishes with the Germans or the Parthians that could excite such a phrenzy of alarm: it was the hate of neighbour against neighbour, the impending conflict of a world in arms. The foes of Rome were indeed raging against her, but her deadliest enemy was of her own household. Virgil pointed to the Rhine and the Euphrates, but his eye was fixed upon the Nile." (*Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 303, 4.) In a note, after quoting vv. 509—511, he adds: "In the year 717 there was actual warfare on the Rhine and the Euphrates, but at that time there was apparent harmony between the triumvirs, and the prospect at least of universal pacification. On the other hand, in the year 722, there was no apprehension of hostilities on the eastern or the northern frontier, but there was a general

foreboding of civil war." So far as the poem itself is concerned, it is of course open to us to fix on any date between the two points of time assigned respectively to its commencement and its completion. Nor do the general probabilities of the case help us much. When Virgil wrote the Fourth Eclogue the recollections of the Perusian war were buried by the peace of Brundisium: but the conduct of Antonius may well have revived them again long before the final struggle for empire between the two rivals. Virgil owed nothing to Antonius, and so might pass him over in silence—he does no more—at a time when the triumvir was not yet the public enemy. [See additional note on v. 509.—H. N.]

QUID faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
Vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vites
Conveniat, quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo
Sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,

1—5.] 'Agriculture, the cultivation of vines, the care of cattle, and that of bees, are to be my subjects:' a more or less precise enumeration of the matters actually treated of in the Georgics, though the subjects of Books 1 and 2 are rather indicated poetically than fully described.

1.] This division of the subjects of Book 1 seems to be taken, as Serv. remarks, from the title of Hesiod's poem, *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*. So 2. 1, "Hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli." 'Laetae segetes' seems to have been a common expression, used even by country people, as we find from Cic. de Or. 3. 38, "gemmare vites, luxuriam esse in herbis, laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt," where it is instanced as a metaphor. 'Laetamen' is a technical term among agricultural writers for manure. Keightley thinks that the physical sense of 'laetus' was the primary one, and that it was thence transferred to the mind; but Cicero's view seems more natural. It is not easy to determine whether 'segetes' refers to the land or the corn. Columella (2. 15) has "segetes laetas excitare," which points rather to the latter: but a few lines above he uses "segetem" unmistakably of the field where the corn is to be sown. 'Laetas' would apply equally to both, as may be seen from vv. 101, 102. 'Quo sidere' like "quo signo," v. 354. Addison (Essay on the Georgics prefixed to Dryden's translation) says that "Virgil, to deviate from the common form of words, would not make use of 'tempore,' but 'sidere:'" but the stars enter prominently into Virg.'s plan, constituting in fact the shepherd's calendar (vv. 204 foll.).

2.] 'Vertere terram' as in v. 147, where 'ferro' is added. "Vertentes vomere glæbas" Lucr. 1. 211. 'Vertere' is used without an ablative by Col. 3. 13, in

conjunction with 'subigere.' 'Maecenas,' Dict. Biog., the person to whom the poem is inscribed, as the Works and Days are to Perses, the poem of Lucr. to Memmius.

3.] 'Cura—cultus.' So 'cultus' and 'curatio' occur in a similar connexion, Cic. N. D. 2. 63, quoted by Heyne. 'Habendo pecori,' as we should say, for breeding cattle: nearly equivalent to "ad habendum pecus," a use of the dative with the gerundive sufficiently common, especially in official designations, e.g. "tresviri agris dividendis." See Madv. § 241, obs. 3, § 415 obs.

4.] 'Pecori, apibus' was restored by Heins. for 'pecori, atque apibus,' which is found in Rom. alone of Ribbeck's MSS., and there from a late correction. 'Experientia,' of the bee-keeper, not of the bees, whose habits are only described incidentally. So 4. 315, 316 [where see additional note], "Quis Deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem? Unde nova ingressus hominum experientia cepit?" 'Habendis' then will have to be supplied from 'habendo.' 'Parcis' is an ornamental epithet, indicating the bee as it is in itself, not as an object of its keeper's care. Perhaps we may say that it has an appropriateness here, as showing that the nature of the bees themselves is a subordinate part of the subject of Book 4. See pp. 146, 147. Wagn. and Forb. think it refers to the difficulty of keeping up and increasing the stock of bees; but though this would agree well with 'habendo,' the use of 'parcus' would be extremely harsh, and not supported by 3. 403 (where the epithet is poetically transferred from the sparer to the thing spared), not to mention that the fact itself is disputed by Keightley.

Hinc canere incipiam. Vos, o clarissima mundi
 Lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,
 Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
 Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
 Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis;

5

5.] 'Hinc incipiam' seems to mean 'I will take up the song from this point of time,' 'I will begin now.' So Varro, R. R. 2. 1, proceeds to his subject with the words "incipiam hinc." Not unlike is "hinc refert," E. 6. 41, 'next he sings.' Voss's interpretation of 'hinc' as "horum partem," "ex his," like τῶν ἑμῶν, Hom. Od. 1. 10, as if to show the modesty of the poet, is far less simple and obvious. Pal. originally had 'hic.' 'Incipiam' is rather 'I will undertake' than 'I will begin,' as is rightly remarked by Henry on A. 2. 13. Keightley comp. Lucr. 1. 55, "Disserere incipiam." The whole exordium may be translated, 'What makes a corn-field smile, what star suits best for turning up the soil and marrying the vine to the elm, what care oxen need, what is the method of breeding cattle, and what weight of man's experience preserves the frugal commonwealth of bees—such is the song I now essay.'

5—42.] 'I invoke the sun and moon, the powers that give corn and wine, the wood-gods and nymphs, the gods of horses, herds, and flocks, the patrons of the olive, the plough, and the forest-trees—in short, every rural power, and especially Caesar, our future deity, who has yet his province to choose. May he, in pity to the husbandmen, begin his reign at once, and accept their homage and mine.'

6.] It is a question whether the sun and moon are meant to be identified with or distinguished from Bacchus and Ceres. The asyndeton looks rather in favour of the former view, which has the authority of Macrobius (Sat. 1. 18). It is no argument against it that Varro, in invoking the gods at the beginning of his treatise De Re Rustica, discriminates the two pairs of deities from each other, as his enumeration in other respects is sufficiently unlike Virg.'s: nor will the objection that Virg. is not likely to have introduced a mystical doctrine into a poem on a practical subject weigh much with those who appreciate the character of the poet. A more serious difficulty is started by Keightley, who observes that though the sun may have been identified with Bacchus, as Macrobius shows from other instances, it is not esta-

blished that the moon and Ceres were ever considered the same. But if the first part of the identification is made out, the coincidence with Virg.'s language seems too striking to be accidental, and thus the remaining hypothesis becomes probable, even in default of direct evidence in its favour. Besides Proserpine, as Keightley admits, was occasionally classed in this manner with Bacchus, and was in fact worshipped under the name of Libera (Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 48): and we know that the functions of Ceres and those of her daughter were not always separated. On 'Lumina' there is a curious note of Serv.: "Numina fuit, sed emendavit ipse, quia postea ait, Et vos agrestum praesentia numina Fauni." Wakefield adopts 'numina,' while Wagn. supposes Serv.'s remark to refer to v. 7, where 'numine' is the second reading of Med. for 'munere.' 'Caelo,' along the sky. The general sense of the line is parallel to Lucr. 5. 1486 foll., cited by Heyne, "At vigilans mundi magnum [et] versatile templum Sol et luna suo illustrantes lumine circum Perdocuere homines annorum tempora verti, Et certa ratione geri rem atque ordine certo."

7.] 'Liber' and 'Ceres' were worshipped together at Rome. Keightley, Myth. p. 460. 'Si' used as frequently in adjurations. The worshipper affects to make the existence of the attributes of the gods dependent on the granting of his prayer. ['Sit' Med. originally for 'si.'—H. N.]

8.] 'Chaoniam,' a literary epithet: see on E. 1. 54. So "Dodona" of the oak, v. 149.

9.] 'Pocula,' perhaps of the draught rather than of the cup, as in E. 8. 28, though it might well bear its usual sense. 'Acheloia' agrees with 'Chaoniam,' as if the poet had meant to represent Epirus and Aetolia as the cradle of the human race. Achelous was said to be the oldest of all rivers, whence the name was frequently put for water in general (Eur. And. 166, Bacch. 625: see Macrobius Sat. 5. 18). Hyginus (fab. 274) and Serv. have stories connecting the discovery of wine with the neighbourhood of the Achelous. Hermann has a dissertation "De Musis fluvialibus Epicharmi et Eumeli" (re-

Et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni, 10
 Ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae:
 Munera vestra cano. Tuque o, cui prima frementem
 Fudit ecum magno tellus percussa tridenti,
 Neptune; et cultor nemorum, cui pinguis Ceae
 Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuvenci; 15
 Ipse, nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycæi,

printed in vol. 2 of his *Opuscula*), where he rejects this explanation, and contends that river-water got the name Achelous from the muse Achelois, the patroness of rivers.

10.] 'Fauni,' E. 6. 27.

11.] 'Ferre pedem,' of ordinary motion, A. 2. 756, Catull. 14. 21, of dancing, Hor. 2 Od. 12. 17, which may be its sense here, as the Fauns in E. 6 are made to dance. The repetition of 'Fauni' serves as a kind of correction of the previous verse, where they alone were mentioned. Keightley remarks on the union of the Italian Fauns with the Greek Dryads.

12.] 'Munera,' E. 3. 63. 'Tuque' and 'cultor nemorum' may be coupled with the preceding lines, being constructed grammatically with 'ferre pedem,' or a verb may be borrowed from v. 18. 'Prima' is virtually equivalent to 'primum,' the point being that this was the first horse produced. 'Frementem,' of a war-horse, A. 7. 638., 11. 599., 12. 82.

13.] Neptune produced the first horse, Scyphius, in Thessaly, by a stroke of his trident. "Primus ab aequorea percussis cuspidē saxi Thessalicus sonipes, bellis fatalibus omen, Exsiluit," Lucan 6. 393. Heyne and some of the earlier commentators suppose the reference to be to the contest between Neptune and Minerva for the honour of naming Athens, when the former produced a horse, the latter an olive: but it may be doubted whether this version of the legend was current in Virg.'s time, as the Greek writers represent Neptune to have produced not a horse, but a spring of salt water (Hdt. 8. 55). In Ov. M. 6. 77, where the story is told, the MSS. vary between 'frutum' and 'ferum.' Serv., who explains the present passage by this legend, tells us that in his time the greater number of copies read 'aquam,' but the oldest 'equum.' [The Berne Scholia also mention the reading 'aquam.'—H. N.] Water, as he remarks, is no part of the subject of the Georgics, and the epithet 'frementem' would not suit 'aquam' so well. 'Fudit' of easy production, as in

Lucr. 5. 917, "Tempore quo primum tellus animalia fudit" (quoted by Cerda), which perhaps Virg. had in his mind. Pal. has 'fundit,' which might be paralleled from A. 8. 141. ['Ecum' Med., 'equom' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

14.] 'Cultor nemorum.' Aristæus (Dict. B.), identified by his association with Ceos, which he delivered from drought, and where he was honoured with the attributes of Zeus. 'Cultor' is generally taken as = 'incola,' simply denoting Aristæus as a wood-god: but its use elsewhere in Virg. would be in favour of taking it as a cultivator, marking out Aristæus' functions as agricultural no less than pastoral. 'Dresser of woods and groves.' So of Jupiter, E. 3. 61, "Ille colit terras." Thus 'dumeta' in the next line would be no less emphatic than 'iuvenci.' 'Patron of the brakes and of the herds that feed there.' Schrader conj. 'pecorum.' One story made Aristæus the first planter of the olive. 'Cui' seems to imply that the process goes on for him, because he is its patron and author, thus denoting causation indirectly. Comp. 2. 5. So Lucr. 1. 7, 8, "tibi suavis daedala tellus Summittit flores: tibi rident aequora ponti." 'Pinguia,' luxuriant. So "folia pinguiissima" Pliny 21. 53, "coma pinguiissima" Suet. Ner. 20. The fertility of Ceos was so great that the wild fig-tree was said to bear there three times a year, Athen. 3, p. 77, quoted by Cerda.

15.] "Pascuntur . . . amantis ardua dumos," 3. 315. 'Ter centum,' indefinite, like "trecentae catenae," Hor. 3 Od. 4. 79. ['Dummeta' originally Pal.—H. N.]

16.] 'Come thou too in thy power from thy forest home and the Lycæan lawns, Pan, tender of sheep, by the love thou bearest thy Maenalus, and stand graciously at my side, god of Tegea.' 'Ipse,' as the great rural god. The line is apparently modelled on Theoc. 1. 123 foll., the resemblance to which would be closer if we were to read 'seu' for 'si' with Schrader; but 'si' is sufficiently defended by v. 7. 'Lycæi,' E. 10. 15.

Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,
 Adsis, o Tegeaeae, favens, oleaeque Minerva
 Inventrix, unciue puer monstrator aratri,
 Et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum, 20
 Dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri,
 Quique novas alitis non ullo semine fruges,
 Quique satis largum caelo demittitis imbrem ;
 Tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
 Concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar, 25
 Terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis

17.] 'Ovium custos,' the shepherd κατ' ἐφοχόν. 'Maenalus,' E. 8. 21., 10. 55 (where the pl. is used).

18.] "Calami, Pan Tegeaeae, tui," Prop. 4. 3. 30. For the story of Minerva and the olive see on v. 13.

19.] Triptolemus is naturally mentioned after Minerva, as the legend connected both with Attica. Other stories represented Osiris as the inventor of the plough (Tibull. 1. 7. 29), and this is the view of Serv. here: but 'puer' points to Triptolemus, who appears in works of art as a youth (Dict. B.). 'Monstrator:' "sacri monstrator iniqui," Ov. Ibis 399. So "monstrata piacula," A. 4. 636, the expiations prescribed by the priestess. ['Mostrator' originally Med., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

20.] Silvanus (E. 10. 24) is represented in sculpture with a cypress in his hand, and hence called δερδροφορος. See Heyne. His connexion with the cypress is accounted for by the legend of his attachment to Cyparissus, an Italianized version of one of the mythes of Apollo. In Catull. 64. 289 Peneus appears at the bridal of Peleus and Thetis bearing trees plucked up by the roots, and among them the cypress. 'Ab radice' with 'ferens,' a sort of condensed expression, as Catullus, l. c., has "tulit radicibus." Serv. mentions a variant 'tenera.'

21.] Serv. says that the pontiffs, after invoking the gods whose aid was specially required in the particular case, concluded with a general invocation. The names of some of the rural deities of Italy may be found in Varro, R. R. 1. 1; others are given by Serv. from Fabius Pictor. Ursinus quotes Prop. 4. 13. 41, "Dique deaeque omnes, quibus est tutela per agros," evidently an imitation. 'Studium tueri,' 2. 195. For a discussion on this class of expressions, see on v. 213. In the case of

'studium' perhaps it is more natural to regard the infinitive as a nominative, and make it the subject of the proposition. But in 3. 179, 180 'studium' certainly seems to be the subject, 'praelabi' being connected with it, like 'ad bella,' probably in a gerundial construction, as if it had been 'studium bellandi, aut praelabendi.'

22.] 'Non ullo' was restored by Heins. from Med. and others for 'nonnullo,' which is found in Gud. and recognized by Serv., though an insertion in his text seems to apply to 'non ullo.' [The Berne Scholia only recognize 'non ullo.'—H. N.] Pier. mentions another reading, 'nullo de,' and Rom. unmetrically gives 'non ullo de.' The abl. is descriptive of 'fruges.' The distinction is a general one between nature and cultivation, not, as in 2. 10—13, between spontaneous production and production by seed.

24.] This invocation of Caesar is probably, as Keightley observes, the first specimen of the kind. It was followed by Lucan and Statius, the former invoking Nero, the latter Domitian. 'Adeo:' see on E. 4. 11. 'Mox' has been thought to contain a bad compliment; but the poet's present object is to say that his patron will be deified, not to wish that his death may be delayed. Comp. v. 503.

25.] 'Concilia' seems to mean merely company or society, as in Cic. Tusc. 1. 30, "seclusum a concilio deorum." 'Of whom we know not in what house of gods thou art in good time to sit.' Some understand 'urbis' (genitive) of Rome, and connect 'invisere' with 'curam;' but it is more natural to confine 'invisere' to 'urbis,' and make 'curam' the object of 'velis,' as indeed is 'invisere,' rightly regarded. So in Hor. 1 Od. 1. 4 "collegisse" is virtually a nominative, and as such is joined with "meta." Gell. 13. 21 says that 'urbisne' was found in a copy corrected by Virg.'s

Auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
 Accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto,
 An deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
 Numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule, 30
 Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis;
 Anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
 Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
 Panditur; ipse tibi iam brachia contrahit ardens
 Scorpions, et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit; 35

own hand, but he regards it as acc. pl. 'Invisere' seems to have the force of *ἐκπνεύειν*, which is peculiarly used, e.g. by Aesch., of divine regard and supervision.

27.] 'Auctorem' has here its full etymological force, 'augere' and its cognates being repeatedly used of vegetable growth. "Ad fruges augendas atque animantis," Lucr. 5. 80. [Serv. however and the Berne scholia take it as 'parent, creator': "qui frugibus et ceteris rebus originem praestas." — H. N.] 'Tempestatumque potentem' occurs again A. 1. 80., 3. 528, where it seems to mean storms rather than, as here, weather generally; but the repetition may teach us that the different meanings are not likely to have been discriminated in Virg.'s mind so sharply as in ours. 'The giver of its increase, and lord of its changeful seasons.'

28.] 'Cingens materna tempora myrto,' nearly repeated A. 5. 72. For the connexion of the myrtle with Venus, see E. 7. 62; for that of the Julian family with Venus, E. 9. 47. The myrtle coronation seems to be meant as an acknowledgment of royalty.

29.] 'Or whether thy coming shall be as the god of the unmeasured sea, the sole power to claim the seaman's homage, with furthest Thule to be thy handmaid, and Tethys buying thee for her daughter with the dower of all her waves.' 'Deus,' the god, not a god, as is shown by 'sola, ultima Thule' (expressing the extent of the dominion) and 'omnibus undis.' 'Immensi maris,' Lucr. 2. 590, the *ἀπειρὸν πόντος* of Homer. 'Venias,' come to be, become. "Nemo repente venit turpissimus," Juv. 2. 83, "dignus venias hederis," Id. 7. 29.

30.] Two of Ribbeck's cursives read 'magna' for 'sola.' 'Thule,' the extreme northern point of legendary travel, disputed about by the ancient geographers (Strabo 4, p. 201), and variously identified

by the moderns with Zetland, Iceland, and Jutland.

31.] Caesar is to marry one of the Oceanides, and to receive as dowry the whole kingdom of the sea. The expression is like Eur. Med. 234, *χημάτων ὑπερβολή πόσιν πρίασθαι*. [Serv. and the Berne scholia notice that Virg.'s use of 'emo' here has intentional reference to the ancient ceremony of 'coemptio.' — H. N.]

32.] Caesar is invited to take his place among the signs of the Zodiac, which were identified with living beings. 'Tardis' is generally explained of the summer months, after Manil. 2. 102, "cum sol adversa per astra Aestivum tardis attollit mensibus annum;" but it need be no more than a disparaging epithet, intended to exalt the power of Caesar, who is to speed the year, as Cowley (Davideis, Book 1) says, "The old drudging Sun from his long-beaten way Shall at thy voice start, and misguide the day."

33.] 'Erigonen,' Dict. B. under 'Icarus.' 'Chelas,' *χηλαί*, the claws of the scorpion (Ara. 81, *μεγάλας ἐπιμαίεο χηλαί*), which in the early representations of the zodiac occupied the place of a separate sign. So Ov. M. 2. 195, "Est locus, in geminos ubi brachia concavat arcus Scorpions, et cauda flexisque utrimque lacertis Porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum." When the balance was introduced, it was sometimes placed in the scorpion's claws, as in a sculpture referred to by Heyne. Augustus' birth is said to have taken place under Libra, according to the ordinary computation, and there may be also a compliment intended to the justice of his government. 'Sequentis,' next in order.

34.] 'Ipse . . . reliquit,' parenthetical. The scorpion retires of himself, so that the place is in fact ready for Caesar. 'Ardens,' as a star, and also as a poisonous creature.

35.] 'Reliquit,' the reading of Med.,

Quidquid eris,—nam te nec sperant Tartara regem,
 Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido;
 Quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos,
 Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem—
 Da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis, 40

Ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
 Ingredere, et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor
 Liquitur et Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit,
 Depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro 45

Rom., and Gud., is more forcible than 'relinquit' (Pal. and two of Ribbeck's cursives), expressing further the scorpion's alacrity. 'Iusta plus parte:' having formerly taken more than his share, now he is content with less.

36.] 'Sperant' Med. (first reading), Rom., Pal. a. m. p., rightly adopted by Wagn. for 'sperant,' which would create rather a tautology with the next line. With 'sperant' the sense is, 'The honour is too great for Tartarus to hope; and you cannot be so desirous of empire on any terms as to wish to be king there.' For 'nec' Med. (first reading) has 'ne.'

37.] 'Tam dira cupido,' A. 6. 373, 9, 185, which show that 'dira' merely means intense. The line was not improbably the original of Milton's, 'To reign is worth ambition, though in hell.'

38, 39.] 'Though the Greeks paint glowing pictures of Elysium, and Proserpine shows a preference for the world below over the world above.'

40.] 'Vouchsafe me a smooth course, and smile on my bold endeavours, and in pity, like mine, for the countryman as he wanders blind and unguided, assume the god, and attune thine ear betimes to the voice of prayer.' The sentence begun v. 24 is here completed. 'Da facilem cursum,' a metaphor from sailing ('cursum dare,' A. 3. 337). Comp. 2. 39, where Mæcenæ is asked to become the companion of the voyage, as Cæsar here to be its patron. So Ovid (F. 1. 3, quoted by Cerda) to Germanicus, 'timidae dirige navis iter.' 'Audacibus,' like 'sanctos ausus recludere fontis,' 2. 175. Keightley.

41.] The ignorance of the husbandmen is involved in the poet's undertaking to enlighten them. If we believe Virg. to have found a special motive for writing his poem in the depressed state of Roman

agriculture, there is doubtless an allusion to it here. 'Viae,' perhaps with reference to the metaphor of the preceding line, 'Mecum' with 'miseratus.'

42.] 'Ingredere,' used as in A. 8. 513, where Evander invites Aeneas to taken upon him the command of the Tyrrhenians. So "Adgredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores," E. 4. 48. Cæsar then is called upon to enter on his divinity. The other interpretation, explaining the word with reference to 'viae,' begin to tread the path,' seems on the whole less likely on account of the words that follow, 'votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.' 'Votis' abl.; see on A. 5. 234.

43—49.] 'Begin to plough as soon as winter is over. A fourfold ploughing will be repaid by an abundant harvest.'

43.] Columella (2. 2, § 2) tells the farmer not to wait for some fixed day, as the beginning of spring, but to commence operations before the winter is well over, say after the ides of January. 'Gelidus . . . resolvit' give the reason why this is the earliest moment when ploughing can begin.

44.] 'Liquitur montibus,' like 'Liquuntur rupibus annes,' 2. 185. 'Zephyro' is the agent by whose help the liberation takes place. Emm. well comp. 2. 330, "Zephyrique tepentibus auris Laxant arva sinus," Hor. 1 Od. 4. 1, "Solvitur acris hiemps grata vice veris et Favoni," Stat. Theb. 4. 1, "Tertius horrentem Zephyris laxaverat annum Phœbus."

45.] The adjuncts 'depresso,' 'ingemere,' 'attritus,' 'splendescere,' imply that the ploughing is to be thorough. So "fortes invertant tauri," v. 65. The language of the first clause is borrowed from Lucr. 5. 209, "vis humana . . . valido consuetu bidenti Ingemere, et terram pressis proscindere aratris." 'Taurus' here and

Ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.
 Illa seges demum votis respondet avari
 Agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit;
 Illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.
 At prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor, 50
 Ventos et varium caeli praediscere morem
 Cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum,
 Et quid quaeque ferat regio, et quid quaeque recuset.
 Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae;
 Arborei fetus alibi, atque iniussa virescunt 55
 Gramina. Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,

elsewhere for 'bos' or 'iuuencus.' The ancients never ploughed with bulls, any more than the moderns.

46.] Serv. quotes from Cato's discourse to his son, "Vir bonus est, M. fili, colendi peritus, cuius ferramenta splendent." The notion here may be of rubbing off the rust of winter. Med. (second reading) and one or two others have 'vomis,' [and Serv. and the Berne Scholia remark on the double form of the nom.—H.N.]

47, 48.] The common practice was to plough three times, in spring, summer, and autumn; but where the soil was strong there was another ploughing in the autumn of the previous year. So Pliny explains the passage (18. 181), "quarto seri sulco Vergilius existimatur voluisse, cum dixit, optimam esse segetem, quae bis solem, bis frigora sensisset." Heyne comp. Theocr. 25. 25, *τριπλόις σπύρον ἐν νεώσιον* "Εὐθ' ὅτε βάλλοντες καὶ τετραπλόισιν ὁμοίως. 'Sensit' refers to the effect of the ploughing, after which the land would be more alive to feel the hot and cold seasons. See p. 144. 'Seges' is of course the land.

49.] 'Illius,' segetis. 'Ruperunt horrea,' 'see, the barns are burst at once,' the perf. expressing instantaneous action, as in 2. 81. "Horrea vincat," 2. 518. But it would be equally possible, though less forcible, to render the perfect 'have been known to burst.'

50—63.] 'First however understand the nature of the soil and climate. Different soils are adapted to different products, as experience shows. It is Nature's law, as old as man's creation.'

50.] 'At' Gud., 'ac' Med., Rom., Pal. The former seems better, as the poet apparently interrupts himself, but the external authority of the latter leaves the question doubtful.

51.] The same question is raised by

Varro at the outset of his work (1. 3. 4), and also by Columella (1 pref.), who has Virg. in his mind. Lucr. 1. 296 talks of the 'facta ac mores' of the winds.

52.] 'Patrios cultus,' as we should say, the agricultural antecedents of the spot, which is spoken of as if it were a person with ancestors. So 'morem caeli' and 'recuset' imply personifications. The expression then is virtually equivalent to 'proprius cultus,' 2. 35. Comp. A. 1. 51, 539 notes. [Prop. 4. 5. 25. "varium caeli perdiscere morem." H. N.] 'Cultusque' is the reading of the best MSS., including all Ribbeck's, so that 'patrios' belongs to 'habitus' as well as 'cultus.' Heyne follows others in reading 'cultus,' understanding 'patrios cultus' of the mode of culture practised by the past generation. The whole subject is dealt with more at large by Virg. 2. 109 foll.

54.] 'Veniunt,' 2. 11. Ribbeck reads 'illi' from a quotation in Arusianus. But there is no proof that Virg. ever used this archaic form of 'illic,' though Ribbeck finds it in 3. 17, as Donatus (on Ter. Adelph. 1. 2. 36) did long ago in A. 2. 548. Pal. originally had 'hinc—illinc.'

55.] With Keightley I have recalled the comma after 'alibi,' so as to make 'fetus' and 'gramina' alike subjects of 'virescunt,' which seems specially appropriate where young trees are spoken of.

56.] 'Nonne vides,' a favourite Lucretian expression. So Aratus opens his Diosmeia with οὐχ ὁράς. 'Tmolus' (Dict. Geog.) is named by no earlier writer than Virg. as producing saffron, the place most famous for which was Cilicia, so that it is possible this may be one of Virg.'s geographical inaccuracies. The later writers who support Virg. (Columella, Solinus, and Martianus Capella) probably only

India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei,
 At Chalybes nudi ferrum, viroaque Pontus
 Castorea, Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum ?
 Continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis 60
 Imposuit natura locis, quo tempore primum
 Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem,
 Unde homines nati, durum genus. Ergo age, terrae
 Pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni
 Fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentes 65
 Pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas ;

copy him. Serv. mentions an alternative of understanding 'croceos odores' of the peculiar smell of the Tmolian wine (2. 98); but this seems very unlikely. The MSS. point to 'Molus,' which Ribbeck adopts; but the omission of 't' after 'ut' is natural, and in spelling proper names even the best MSS. are untrustworthy guides.

57.] 'Mittit,' sends to Rome. For the indic. see on E. 4. 52. But Med. [and Seneca Epist. 87. 20] have 'mittat,' which may be right. Pal. gives 'mittet.' India produced the largest elephants (Pliny 8. 32), whence ivory is called 'Indus dens' Catull. 64. 48. 'Molles sua tura Sabaei:' 'odores, Quos tener e terra divite mittit Arabs,' Tibull. 2. 2. 4.

58.] 'At' used as in 2. 447, distinguishing one part of an enumeration from another. 'Chalybes' (Dict. G.), called *σιδηροτέκτονες* Aesch. Prom. 714. 'Nudi' gives the picture of them as working in the forge, like the Cyclopes A. S. 425. 'Virosa castorea' like "castoreo gravi," Lucr. 6. 794, the epithet referring to the strong smell. For the fable and the fact about the beaver, see Mayor on Juv. 12. 84. The best 'castoreum' was produced in Pontus; an inferior sort in Spain. Strabo 3, p. 163. Cas.

59.] 'The palms of the mares of Elis' for 'the mares which win palms at Elis.' The object of the breed is said to be produced when the breed itself is produced. Thus the expression is not quite parallel to "tertia palma, Diorea," A. 5. 339, with which it is commonly compared. With 'Epiros' comp. 3. 121, with 'Eliadum,' ib. 202. Mares are mentioned as fleetier than horses. "Apta quadrigis equa," Hor. 2 Od. 16. 35. But the word may be chosen to indicate Epirus as the breeding country.

60.] 'Continuo' connected with 'quo

tempore,' 'Foedera' of the laws of nature, as in A. 1. 62, Lucr. 1. 586., 5. 57, 924. Pal. has 'alterna,' an obvious error, which however Ribbeck adopts, understanding it I suppose in the sense of "diversa," "alia aliis locis."

62.] "Lapides Pyrrhae iactos," E. 6. 41.

63.] 'Durum genus,' because born from the stones. Comp. 2. 341, Lucr. 5. 926. The connexion seems to be that the restriction of certain products to certain soils is part of the iron rule of the world, which is now inhabited by men of rougher mould, doomed to labour, and physically adapted to it. Work then, Virg. goes on to say, man and beast, and accomplish your destiny. Contrast the language of E. 4. 39, 41, when all countries shall produce all things, and the strength of man and beast no more be put under requisition.

63—70.] 'Work then, as soon as weather allows you: plough with your might in spring and cross-plough in summer; that is, where the soil is rich and strong: if it be meagre, a shallow ploughing in September will do.'

64.] 'Pingue' emphatic, as v. 67 shows. 65.] 'Fortes' emphatic, like "validis terram proscinde iuvenis," 2. 237. The rhythm of the line is obviously intended to suit the sense. 'Iacentes,' upturned by the plough and lying exposed to the sun. The word is probably meant to indicate that there should be a second ploughing or cross-ploughing in summer. See on vv. 47, 48, and comp. 2. 261, "Ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glaebas." 'Let the clods be exposed for summer to bake them to dust with its full mellow suns.' ['Invertant' Med. originally.—H. N.]

66.] 'Maturis' of full midsummer heat; but it seems also to contain the notion of actively ripening. Rom. has

At si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum
 Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco :
 Illic, officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae,
 Hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat umor harenam.
 Alternis idem tonsas cessare novales,

70

'frugibus,' doubtless from v. 69. Serv. says "ipsius manu adiectum 'maturis solibus,'" apparently referring to some copy supposed to be corrected by Virg. himself.

67.] So Col. 2. 4, "Graciles clivi non sunt aestate arandi, sed circa Septembres Calendas: quoniam si ante hoc tempus proscinditur, effeta et sine suco humus aestivo sole peruritur, nullasque virium reliquias habet." This September ploughing is apparently meant to supersede both winter and summer ploughing: Col. however goes on to say, that the ploughing must be repeated shortly after, so that sowing may take place at the beginning of the equinoctial rains.

68.] "Non. Septemb. Arcturus exoritur," Col. 1. 2, 'Suspendere tellurem,' not 'aratum.' "Neque enim parum refert suspensissimum esse pastinatum [solum], et, si fieri possit, vestigio quoque inviolatum," Col. 3. 13, who immediately afterwards talks of "vineam in summa terra suspendere," as opposed to planting deep. The notion of raising seems to have come from that of hanging in air: comp. A. 7. 810, "fluctu suspensa tumentum," and the uses of *ἀπερβαί* in Greek, and see Forc.; at the same time that the passages of Col. apparently show that it is not simply i. q. 'tollere,' but implies that the thing is done lightly, perhaps with reference to such phrases as "suspensio gradu," "suspensa manu," where we think of a movement as checked in its progress.

69.] 'Illic' refers to vv. 64—66, 'hic' to vv. 67, 68. 'Lactis,' as the quality of the soil would make the corn grow luxuriantly. Forb. comp. 2. 251, "Umida maiores herbas alit, ipsaque iusto Lactior." Serv. says "Ipsius manu adiecti sunt deletis duobus, quorum alter totus legi potuit, 'Illic officiant segetes ne frugibus illis,' ex altero hoc tantum 'ne deserat umor harenam,'" words which can hardly belong to any passage but the present, though they are part of his commentary on v. 67.

71—83.] 'It is well to let your land lie fallow every other season: or again you

may change the crops, and so relieve the soil at the same time that you turn it to some account.'

71.] "It can hardly be meant that the land was to be let lie idle an entire year, for in that case there would be only one crop in three years. What he means is, that after the corn had been cut in the summer, the land was to be let to lie and get a scurf of weeds till the following spring, when they were to be ploughed in," Keightley, who, however, on v. 47, quotes a passage from Simond's Travels in Italy and Sicily, showing that the extreme view of the length of time allowed to elapse between the crops is countenanced by the present practice at Soiacca on the south coast of Sicily. "When the land is manured, which is rarely the case, it yields corn every year, otherwise once in three years: thus, first year corn (fromento); second year fallow, and the weeds mowed for hay; third, ploughing several times, and sowing for the fourth year" (p. 476). Dickson (Husbandry of the Ancients, vol. i. pp. 444 foll.) concludes from a study of the agricultural writers that fallowing was the general rule in Italy. "When the several authors," says he, "treat of ploughing, and direct at what seasons this operation should be performed, they have the fallow-land only in view. The seasons of ploughing . . . were in the spring and summer, while the crop was on the ground; for the seed-time was in autumn, and the harvest in the end of summer. The directions given must therefore relate only to the fallow. It would seem that they considered the ploughings given to land that had carried a crop the preceding year, and was immediately to be sown for another, as of so little consequence that it was needless to give any directions about them. From this we may conclude that they considered ploughing and sowing immediately after a crop as bad husbandry, and only to be practised in a case of necessity; or at least that they were of opinion that very little of their land was so rich as to allow this kind of management." Compare Daubeny's Lectures, p. 125. 'Alternis,' alternately,

Et segnem patiere situ durescere campum ;
 Aut ibi flava seres mutato sidere farra,
 Unde prius laetum siliqua-quassante legumen,
 Aut tenuis fetus viciae tristisque lupini
 Sustuleris fragilis calamos silvamque sonantem.
 Urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenae,
 Urunt Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno :
 Sed tamen alternis facilis labor ; arida tantum
 Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola, neve
 Effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros.

75

80

implying no more than that the husbandman instead of sowing every time is to sow every other time. 'Idem,' as we should say, at the same time, implying that the rules already given do not exhaust the subject. "Sapienter idem Contrahes . . . vela," Hor. 2 Od. 10. 22. 'Tonsas,' reaped. "Colonus agros uberis tondet soli," Sen. Phoen. 130. For 'novalis,' see E. 1. 70, note. Here it apparently means fallow-land, the word being used proleptically. ['Tonsis' originally Med.—H. N.]

72.] 'Situ,' "Sed nos de agitatione terrae nunc loquimur, non de situ," Col. 2. 2, § 6. Here 'situ' may denote not only repose, but the scurf that forms on things allowed to lie, as 'durescere' seems to mean the physical effect of exposure to the air.

73.] 'Mutato sidere,' because wheat would not be sown at the same time of the year as pulse. See vv. 215, 220. 'Sidere' is used strictly, as in v. 1, as the seasons of the year were marked by the constellations. Keightley seems right after Voss in supposing these two crops to be sown in the same year, the pulse in spring, the wheat in autumn. Rom. has 'semine,' 'Farra,' properly spelt: here probably corn in general. "The Romans seem to have had some glimpses of the doctrine of the rotation of crops: but it does not appear that any system of culture founded upon this knowledge was in general use among them," Daubeny, p. 124.

74.] 'The pulse which is luxuriant with quivering pod'—a description of the bean. Pliny 18. 185.

75.] 'Tenuis viciae,' "The tare or vetch is called alight because its halm is so slender and its seed so small compared with those of the bean or pea." Keightley. 'Tristis,' bitter, as in 2. 126. Vetches and lupines were supposed ac-

tually to enrich the land, acting as manure if immediately after they had been cut the roots were ploughed in and not left to dry in the ground. Col. 2. 13.

76.] 'Silvan,' like 'calamos,' belongs to 'viciae' and 'lupini,' expressing the luxuriance of the crop. So "aspera silva," v. 152, of burrs and caltrops.

77.] The general sense is that the same crop, invariably repeated, will exhaust the soil. Flax, oats, and poppies are specified merely as instances of this rule, though of course they are chosen as significant instances. Virg. then goes on to say that, though this is the tendency of these crops in themselves, it need not be apprehended when they are made to alternate with each other, if only the soil is renovated after each crop by plentiful manuring. This is substantially the interpretation of Wagn., and seems the only satisfactory one. 'Lini:' "Tremellius obesse maxime ait solo virus cicercis et lini, alterum quia sit salsae, alterum quia sit fervidae naturae," Col. 2. 13, who goes on to quote the present passage.

78.] Comp. A. 5. 854, "ramum Lethaeo rore madentem Vique soporatum Stygia."

79.] 'Labor' of the field. 'Rotation will lighten the strain.' "Mox et frumentis labor additus," v. 150. 'Arida' and 'effetos' are emphatic—after the parching and exhausting effect of each crop. We may render freely 'only think of the dried-up soil, and be not afraid to give it its fill of rich manure: think of the exhausted field, and fling about the grimy ashes broadcast.'

80.] 'Pudcat,' because shame restrains men from excess in any thing. Comp. E. 7. 44 note. 'Iactare' in the same way seems to imply profuseness.

81.] [Rom. has 'effectos' for 'effetos.'—H. N.]

Sic quoque mutatis requiescunt fetibus arva,
 Nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.
 Saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros
 Atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis : 85
 Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
 Pinguia concipiunt ; sive illis omne per ignem
 Excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilisumor ;
 Seu plures calor ille vias et cacca relaxat
 Spiramenta, novas veniat qua sucus in herbas ; 90
 Seu durat magis, et venas adstringit hiantis,
 No tenuous pluviae, rapidive potentia solis
 Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.
 Multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertes

82.] 'Sic quoque' is explained by 'mutatis fetibus.' Rest is gained by a change of crops as well as by leaving the land untilled. Rom. has 'requiescent.'

83.] 'Nor is the land meantime, while enjoying its rest, thankless and unfruitful, because unploughed.' 'Gratia' is said of land which repays the labour bestowed on it, and restores the seed committed to it with interest. "Siccum, densum, et marum [agri genus]... ne tractatum quidem gratiam referet," Col. 2. 2, § 7. So Martial uses 'ingratus' of a field that does not bear. 'Inaratae terrae,' genitive after 'gratia,' the thanklessness of unploughed land; the thanklessness, as it were, of that which has nothing to be thankful for.

84—93.] 'Burning stubble is a good thing, either as invigorating the soil, or as getting rid of its moisture, or as opening its pores, or as acting astringently.'

84.] 'Saepe' with 'profuit.' 'Steriles agros' is perhaps rightly explained by Keightley of the lands from which the corn had been carried, and which therefore have nothing but the stubble on them.

85.] 'Levem stipulam,' v. 289. Emm. comp. Ov. M. 1. 492, "Utque leves stipulae demptis adolentur aristis." The most common mode of reaping was to cut the corn in the middle of the straw, leaving the rest in the ground. Varro, R. R. 1. 50. The rhythm again is accommodated to the sense.

86.] Daubeny (pp. 91 foll.) accepts all Virg.'s reasons but the last, 'seu durat,' &c., remarking that light and sandy soils are injured by the operation. He adds that the ancients do not seem to have

reached to the modern practice of burning away the turf, though Virg.'s words would be a good statement of its salutary effects.

88.] 'Vitium' as the cold in soils is called "sceleratum," 2. 256.

90.] 'Spiramenta,' 4. 39. So "spiracula" Lucr. 6. 493, "spiramina" Lucan 10. 247. 'Qua' follows 'vias' similarly A. 5. 590.

91.] The object of 'durat' seems to be the land itself rather than the pores, 'venas hiantis.' The explanations given are apparently intended to vary more or less according to the different kinds of soil.

92.] 'Tenuis,' subtle, penetrating. "Tenuisque subibit Halitus," 2. 349. 'Pluviae' is of course grammatically constructed with 'adurant,' supplied from 'adurat,' which however belongs to it in sense only so far as it contains the general notion of injuring. See on A. 2. 780. 'Rapidi,' E. 2. 10.

93.] 'Penetrabile:' "penetrare frigus," Lucr. 1. 494. 'Adurat:' cold is said to burn not only by poets (e.g. Ov. M. 14. 763, "frigus adurat Poma"), but by prose writers, as Tac. A. 13. 35, "ambusti multorum artus vi frigoris." Cerda quotes Aristot. Meteor. 4. 5, κείνιν λέγεται καὶ θερμαίνειν τὸ ψυχρόν, οὐχ ὡς τὸ θερμόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ συνάγειν ἢ ἀντιπεριστᾶναι τὸ θερμόν. So ἀποκαλεσθαι is used in Theophr. and the Geoponica of the effect of intense cold.

94—99.] 'Harrowing is useful, and so is cross-ploughing.'

94.] "Our way, after breaking a field, is to give it a good tearing up with a heavy harrow with iron teeth, drawn by two or

Vimineasque trahit crates, iuvat arva; neque illum 95
 Flava Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo;
 Et qui proscisso quae suscitât aequore terga
 Rursus in oblicum verso perrumpit aratro,
 Exercetque frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis.
 Umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas, 100
 Agricolae; hiberno laetissima pulvere farra,

more horses. The ancients, who were unacquainted with this harrow used to break the clods by manual labour with an implement called a 'rastrum,' or a 'sarcolum;' and then, to pulverize it, the men [or perhaps oxen] drew over it bush-harrows (crates), nearly the same as now in use," Keightley, who explains 'rastrum' to be a kind of rake, heavy, with iron teeth, probably four in number (Cato 10). 'Inertes' denotes the state of the clods when left to themselves, not unlike "segmentum campum," v. 72.

95.] 'Crates,' v. 166.

96.] 'Flava Ceres,' "rubicunda Ceres," v. 316. Hom.'s *ξανθή Δημήτηρ*, the epithet here seemingly indicating the nature of the reward. 'Neque—nequiquam,' A. 6. 117. Ceres does not regard him vainly, as if she were an idle spectator, or were unable to help. So "respicere" of divine aid E. 1. 27. Virg. may have thought of Hes. Works 299, *ἐργάζεσθαι, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὅφρα σε Λυμὸς Ἐχθαίρη, φίλῃ δέ σ' εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ*. The spelling 'nequiquam,' adopted by Wagn., is supported by the general practice of Med., by the Vatican fragment, and by the Canon. MS. It assumes that the word is derived, not from 'quidquam,' but from 'quiquam,' the old form of the abl., so that we may compare 'nequaquam.'

97.] Virg. means merely to distinguish the processes of harrowing and cross-ploughing, though he expresses himself as if both were not carried on by the same individual, or applied to the same land. He seems to be enumerating the different parts of cultivation without much regard to order, forgetting that he has already recommended cross-ploughing, v. 48. 'Proscindere' is the technical term for the first ploughing, the second being expressed by "offringere," the third by "lirare." 'Suscitat' is illustrated by "inertes," v. 94, and also by "suspendere," v. 68. Though in the present tense, it must not be understood as implying that ploughing was to be immediately followed by cross-ploughing, as the two took place at different

times, but merely as denoting the husbandman's habitual practice. The 'clods' which he turns up he afterwards breaks across.' 'Terga,' of the surface presented by the clods, 2. 236.

98.] 'Oblicum' Pal., 'obliquum' Med. Gud.—H. N.]

99.] 'Exercet': "paterna rura bobus exercet suis," Hor. Epod. 2. 3. 'Imperat arvis': "ut fertilibus agris non est imperandum, cito enim exhauriat illos non intermissa fecunditas, ita animorum impetus assiduus labor frangit," Sen. de Tranq. 15, which however refers to constant sowing (comp. "imperare vitibus," to task vines by making them bear, "imperare voci," to task the voice by exerting it), rather than as here to constant breaking up of the ground. Cic. De Sen. 15 says of the earth "quae nunquam recusat imperium," and so the author of the lines prefixed to the Aeneid, "ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono." Comp. the use of "subigere" for thorough cultivation.

100—117.] 'Dry winters and wet summers are best for the land. It is well to irrigate the field after sowing; well, too, to let the cattle eat down the young corn, if too luxuriant, and to drain off water when the land is too moist.'

100.] Macrobius (Sat. 5. 20) says that Virg. has followed the words of a "rusticum canticum," contained in a volume of verse older than any of the compositions of the Latin poets, "hiberno pulvere, verno luto, grandia farra, Camille, metes." 'Solstitium,' properly of either solstice; when used alone, restricted to the summer. "Sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit Solstitia," Juv. 4. 92. Ribbeck imagines that this and the three following lines contain an after-thought of Virg., not harmonized with the context. But it is obvious that the poet, wishing to speak of irrigation and drainage, might naturally begin by speaking of the amount of wet and dry desirable at different seasons: and the form into which he has thrown his remarks is simply due to the liveliness of his fancy.

Laetus ager : nullo tantum se Mysia cultu
 Iactat et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara mēssis.
 Quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva
 Insequitur, cumulosque ruit male pinguis harenae, 105
 Deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis,
 Et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
 Ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam

102.] 'Moësia,' the reading of the older editions, is found in Pal. a m. s. and two of Ribbeck's cursives: but 'Mysia' is supported by Med., Rom., Pal. a m. p., and required by the context, being the region of which Gargarus, the highest summit of the range of Ida, forms a part. Both readings are mentioned by Serv. [and the Berne scholia.] The fertility of Gargarus (or of the lower lands about it) was proverbial. "Gargara quot segetes, quot habet Methymna racemos," Ov. A. A. 1. 57. The sense then seems to be, as Heyne takes it, 'Mysia is never so much in its pride, and Gargarus never so marvellously fertile, as in a dry winter,' as if he had said 'Mysia et Gargara se iactant.' 'Cultu' then is not to be pressed, the meaning being merely 'Mysian farming is never so successful,' &c. Wagn. however adopts another interpretation suggested by Macrobius (vid. sup.), 'No Mysian cultivation can equal a common field in a dry winter:' but then 'ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messis' would be very awkwardly expressed. A third way, as Mr. Blackburn suggests, would be to press 'cultu'; Mysia and Gargarus owe their fertility to seasons like these, far more than to cultivation.

103.] Comp. 2. 82. Probus reads 'iactet—mirentur'; [and so Serv. on A. 1. 140.—H. N.]

104.] 'Quid dicam,' a form of enumeration, v. 311. 'Qui,' antecedent omitted, as in E. 2. 71, &c. 'Iacto,' 2, 317. The metaphor, as Keightley has seen, is from a soldier throwing his lance, and then coming to close quarters sword in hand.

105.] 'Ruit,' levels, whereas "ruam acervos" Hor. 2 S. 5. 22, means to heap up. So "Sol ruit," A. 3. 508, means goes down; "ruebat dies," A. 10. 256, was coming up. The notion of the word seems to be that of violent movement: the direction of the movement depends on the context. ['Ruere harenam' seems to have been the ordinary phrase for 'to level' or 'scatter' sand: Fest. p. 262 Müller "rutrum tenentis iuvenis est effigies in

Capitolio ephebi more Graccorum harenam ruentis."—H. N.] 'Cumulos' seems rightly understood by Dickson (vol. i. p. 518) of the earth at the tops of the ridges, which is brought down by rakes or hurdles on the seed, comparing Col. 2. 4, § 8, "inter duos latius distantis sulcos medius cumulus siccam sedem frumentis praebeat." The second reading of Med. has 'tumulos.' 'Male pinguis,' "non pinguis," like "male sanus" for "insanus," Serv., an interpretation which enables us to give 'harenae' its ordinary sense, and agrees better, as Wagn. remarks, with what follows, where dry ground requiring irrigation is spoken of. Mr. Long however prefers to understand 'male pinguis' too stiff (comp. 2. 218), remarking that a very light soil would not have 'cumuli.'

106.] "'Satis,' segetibus, agris satis, id est, seminatis: nam participium est," Serv. "'Sequentis,' quia quo duxerit sequuntur," Id. In ll. 21. 257 foll., on which parts of this description are closely modelled, the trench-maker *ὑδατος ῥέον ἡγεμονεύει*, and the water *φθάει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἔγροντα*. From the description it seems plain that the irrigation takes place in warm weather, after the corn has begun to get up. Rom. has 'fluentes' for 'sequentis.'

107.] 'Herbis' must mean the blades of corn, not the grass, which would not be growing in a corn-field. With the language comp. E. 7. 57, "Aret ager: vitio moriens silit aëris herba."

108.] 'Clivosi tramitis,' i.e. "clivi per quem unda tramitem facit," 'trames' being used proleptically. The force of 'ecce' at once giving the picture and expressing the unexpected relief to the soil, should not be neglected. 'And when the scorched land is in a glow, and the corn-blades dying—O joy! from the brow of the channelled slope he entices the flood: see! down it tumbles, waking hoarse murmurs among the smooth stones, and allaying the sun-struck ground as it bubbles on.'

Elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
 Saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva. 110
 Quid, qui, ne gravidis procumbat culmus aristis,
 Luxuriam segetum tenera depascit in herba,
 Cum primum sulcos aequant sata? quique paludis
 Collectum umorem bibula deducit harena,
 Praesertim incertis si mensibus amnis abundans 115
 Exit, et obducto late tenet omnia limo,
 Unde cavae tepido sudant umore lacunae?
 / Nec tamen, haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores
 Versando terram experti, nihil improbus anser

109.] Serv. reminds us that "elices" is the technical word for drains, and "aquilices" for men employed to discover water. The latter word may be derived from "lacio," though the older form "aquileges" points rather to "lego:" the former is perhaps still more doubtful, as the analogy of "colliciae" or "colliquiae" is in favour of "liquo." "Illa cadens:" τοῦ μὲν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ ψηφίδος ἄπασαι Ὀχλεῦνται· τὸ δὲ τ' ὅκα καταειβόμενον κελεύει, Π. 21. 260.

110.] 'Temperat:': "frigidus aëra vesper Temperat," 3. 337. Contrast Hor. 3 Od. 19. 6, "quis aquam temperet ignibus?" where it is the cold that is mitigated.

111.] 'Quid, qui' is explained by 'dicam,' v. 104, otherwise the construction might be the same as in E. 9. 44 (note). 'Gravidis—aristis:' Cerda comp. Hes. Works 473, ὧδὲ κεν ἄδρυσὴν σταχὺς νεύουεν ἔραζε.

112.] [Cic. De Or. 2. 23. "ut in herbis rustici solent dicere, in summa ubertate inest luxuries quaedam, quae stilo depascenda est."—H. N.] Heyne comp. Pliny 18. 161, "Luxuria segetum castigatur dente pecoris in herba dumtaxat: et depastae quidem vel saepius nullam in spica iniuriam sentiunt." This luxuriance was occasionally corrected by harrowing, "pectinatio," Id. ib. 186.

113.] 'Sulcos' here are the tops of the furrows, or rather the ridges (between the furrows, as Dickson remarks (vol. i. p. 517 note). Pal. has or had 'palude.'

114.] 'Deducere,' of drawing off water, v. 269. 'Bibula harena' might be referred, with Keightley, to the soil from which the water is drawn off, called 'harena' with reference to the water, but the scope of the passage seems rather to require that it should be taken instrumentally, so that it would seem to refer

to the drains, which Col. 2. 2 and others recommend to have half filled with malle stones or gravel. Heyne refers to Dickson to show that sand is sometimes mixed with soil in order to absorb moisture, but he does not give the page, and I have not found it. Mr. Blackburn, agreeing generally with Keightley, seems to take 'harena' in its strict sense, considering 'bibula harena' as a kind of oxymoron, and remarking that he has found it the worst soil to drain. "Bibulam pavit aequor harenam," Lucr. 2. 376.

115.] 'Incertis mensibus' is explained of the months when the weather cannot be depended on, i.e. the spring and autumn (comp. vv. 311 foll., Lucr. 6. 357—378); in this case the spring. Forb. comp. Lucan 4. 49, "incertus aër." The words themselves would more naturally mean 'at uncertain seasons.' Prob. Inst. 1. 10. 4, mentions a reading 'certis.'

116.] 'Exit' of a river, A. 2. 496.

117.] 'Sudant umore,' Lucr. 6. 943. Keightley rightly gives the force of the line, 'Whence if the water is not drawn off before the sun begins to act on it, it might rot the plants.'

118—146.] 'Besides all this, the farmer has many enemies to fight with, birds, weeds, and shade. Such is Jove's ordinance; it was he that introduced labour. Before him men had every thing to their hands, and property was not: he brought in dangers and difficulties, to sharpen human wit: and so inventions and discoveries multiplied, under pressure of want.'

118.] 'Boumque labores,' v. 325, "hominumque urbisque labores," A. 2. 284.

119.] 'Versare' like 'vertere,' v. 2, with a further notion of frequency. 'Improbis:' 'probus' is frequently coupled with 'pudicus' (comp. note on v. 80), express-

Strymoniaeque grues et amaris intiba fibris 120
 Officiunt, aut umbra nocet. Pater ipse colendi
 Haut facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
 Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,
 Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.
 Ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni; 125
 Ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
 Fas erat: in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus
 Omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat.

ing the civic virtue of moderation and respect for the rights of others. Hence 'improbus' denotes the absence of such moderation and respect, and as such is applied to the wanton malice of a persecuting power which makes its victims like itself, E. 8. 49 (note), to the unscrupulous rapacity of a noxious animal, 3. 431, A. 2. 356, &c., and even to things which are exacting and excessive, v. 145, A. 12. 687. So here the goose is characterized as unconscionable, regardless of its own and the farmer's dues. Comp. the use of *ἀναδής*, e.g. of Sisyphus' stone. Of the goose Palladius (1. 30) says, "Anser locis consitis inimicus est, quia sata et morsu laedit et stereore," the latter part of the charge being, as Martyn observes, a vulgar error.

120.] 'Strymoniae': see on E. 1. 55. No other writer seems to speak of cranes as enemies to the farmer. 'Intiba' chicory or succory would be injurious, as Turnebus (Advers. 27. 25) explains, both directly, as a weed, and indirectly, as attracting geese, which are fond of it (Col. 8. 14). 'Amaris fibris' would rather point to the direct effect; but the words may be merely ornamental.

121.] 'Umbra,' v. 157. E. 10. 76, "nocent et frugibus umbræ." 'Pater ipse:' comp. generally Hes. Works 42 foll., where the difficulties introduced by Zeus are attributed to his resentment against Prometheus. 'Ipse' added to the name of a god seems to express dignity, as Wagn. remarks, 'the great Father himself,' though this does not always exhaust its meaning. See on v. 328.

122.] 'Per artem,' A. 10. 135.

123.] 'Movit,' 2. 316. Comp. the use of 'suscito' (v. 97), 'agito,' and note on v. 72. 'Corda,' in older Latin, the intellect. 'Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excoordes, vecordes, concordesque dicuntur, et Nasica ille prudens, bis consul, corniculum, et Egrege cordatus homo catus Æliu'

Sextus," Cic. Tusc. 1. 9. So "hebeti cognoscere corde," Lucr. 4. 51, the opp. of 'acuens corda.' This and the next line give the good side of the changes of the silver age, as if labour were necessary for the development of man. The old mythology, however, like our own revelation, taught that man first became deteriorated, and that the change in his relation to nature was intended as his punishment.

126.] 'Ne' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive, which has 'nec,' the reading of the old editions and originally of Heyne. See on 3. 561. Whether 'nec—quidem' could stand is disputed: Madvig, Excursus 3 on Cic. de Finibus, decides against it. The sense seems to be, the ground was sacred not only from breaking up by the plough, but from division by the landmark. The thought will hardly bear to be put into a more prosaic shape, as though agriculture and property are doubtless connected, Virg. would scarcely speak of the latter as necessarily going before the former. Ov. M. 1. 136 postpones the division of the land till the brazen age, cultivation having begun in the silver. For 'limitatio' see Dict. A. (ed. 2) 'ager,' or 'agrimensores' (ed. 1). 'Signare' may contain a reference to 'assignatio.'

127.] 'In medium,' 4. 157, with a view to the common stock. This refers to 'ne signare quidem,' &c., 'ipsaque tellus' to 'ante Iovem.' 'Ipsaque tellus:' *καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε γείωρος ἄρουρα Ἀνδρομάτη πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον*, Hes. Works 118. So even in Lucr.'s view of the world (2. 1159), "Ipsa dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta, Quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore."

128.] 'Liberius' seems to include both generosity and freedom from external constraint. "Immetata quibus iugera liberae Fruges et Cererem ferunt," Hor. 3 Od. 24. 12. Heyne.

Ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris,
 Praedarique lupos iussit, pontumque moveri, 130
 Mellaque decussit foliis, ignemque removit,
 Et passim rivis currentia vina repressit,
 Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes
 Paulatim, et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam,
 Ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem. 135
 Tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas;
 Navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit,
 Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton;

129.] The extinction of the serpent and the pacification of the wolf are to signalize the return of the golden age. E. 4. 24., 5. 60. 'Malum' may be used as Serv. thinks, because 'virus' is a neutral word for animal fluid: but it seems more obvious to take 'virus' in its ordinary sense, and regard 'malum' as a piece of descriptive simplicity, like "malos fures," Hor. 1. S. 1. 77. 'Ater' frequently occurs as an epithet of serpents, when it would not be easy to say whether it is to be construed in its primitive sense of black, or its derivative meaning of deadly, though it may include both. In 4. 407, where it is applied to a tiger, it seems to mean the latter.

130.] 'Moveri,' deponent; to swell. To understand it of sailing would anticipate v. 136, as Heyne remarks. Forb. comp. Lucr. 5. 999 foll., where the sea is described as rising and falling idly so long as there were no ships for it to threaten; but the two passages are contrasted as well as parallel, what is the second stage with Virg. answering to the normal state with Lucr.

131.] 'Mella:' see E. 4. 30, note. 'Ignemque removit:' κρίψει δὲ πῦρ, Hes. Works 50, who goes on to tell how Prometheus defeated the purpose of Zeus by stealing the fire.

132.] "Flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant," Ov. M. 1. 111. 'Passim' with 'currentia.'

133.] 'Usus:' see on 2. 22. It is virtually personified, whence 'meditando.' 'Extunderet artis,' 4. 315, where "experientia," v. 316, answers to 'usus' here. Cerda comp. Hom. Hymn to Hermes, 508, σοφίης ἐκμάσσειν τέχνην. Pal. a m. s. has 'extruderet,' [und Gud. 'extuderet,' i.e. 'excuderet.'—H. N.]

134.] 'Paulatim' is illustrated by Lucr. 5. 1452, "Usus et inipigræ simul experientia mentis Paulatim docuit pedetemptim

progređientis." Comp. the following lines, which Virg. doubtless had before him. We might have expected 'ut' for 'et' here, and 'et' for 'ut' (which is given by some MSS.) in the next line: Virg., however, has chosen to vary the expression, coupling a particular fact with a general, and then subjoining a second particular, as a co-ordinate clause with the two. 'Sulcis' seems to mean not *in* but *by* furrows. 'Might get corn by ploughing.'

135.] "Quærit pars semina flammæ, Abstrusa in venis silicis," A. 6. 6. [Serv. quotes "inter venas saxi" from Claudius Quadrigarius. — H. N.] 'Abstrusum,' thrust away (by Jupiter). 'Excuderet,' A. 1. 174.

136.] 'Alnos,' as growing on the river banks (E. 6. 63, note), and thus suggesting the experiment. 'Sensere,' felt the weight of.

137.] 'Facere nomen alicui' is a phrase (4. 272), to which 'numeros' is added here by a kind of zeugma. With the thought comp. Soph. Naup. fr. 2 (Wagn.), ἐφεύρε δ' ἄστρων μέτρα καὶ περιστροφάς . . . Ἀρκτου στροφάς τε καὶ Κυνὸς ψυχρὰν δύσιν. Still closer, if the parallel may be allowed, is Psalm 147. 4, "He telleth the number of the stars: He calleth them all by their names."

138.] For the lengthening of the last syllable of 'Pleiadas,' comp. E. 2. 53 note. 'Hyadas,' A. 1. 744. 'Lycaonis Arcton,' like 'Scyllam Nisi,' E. 6. 74. Ovid connects the three similarly (M. 13. 293), "Pleiadasque, Hyadasque, immunemque æquoris Arcton." 'Claram' is emphatic. Aratus (Phaen. 40) speaks of Helice as καθαρή καὶ ἐπιφρόσασθαι ἐτοίμη, πολλὰ φαινόμενη ἑλίκη πρώτης ἀπὸ νυκτός. The present line is of course mainly in apposition to 'nomina,' but it may also have a reference to 'numeros,' as it is itself a sort of enumeration.

Tum laqueis captare feras, et fallere visco
 Inventum, et magnos canibus circumdare saltus. 140
 Atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem
 Alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina.
 Tum ferri rigor atque argutae lammina serrae,—
 Nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum—
 Tum variae venere artes. Labor omnia vicit 145
 Improbis, et duris urgens in rebus egestas.
 Prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram
 Instituit, cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacrae

139.] The absence of snares is to be one mark of the return of the golden age, E. 5. 60. Cerda quotes Soph. Ant. 313 foll., where man is said to show his sagacity by snaring beasts, birds, and fishes.

140.] See on E. 6. 56.

141.] 'Funda,' Dict. A. 'Retia.'

142.] The structure of the line seems to show that 'alta petens' refers to what has gone before. The meaning seems merely to be that the fisher throws his casting-net as deep as he can, the largest fish, as Mr. Blackburn remarks, lying in the deep pools. The words are elsewhere used of the sea; but as they are also applied to shooting into the air (A. 5. 508, where the structure of the line is the same), there can be no reason why they should not here be said of a river, of which 'altus' is not an uncommon epithet (4. 333). To couple 'alta petens pelagoque,' with Wagn. and Mr. Munro, like "longius ex altoque" 3. 238, "extremus galeaque ima" A. 5. 498, would be possible of course, but, I think, less good. [Serv. recognizes both interpretations.—H. N.] 'Lina' used of a net like *λίνα*. The drag-net is here meant.

143.] 'Ferri rigor,' "ferrum rigidum." "Rigor auri solvitur aestu," Lucr. 4. 492. Comp. Id. 6. 1011, "quam validi ferri naturae (Wakef. and Lachm. "natura et") frigidus horror," and also 2. 410, "serrae stridentis acerbum Horrorem," which Virg. may have thought of, as the latter part of the present verse shows. Ov. M. 1. 141, of the iron age, "Iamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum l'rodierat." 'Serrae': the invention of the saw was attributed by some to Daedalus (Pliny 7. 198), by others to his nephew (Ov. M. 8. 244, where the hint is said to have been taken from the back-bone of a fish), by others to Talus (Sen. Ep. 90).

144.] A. 6. 181. Jacob Bryant thought

the present line spurious, and Heyne agrees with him. It is certainly awkward, as one might have supposed that cleaving of wood did not go on in the golden age; but Virg. may very well not have been thoroughly consistent in his conception of the progress of society.

145.] 'Vicit' Ribbeck's MSS., except perhaps one cursive: 'vincit,' the other reading, is less appropriate, as the poet is narrating, not uttering a sentiment.

146.] 'Improbis,' note on v. 119. Whether the notion here is that of excess, as there suggested, or of unscrupulousness, is not easy to say. Emm. comp. Theocr. 21. 1, *ἀ πείνα, Διδφάρτε, μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγέλπει*. ['Surgens' Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.]

147—159.] 'As for agriculture, it was introduced by Ceres. Even that was afterwards made difficult by diseases in the wheat and the intrusion of weeds: in fact, the farmer has to use every exertion if he would not submit to failure and hunger.'

147.] The sowing of corn has been already mentioned (v. 134) as a feature of the silver age; its introduction is here spoken of more at length. 'Ceres,' v. 7.

148.] It is doubtful whether 'glandes atque arbuta' are the subject of 'deficerent' ('sacrae silvae' being the gen.), or its object. 'Deficere' generally takes an acc. of the person or thing failed or forsaken, not of the thing in which the failure takes place. Varro however, R. R. 3. 16, has "deficient animus," speaking of bees, and the analogy of 'sufficio' may be urged. Comp. 2. 520, "dant arbuta silvae." 'Sacrae' is explained by 'Dodona.' Comp. 2. 15, "nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet Aesculus, atque habitae Graia oracula quercus." The sacredness of the groves recalls the associations of the golden age. Virg.'s notion seems to be that in the silver age the supply of acorns

Deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret.
 Mox et frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmos 150
 Esset robigo segnetes, subito aspera silva,
 Lappaeque tribolique, interque nitentia culta
 Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae.
 Quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris, 155
 Et sonitu terrebis aves, et ruris opaci
 Falce premes umbram, votisque vocaveris imbrem,
 Heu, magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum,
 Concussaue famem in silvis solabere quercu.

was checked, in order that man might be driven to some other kind of food; here however, as elsewhere, he is apparently embarrassed by the conflicting views of human degeneracy and human development. Acorns are more naturally conceived of as the food of savages than as the diet of the golden age; and so in Ov. M. 1. 101 foll., after we have heard that every part of the earth yielded every kind of product freely, it is rather strange to be told that men in those times lived on arbutus, strawberries, cornels, mulberries, and acorns fallen from the tree. At the end of the present paragraph (v. 159) a meal of acorns is evidently regarded as a relapse into barbarism, not to dwell on the question how it is that man still has the option of following a diet which since the golden age has been forbidden him.

150.] 'Soon however the wheat had plagues of its own.' 'Labor,' of the sufferings of things inanimate, v. 79. 'Ut' may merely denote a consequence, as in "accidit ut;" but the passage will gain force if we suppose it to indicate the will of Jupiter, 'additus ut' implying something like "edictum est ut." 'The baleful mildew was bidden to eat the stems, and the lazy thistle to set up its spikes in the fields.'

151.] 'Robigo,' mildew, was controlled, according to the Italian belief, by a god, 'Robigus,' or a goddess, 'Robigo,' who were propitiated by a special festival, the 'Robigalia' (see Dict. A. 'Robigalia,' where the existence of these deities is questioned). 'Segnis,' as it were, the symbol of inactivity, growing up where the field is left to itself.

152.] See on E. 5. 37 for the belief that these various weeds were really diseases in the wheat.

153.] 'Lappae' is explained by Keightley to be 'cleavers, clivers, or goose-grass.' 'Triboli,' *τριβολοι*, caltrops, so called from their resemblance to the pieces of iron of that name thrown among an enemy's cavalry. "Lolium tribolique fatigant Triticeis messis et in expugnabile gramen," Ov. M. 5. 485. 'Nitentia culta' answer, as Keightley says, to the "nitidae fruges" of Lucr. 1. 252.

154.] See on E. 5. 37.

155.] 'Quod nisi,' Madv. § 449. 'Herbam insectabere:' comp. "inexpugnabile gramen," quoted above from Ovid. 'Herbam' is the reading of most of Ribbeck's MSS., and suits the context better than 'terram' (Rom.), which Heyne retained.

156.] 'Aves:' "avidaeque volucres Semina iacta legunt," Ov. 1. c.

157.] 'Umbrae' Med., Rom., Gud., 'umbras' Pal. and two of Ribbeck's cursives. Either might stand. 'Premes,' like "premant vitem," Hor. 1 Od. 31. 9. 'Votis:' vows were paid to Jupiter Pluvius (Tibull. 1. 7. 26). There were similar invocations at Athens. M. Anton. 5. 7, *εὐχῇ Ἀθηναίων. ἴσον, ἴσον, ὃ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων.*

158.] This line is modelled on Lucr. 2. 2, "magnum alterius spectare laborem," and is itself imitated by Hor. 2 Od. 2. 24, "ingentis oculo inretorto Spectat acervos." The sense resembles Hes. Works 391, *ὥς τοι ἕκαστα ὦρι' ἀέχεται μὴ πως τὰ μεταξὺ χαρίζων Πρώσσης ἁλλοτρῶν οἴκους καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσης.* 'Acervum,' v. 185. For 'spectabis' two MSS. have 'expectabis,' one 'sperabis.'

159.] 'You will have to end where men began, and fall back upon acorns.' Observe 'in silvis,' the scene of wild life, implying a contrast to "in arvo." The thought is not unlike Lucr. 5. 206 foll.

Dicendum et, quae sint duris agrestibus arma, 160
 Quis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes.
 Vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri,
 Tardaque Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra,
 Tribulaque, traheaeque, et iniquo pondere rastrī;
 Virgea praeterea Celei vilisque supellex, 165
 Arbuteae crates et mystica vannus Iacchi.
 Omnia quae multo ante memor provisa repones,
 Si te digna manet divini gloria ruris.
 Continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur
 In burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri. 170

160—175.] 'The implements for a farmer are ploughs, waggons, thrashing instruments, harrows, baskets, hurdles, and fans. The plough has several parts, made from the wood of different trees, which should be well seasoned.'

160.] 'Duris agrestibus,' A. 7. 504. 'Arma:' 'Cerealiaque arma,' A. 1. 177.

161.] 'Nec potuere' seems equivalent to 'have never been able.'

162.] 'Robur aratri,' like "robur ferri," A. 7. 609, Lucr. 2. 449, "robur saxi," Lucr. 1. 882. The expression seems to be an ornamental one, not necessarily denoting a heavy plough for deep ploughing, which would not be suited to all soils. 'Inflexi,' is explained by vv. 163, 170.

163.] 'Tarda' qualifies 'volventia.' 'Eleusinae matris,' Ceres, who is introduced like Celeus and Bacchus, to give a religious dignity to what might otherwise seem trivial. "*Eleusinus* novavit poeta pro vulgari '*Ελευσίνιος*.'" Heyne. The waggons apparently belong to her merely as the goddess of husbandry, as the conveyances used in the Eleusinian processions were not 'plaustra,' but "tensae." 'Matris' is sufficiently explained by *Δημήτηρ*, without referring to the appellation which the Italians are supposed to have given to their goddesses (Keightley, Myth. p. 451).

164.] 'Tribulum,' τὰ τριβόλα, a 'threshing-sledge.' "Fit e tabula lapidibus aut ferro asperata, quae inposito auriga aut pondere grandi trahitur iumentis iunctis ut discutiat e spica grana." Varro, R. R. 1. 52. This writer then mentions another kind made "ex assibus dentatis cum orbiculis, quod vocant plostellum poenicum." One of these was perhaps the 'traha' (or 'trahea'). "The 'tribulum' ('trebbio,' It.; 'trillo,' Sp.) is still used in the East, in Spain, and in the south of Italy."

Keightley.

165.] 'Celeus,' Κελεός, father of Trip-tolemus and Demophon, and himself the first priest of Demeter at Eleusis. The 'virgea supellex' seems to include baskets, colanders, &c. (E. 2. 71., 10. 71, G. 1. 266., 2. 241), as well as the hurdles and the fan.

166.] The winnowing-fan was carried in the Eleusinian processions in honour of Iacchus, the son of Demeter and Zeus, sometimes confounded with Bacchus (as by Virg., E. G. 15., 7. 51), sometimes distinguished from him (Dict. B.). Rom. has 'vallus,' which according to Serv. meant the same thing.

167.] Imitated from Hes. Works, 457, τῶν πρόσθεν μελέτην ἔχέμεν οἰκίῃ θέσθαι. 'Memor' seems to be a translation of *μνημένος*, Id. ib. 422. In the whole of the present passage Virg. probably had that part of Hesiod's poem before his mind. [Pal. originally had 'provissa.'—H. N.]

168.] 'If you are destined ('manet') to win and wear the honours of the divine country.' 'Digna' is explained by Serv. "si te capit dignitas ruris," in which case it would mean 'deemed worthy by you,' like "nec fuit indignum superis," v. 491 (note). Keightley renders it 'deserved.' It might also mean 'the full glory,' i.e. glory such as would be worth ambition. See on v. 507. 'Divini' is another attempt to revive the sacred associations of rural life. The same tone is perceptible in 'manet.'

169.] 'Continuo' is explained by 'in silvis.' The words can only mean that the young elm while yet in the woods is bent and made to grow in the required shape, whatever may be thought of the possibility of the thing, which Keightley denies.

170.] "'Buris,' also 'urvum,' γῶγς, the plough-beam. We have nothing in our

Huic ab stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
 Binae aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.
 Caeditur et tilia ante iugo levis, altaque fagus
 Stivaque, quae currus a tergo torqueat imos;

plough exactly answering to the 'buris.' It was a piece of strong wood, naturally or artificially curved, to one end of which was affixed the pole, to the other the 'dentale,' and into it was morticed the 'stiva.' It therefore formed the body of the plough, which from its shape is termed by Lucretius 'curvum' [as here] In Virg.'s plough the 'buris' is of elm, while in that of Hesiod it is of ilex (*πρίνος*)." Keightley. Daubeny (p. 101), following Seguiet, identifies the Virgilian and Hesiodic ploughs with one still used in the south of France under the name of the Herault plough, where there is a 'buris' called 'basse.' Seguiet however considers Hesiod's *ἐλνυα* to be the 'buris,' his *γῶγς* being the 'dentale.'

171.] "'Temo,' *ῥυμός* [in Hesiod *ἱστοβοεύς*], the pole. The 'temo' was part of the plough, as well as of a cart or carriage. The yoke was fastened to the end of it, and by means of it the oxen drew Hesiod (Works 435) says it should be of elm or bay." Keightley, who remarks that 'protentus' had better be taken as a verb, instead of supplying 'aptatur,' as the 'temo' is not fitted on like the 'aures' and 'dentalia.' But 'aptantur' probably refers to the shaping of the pieces of wood, not to fitting them on to the plough. So A. l. 552, "et silvis aptare trabes." 'Ab stirpe' is restored by Wagn. from Med. a. m. sec. for 'a stirpe.'

172.] "'Auris' a mould-board. When the plough was prepared for seed-sowing, the 'aures' or 'tabellae' (Varro l. 29) were put to the 'vomer,' so that it then resembled our strike furrow plough. Pliny (18. 180) would seem to speak of only one 'auris,' but perhaps his words are not to be taken strictly." Keightley. "'Dentale,' *ἐλνυα*, the share-beam, or share-head, a piece of wood fixed horizontally at the lower end of the 'buris,' and to which the share was fitted. In some cases the 'dentale' was itself shod with iron. It is not certain whether it was one solid piece of timber, with a space to admit the end of the 'buris,' or two pieces fastened on each side of it and running to a point: the former seems the more probable, and the 'duplici dorso' of Virg. may only allude to its position as on each side of the 'buris,' and its

support of the two 'aures.' The plural 'dentalia' is used by this poet in speaking of one plough, but it is probably nothing more than a usual poetic licence. Hesiod directs the 'dentale' to be made of oak." Id. According to Daubeny, the 'dentale' is a share of wood, made double by a share of iron placed over it so as to realize the 'duplex dorsum.'

173.] "'Iugum,' *ζυγός*, yoke. This was a piece of wood, straight in the middle and curved towards the ends, which was attached to the end of the pole of the plough or cart, and went over the necks of the oxen, which drew by means of it. It was by the neck the oxen drew." Keightley.

174.] "'Stiva,' *ἐχέρλη*, the plough-tail, or handle. The 'stiva' was originally morticed into the 'buris,' but it sometimes formed one piece with it. It had a cross piece named 'manicula,' by which the ploughman held and directed the plough." Keightley. 'Stivaque' is the reading of all the MSS., one omitting the following word 'quae.' Martyn, followed by Voss, and Wunderlich, conjectures 'stivæ,' which would at once clear up the sense: but the change, besides its want of authority, would not improve the metre, and the MSS. reading is only a poetical way of saying the same thing, by the help of a hendiadys, and is quite in keeping with Virg.'s love of variety of expression. The other alternative, keeping 'stivaque,' is to place the comma after 'fagus,' and take 'que' in 'altaque' as virtually equivalent to 've'—'the light linden-tree or the tall beech is cut beforehand for the yoke.' Ribbeck follows Schrader's transposition, placing this line before v. 173, an ingenious suggestion, as Schrader's usually are, but not to be admitted in an author like Virg. whose text is so well established. See on 4. 203—205. For 'currus' Wagn. reads 'cursus' from two MSS.; 'currus' however is naturally enough applied to a plough in motion, as in Catull. 64. 9 of a ship, as if a plough were a species of carriage, containing as it does a 'temo' and a 'iugum' at least. Serv. says that in Virg.'s own parts wheel-ploughs were used, as was the case in Pliny's time (18. 172) in Gaul, and is still in Lombardy.

Et suspensa foci explorat robora fumus.

175

Possum multa tibi veterum praecepta referre,

Ni refugis, tenuisque piget cognoscere curas.

Area cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro

Et vertenda manu et creta solidanda tenaci,

Ne subeant herbae, neu pulvere victa fatiscat,

180

Tum variae inludant pestes: saepe exiguus mus

175.] So in Hes. Works 45. 629 the rudder is to be hung in the smoke, as in Aristoph. Aoh. 279 the shield when war is over. 'Explorat' seems to combine the notions of searching (drying) and testing. Before Heins. the reading was 'exploret' (Med. second reading): but the context is descriptive, not directly preceptive. On the whole subject of Virg.'s plough see Keightley's Terms of Husbandry, annexed to his edition, s. v. 'Aratrum,' and Daubeny, Lect. 3.

176—186.] 'There are many precepts of husbandry to be learnt; for instance, the threshing-floor should be made thoroughly smooth and hard that it may not gape, and leave room first for weeds and then for animals of all kinds.'

176.] With this use of 'possum' comp. Plaut. Trin. 2. 2. 104, "Multa ego possum docta dicta et quamvis facunde loqui," where Lindemann explains "possum; sed nolo nunc" and see other instances in Kritzon Sall. C. 51. 4. 'Tibi: Maecenas is addressed throughout as the ideal reader, as Memmius by Lucr. Keightley well comp. Lucr. 1. 400, "Multaque praeterea tibi possum commemorando Argumenta fidem dictis conradere nostris." Comp. also ib. v. 410, "Quod si pigritas, paulumve recesseris ab re."

177.] 'Refugis,' from hearing, as in A. 2. 12 from speaking. Observe the mood and tense, 'I can repeat . . . but I see you start off.'

178.] The chief passages in the writers De Re Rust., referring to the construction of an 'area' or threshing-floor, are Cato 91, 129, Varro 1. 51, Col. 2. 19 (20). A summary of their results is thus given by Keightley. "An elevated spot, to which the wind would have free access, was to be selected, but care was to be taken that it should not be on the side from which the wind usually blew on the house and garden, as the chaff was injurious to trees and vegetables. It was to be circular in form, and elevated a little in the centre, so that the rain might not lie on it. It was some-

times flagged, but was more usually formed of 'argilla,' with which chaff and 'amurca' were well mixed. It was then made solid and level with rammers or a rolling-stone, in order that it might not crack and so give harbour to mice, ants, or any other vermin, and that grass might not grow on it. Beside the 'area' was a building named 'nubilarium,' into which the corn was carried when there appeared any danger of rain or storm." Sometimes the 'area' was covered (Varro. l. c.), but generally it was in the open air. "Cum primis dicebant pro eo quod est in primis." Gell. 17. 2. The question between 'cum primis' (= 'inter primos') and 'cum-primis' (= 'praecipue') seems to be really a question as to the word or words with which 'cum primis' is to be connected: e.g. in the present line it might be taken with 'area,' or with 'ingenti,' or with 'aequanda.' Here it seems best to refer it to what has gone before, the 'multa praecepta,' of which this that follows is the first. Pal. has 'cylindro est,' ['est' being apparently added by a second hand. —H. N.]

179.] 'Vertenda manu,' as Serv. remarks, really precedes 'aequanda cylindro,' as the preparation of the floor is the first thing. 'Creta,' = 'argilla' as in 2. 215, as appears from Varro, l. c.

180.] "Pulvere pro siccitate," Philargyrius, the effect for the cause, if 'pulvere' is to be taken with 'victa'; but it may be a sort of modal abl. with 'fatiscat' like 'rimis fatiscunt," A. 1. 123. 'Fatiscio' seems here to have both its original sense of breaking into chinks, and its secondary one of exhaustion. In this latter sense it is joined with 'victus,' as constantly in Lucr. with 'fessus.'

181.] 'Inludunt' was the old reading, and is found in Pal. a. m. s., Med. (second reading), and one or two of Ribbeck's cursives: but Heins. was clearly right in restoring 'inludant,' the reading of Rom. and Gud., as well as originally of Med. and Pal. 'Mock the threshing-floor and the

Sub terris posuitque domos atque horrea fecit;
 Aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae;
 Inventusque cavis bufo, et quae plurima terrae
 Monstra ferunt; populatque ingentem farris acervum 185
 Curculio, atque inopi metuens formica senectae.
 Contemplator item, cum se nux plurima silvis
 Induet in florem et ramos curvabit olentes,
 Si superant fetus, pariter frumenta sequentur,
 Magnaque cum magno veniet tritura calore; 190

husbandman's labour.' So in 2. 375 the goats are said to mock the young vine. 'Pestes,' as injuring the floor and annoying the husbandman. 'Exiguus mus': "Risimus, et merito, nuper poetam, qui dixerat *Praetextam in cista mures rosere Camilli*. At Vergilii miramur illud: *saepe exiguus mus*. Nam epitheton *exiguus* [aptum, proprium] effecit, ne plus expectaremus, et casus singularis magis decuit, et clausula ipsa unius syllabae non usitata addidit gratiam. Imitatus est itaque utrumque Horatius, *Nascetur ridiculus mus*." Quint. 8. 3. [Serv. has the same story.—H. N.]

183.] This use of 'talpa' as masc., like that of "damma," E. 8. 28, is noted by Quint. 9. 3. and Serv. 'Oculis capti:' "Hannibal . . . quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur," Livy 22. 2. The expression seems to come from the use of 'capi,' for 'to be injured,' as in Lucr. 5. 929, "Nec facile ex aestu nec frigore quod caperetur, Nec novitate cibi, nec labi corporis ulla," the abl. with 'captus' showing the point in which the injury has been sustained. So *alpeús* in Greek is used in the sense of 'affect'; see Campbell on Plato Theaet. p. 2. 2. [Nonius, p. 249, quotes the line, and says "capere, implicare, impedire."—H. N.]

184.] 'Inventus' is probably the finite verb, not the participle. 'Bufo' is said to occur nowhere else in the classics.

185.] 'Monstra,' used of hateful creatures without reference to their size, as in 3. 152 of the gadfly. "Populatque ingentem farris acervum," A. 4. 402.

186.] "Curculio," the weevil. This larva is known to be very destructive to corn and flour, but only in the granary. Even with us corn is not left long enough on the barn-floor to be attacked by it." Keightley. Varro, 1. 63, says that when weevils begin to devour corn, it should be carried out and placed in the sun, with

vessels of water for the weevils to drown themselves in. 'Inopi senectae' is rightly explained by Keightley as a poetical expression for the winter, the ant being spoken of in human language. With the dat. comp. "metuisse tuis," A. 10. 94. It is generally understood that the ancients were in error about the habits of the ant, which has no store-houses, and remains torpid during the greater part of the winter. Mr. Blackburn however says that this is not always so, the case depending on climate.

187—192.] 'The yield of corn is prognosticated by the walnut. If the tree bears largely, the harvest will be good; if there are many leaves and little fruit, bad.'

187.] A second precept. 'Contemplator,' Lucr. 2. 114., 6. 189. [The form *in-tor* is generally used when, as here, there is a distinct reference to future time.—H. N.] 'Nux' is generally taken of the almond after Serv., Isidorus (17. 7), and Theophylact (Nat. Q. 17). Martyn and Keightley, however, understand it of the walnut, which is the more usual sense of the word, and agrees with 'olentis.' 'Plurima' with 'induet,' like "descendet plurimus," E. 7. 60.

188.] 'Induet in florem,' like "induerat in voltus," A. 7. 20; "In fraudem induimus," Lucr. 4. 817. 'Curvabit,' as Wagn. remarks, is not strictly accurate, as branches are weighed down by fruit, not by leaves or blossoms. 'Curvavit' (Med.) is merely a common confusion of letters, though a quotation in Rufinianus has 'induit—curvavit.' ['Induit' Gud. and Isid. 17. 7. 23.—H. N.]

189.] 'Superare' of abundance, 2. 330. "If a great number of the blossoms set, as the gardeners term it." Keightley.

190.] "Aestus nimios futuros significat, cum abundantia frugum," Serv. He gives the picture of the 'tritura,' hard work and a broiling sun: comp. v. 298., 3. 132 foll.

At si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra,
 Nequiquam pingues palea teret area culmos.
 Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes,
 Et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca,
 Grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset,
 Et, quamvis igni exiguo, properata maderent.
 Vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore
 Degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quot annis
 Maxima quaeque manu legeret. Sic omnia fatis

195

191.] ['Luxuriae,' i. e. 'luxurie,' Rom. —H. N.] 'Foliorum' is emphatic, opp. to 'fetus,' 'umbra' general. 'If the luxuriance of the shade is merely a luxuriance of leaves.' Emm. comp. the word *φυλλομανεῖν*.

192.] 'Teret area,' v. 298. 'Nequiquam' with 'teret,' 'pingues' with 'palea.' Before Heins. the common reading was 'paleae' [which, though mentioned by Philarg., is now found in no good MS.—H. N.] The 'tritura' was performed sometimes by the trampling of oxen, sometimes by the "tribulum," or "trahea" (see on v. 164), sometimes (Col. 2. 21) by "fustes," flails or sticks. Rom. has 'terit.'

193—203.] 'Steeping seed-beans is a plan often pursued, to make the produce larger and easier to be cooked. But the best seeds will degenerate, unless you pick every year. It is the tendency of everything in nature, and only man's most strenuous efforts can counteract it.'

193.] A third precept. From vv. 195, 196, it seems that Virg. is speaking of leguminous plants: and so the passage is explained by Pliny, 18. 157, Col. 2. 10. But he may be thinking of corn as well, and choosing pulse only as one instance. See on v. 199.

● 194. 'Nitro.' "The *νίτρον* . . of the ancients was not our nitre: it was a mineral alkali, carbonate of soda, and was therefore used in washing." Keightley. "'Amurca,' *ἀμύρρα*, a watery fluid contained in the olive, of a dark colour, and of greater specific gravity than the oil, which must be carefully separated from it." Id. ['Amurca' is the true spelling. Serv. says "*amurca* per *c* scribitur, et per *g* pronuntiatur, ut C. Gaius, *Cn. Gnaeus*."—H. N.]

195.] 'Siliquis fallacibus;' Forb. comp. Tibull. 2. 1. 19, "Neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis," where both

passages seem to be imitated. Here the epithet refers to the general character of the pods of beans, which in this particular case are to be less deceptive than usual.

196.] This line was supposed by most of the old interpreters to refer to what follows, as if Virg. had meant to say that even slightly boiling seeds, as well as steeping them before sowing, was not sure to be effectual. The present punctuation, which was introduced by Catrou, has been generally followed since Heyne's second edition, and is supported by two of the writers in the *Geoponica*, Didymus 2. 35, and Democritus 2. 41 (referred to by Keightley), as well as by Palladius, 12. 1, who recommend the steeping of beans that they may boil more easily. 'Madeo' is used in the sense of being sodden Plaut. Men. 2. 2. 51, and elsewhere, 'Properata' goes closely with 'maderent,' being nearly equivalent to 'propera.' So "propera atque elue," Plaut. Aul. 2. 3. 3, = "propere elue," "properandus et fingendus," Pers. 3. 32, "propere fingendus."

198.] 'Vis humana' is from Lucr. 5. 296, "Quod superest arvi, tamen id Natura sua vi Sentibus obducit, ni vis humana resistat," where the pessimist feeling is the same as here. See p. 151.

199.] The same precept is given by Varro l. 52 with regard to corn; and this may be Virg.'s meaning. So Col. 2. 9. 'Sic—referri' is not dependent on 'vidi' (a construction which would be plausible, so far as regards the structure of the whole passage), but forms an independent sentence, as the force of the truth of general decay would be greatly weakened, if it were understood as resting on the poet's individual observation. 'So it is: all earthly things are doomed to fall away and slip back into chaos, like a boatman who is just managing to make head against the stream, if the tension of his

In peius ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri; 200
 Non aliter, quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
 Remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit,
 Atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.
 Praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
 Haedorumque dies servandi et lucidus Anguis, 205
 Quam quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vectis

arms happens to relax, and the current whirls away the boat headlong down the river's bed.

200.] This line nearly coincides with A. 2. 169, where see the note. The metaphor here is sufficiently explained by what follows, the fates answering to the current, the course of nature to the bark, and human labour to the rower. The general sense is not unlike Bacon's celebrated sentence (Essay 24), "If time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?" Pal. and two of Ribbeck's cursives have 'et retro.' ['Sublapsa' Med. Pal. Gud.—H. N.]

202.] 'Subigit,' A. 6. 302. ['Subigit,' i.e. 'subigit,' Pal.—H. N.]

203.] The traditional explanation since Gellius (9. 29=Nonius, p. 530) makes 'atque'="statim," accordingly. But the usage of Virg. in similes of this sort (as a friend has remarked to me) is in favour of connecting 'atque' with 'remisit.' He does not expressly introduce an apodosis on such occasions, but makes his whole sentence depend on the 'quam' or 'si' which follows the 'non aliter,' or 'haud secus' following the simile. Comp. A. 4. 669, "Non aliter quam si . . . ruat . . . Karthago . . . flammaeque volvantur;" 8. 243, "Haud secus ac si . . . terra . . . reeret . . . et . . . recludat . . . superque . . . pandatur, trepidentque." This is also Wunderlich's view. 'Retro sublapsus referitur' is of course understood after 'non aliter, quam' to complete the sentence grammatically, the subject of it being the rower, 'qui . . . subigit.' 'Illum' is doubtless the 'lembus' which is distinguished from the rower. So in Catull. 65. 23, the original of the present line (quoted by Keightley, who however mistakes "atque," which couples "agitur" with "excutitur," or perhaps with "procurrit"). "Atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu," "illud" is contrasted with "huc." Wagn. accounts for 'atque'

by supplying 'retro sublapsus referitur' before it, and making the whole into an apodosis; but he quotes no similar instance. Several other views have been or might be suggested, with more or less plausibility: none of them, however, seems to have any real likelihood as against that adopted above. 'Alveus' the channel of the river, from which it is easy to infer the notion of the current. Otherwise it might be proposed to understand it of the vessel, "illum" being referred to the rower, though the imitations in Sen. Ag. 497, Hipp. 182, Thy. 438 (quoted by Cerda), look the other way. Pal. has 'illum praeceps,' which Ribbeck adopts, Rom. corrected 'prono in praeceps,' [Med. and Gud., supported by Gellius and Nonius, 'in praeceps prono.'—H. N.] Rom. also has 'trahit' for 'rapit.' 204—230.] 'The husbandman has as much need to know the stars as the sailor. Sowing barley may begin when the sun is in the Balance, and go on till mid-winter: flax and poppies too. The rising of the Bull is the time for sowing beans, lucerne, and millet. Wheat must not be sown till the Pleiades and the Crown are set: to attempt it earlier only leads to failure. Vetches, kidney-beans, and peas may be sown from the setting of Arcturus till mid-winter.'

204.] 'Arcturi,' v. 63. *ἄρκτου ζώνη δὲ οἱ (βοώτη) αὐτὸς* 'Ἐξ ἁλλαν ἀρκτοῦρος ἐλίσσεται ἀμφὸν ἀστήρ, Arat. Phaen. 94. Both the rising and setting of Arcturus are attended with storms, so that Arcturus says of himself (Plaut. Rud. Prol. 71, referred to by Forb.) "Vehemens sum exoriens, cum occido, vehementior."

205.] The Kids are two stars in the arm of the Charioteer (λεπτὰ φαίνονται ἐρίφοι καρπὸν κατὰ χειρός, Arat. Phaen. 166), which rise April 25th and Sept. 27th—29th, and bring storms. 'Pluvialibus Haedis' A. 9. 668. (Serv.) 'Anguis,' v. 244, near the North Pole.

206.] 'As useful to the husbandman as to the sailor,' who first gave attention to

Pontus et ostriferi fauces temptantur Abydi.
 Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas,
 Et medium luci atque umbris iam dividet orbem,
 Exercete, viri, tauros, serite hordea campis, 210
 Usque sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem;
 Nec non et lini segetem et Cereale papaver
 Tempus humo tegere, et iamdudum incumbere aratris,

the stars, v. 187. With the language comp. A. 6. 335. 'Vectis' raises a difficulty, as the sailors have not returned home: but the words may mean 'whose way home lies over stormy waters,' the stress being laid on 'ventosa per aequora,' and the participle perhaps implying that they have sailed home ere now, and so that sailing is their calling. Or it may be simpler to say that 'vectis' virtually = "euntibus," according to one explanation, though I think not the best, of A. 6. l. c.

207.] 'Ostriferi . . . Abydi:' "Ostrea plurima Abydi," Enn. Hedyph. 2. "Ora Hellepontia, ceteris ostreosior oris," Catull. 18. 4.

208.] 'Libra:' see on v. 33. 'Die,' the reading of most of the MSS., is acknowledged by Priscian, Donatus, and Probus as an old form of the genitive, found also in Sall. Jug. 21 (where see Kritz), 52, 97, "die extremum erat," "die vesper erat," "parte die reliqua." Other copies, including Rom. and Med. corrected, give 'dii,' which may be meant for 'dii,' a form introduced by some editors in A. 1. 636 (note). Charisius, p. 101 P., who has been quoted for 'dii,' is too corrupt to supply any evidence on the question. Gellius (9. 14) says in a copy reputed to be Virg.'s own the reading was 'dies,' a third form, which he parallels from Ennius (Ann. 401), "Postremae longinqua dies confecerat aetas." Wagn. inclines to this, regarding 'dies' however as the acc. pl. 'Pares,' referring to the autumnal equinox. So Lucan 8. 467, "Tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas."

209.] 'Dividet,' for which Heins. restored 'dividit,' is the reading of Rom., Gud., and another of Ribbeck's cursives, besides several inferior copies mentioned by Wagn., and the Dresden Serv. Wagn. argues against it, adducing various passages where 'cum iam' is joined with a present. But the question is not about the propriety of the present by itself, but of its propriety in combination with 'fecerit,' for which we should rather have

expected 'fecit.' On the other hand the combination of the fut. ind. with the so-called fut. exactum is not uncommon in Virg.: see on 4. 282. In 4. 401, 2, "cum accenderit" and "cum sitiunt" are not really co-ordinate. Accordingly, I have recalled 'dividet,' though it must be confessed that 'iam,' meaning that the act is just happening, goes better with the present. The confusion of these forms is one of the commonest in MSS.

210.] 'Exercete tauros,' plough for seed.

211.] 'Extremum imbrem' can hardly be the end of the rainy season, as this precept is apparently meant to be parallel to v. 214; so that Keightley seems right in supposing it to refer to the winter, regarded as the end of the year, unless we could take it of the beginning of the rainy season, 'the very verge.' 'Intractabilis' like "non tractabile caelum," A. 4. 53, that cannot be dealt with, or, as we should say, impracticable, i.e. when no work can be done.

212.] 'Lini . . . papaver.' See vv. 77, 78. 'Segetem,' proleptic. 'Cereale:' Ceres was represented with poppies in her hands. She was said to have introduced the poppy, consoling herself with its seeds in her grief for Proserpine, and to have fed Triptolemus upon it.

213.] 'Humo tegere,' of sowing, as in 3. 558 of burying. A question has been raised whether 'tempus tegere' is to be explained "tempus est tegendi" or "tegere (satio) tempus (tempestivum est)." The same difference of opinion exists with regard to other expressions of the same kind, some asserting, others denying, the gerundial construction. Thus "modus inserere" (2. 73) is resolved by some into "modus inserendi," while others make it a construction "ad sensum," as if Virg. had said, "nec solemus inserere uno tantum modo." "Mos est . . . gestare," A. 1. 336, may be similarly explained "mos est gestandi" or "gestare (gestatio) mos est." So in A. 2. 10 "amor cognoscere" opinions

Dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent.
 Vere fabis satio; tum te quoque, Medica, putres 215
 Accipiunt sulci, et milio venit annua cura,
 Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annū
 Taurus, et averso cedens Canis occidit astro.

waver between taking "cognoscere" as = "cognoscendi," "amor est cognoscere" as = "amas cognoscere," and "cognoscere" as a nom., "amor" meaning a thing loved. Other instances containing some specific differences might be collected from Virg., but perhaps these will suffice. The first thing to remark seems to be that there is nothing unaccountable in the supposition that the infinitive may be used gerundially, i.e. in these instances, stand for a noun in the genitive. The infinitive is really equivalent to a noun for almost every purpose; even where it follows a verb it can be at once resolved into a noun, and we know that it was formerly so regarded in Greek, from the custom of prefixing the article to it. Every solution that has been attempted of the expressions in question in fact involves this substantival use of the infinitive. It would seem to follow then that the construction of the infinitive—in other words, the case of the noun—must be determined in each instance by the structure of the particular passage. In the expression "mos est gestare," it seems simplest to regard "gestare" as a nominative; in "modus inserere," "inserere" seems as plainly to be a genitive. The present passage and A. 2. 10 are more doubtful. On the whole, however, the genitive seems the more probable construction in each. But it is difficult to say what is absolutely true where, as in all these passages, both alternatives are equally sanctioned by the usages of language, while it might be plausibly argued that the framers of the expression, so far as we can conceive them to have gone to work consciously, may have had both solutions in their mind, and taken advantage of the ambiguity. 'Iamdudum' is explained by the next line, which implies that the time is short, and ploughing should take place without delay. 'Iamdudum sumite poenas,' A. 2. 103. For 'aratri' Rom., fragm. Aug., Med. second reading, and Pal. a. m. s. give 'rastris:' but Serv. read 'aratri,' and the context shows that ploughing is meant. 'Incumbere,' like "curvus arator," E. 3. 42. "The flax was sown all through

October and November, the poppy in September and October. We sow flax only in the spring . . . on account of the severity of our winter." Keightley.

214.] 'Pendent,' because they do not yet come down, "ruunt."

215.] 'Vere;' Virg. was thinking of the custom of the Mantuan district (Pliny 18. 120). In the warmer parts of Italy beans were sown in autumn, as Varro (1. 34) and others direct. 'Medica,' ἡ Μηδική (μέδα), lucerne, said to have been introduced into Greece in the invasion of Darius (Pliny 18. 144), was sown in April or May. 'Putres' seems to be emphatic, as Col. (2. 11) says that the land where it is to be sown should be ploughed up in October, and lie fallow ("putrescere") through the winter.

216.] 'Milio,' millet. 'Annuā cura,' to distinguish it from lucerne, which lasted ten years in the ground. Sen., Ep. 86, charges Virg. with inaccuracy, saying that he had himself seen beans reaped and millet sown on the same day towards the end of June, the fact being that the time of sowing varied according to the climate, and that Virg. here again is speaking of a colder latitude.

217.] 'Candidus . . . astro,' a periphrasis for 'vere.' 'In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides.' The allusion, as Keightley points out, is to the milk-white bulls with gilded horns which appeared in the triumphal processions at Rome, though they did not strictly speaking lead the way (see on 2. 148). Whether 'auratis cornibus' is meant to be taken descriptively with 'taurus,' or instrumentally with 'aperit' is not clear. The former is maintained by Serv., who observes that the bull rises with his back, not with his horns, and seems more reasonable, as there would be no natural propriety in the image of a bull using his horns to open a gate. 'Aperit' is illustrated by the etymology of 'Aprilis.'

218.] The MSS. are [and were in the time of Serv.] divided between 'adverso' (Med.) and 'averso' (Pal., Rom., fragm. Aug., Gud., and two other of Ribbeck's cursives). [Philargyrius as quoted by

At si triticeam in messem robustaque farra
 Exercebis humum, solisque instabis aristis, 220
 Ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur,
 Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae,
 Debita quam sulcis committas semina, quamque
 Invitae properes anni spem credere terrae.
 Multi ante occasum Maiæ coepere; sed illos 225
 Exspectata seges vanis elusit avenis.
 Si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum
 Nec Pelusiæ curam aspernabere lentis,
 Haut obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes:

the Berne scholia read "adverso."—H.N.] 'Averso' was restored by Heins.: 'adverso' has been preferred by Heyne and subsequent editors, except Ribbeck. If 'adverso' is read, 'astro' is probably the dative, signifying the Bull, from whose menacing front the Dog is supposed to retire, though as the reference is to the heliacal setting of Sirius, i.e. his obscuration by the sun, 'astro' has been taken of the sun. 'Averso' would be the abl., perhaps the abl. abs., expressing the flight of the Dog, whose tail and feet disappear before his head and shoulders. Voss however objects that the Dog does not really turn from the Bull, but continues to confront him even when retiring. On the whole I have allowed the weight of external authority to decide me in favour of 'averso.' 219.] 'Robusta:' Theoph., Caus. Pl. 4. 6, mentions *πυρὸς ἡ κριθή* among τὰ *ισχυρότατα*, and Pliny says (18. 83), "ex omni [frumentorum] genere durissimum far et contra hiemes firmissimum."

220.] 'Solis,' as opposed to the produce just mentioned, vv. 215 foll. 'Instabis aristas,' like "instans operi regnisque futuris," A. 1. 504. 'Press on with an ardour which only corn can satisfy.'

221.] 'Atlantides,' the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas. These set 'Eoæ,' in the morning, about November 11 according to Pliny 2. 125, about October 20 according to Col. 2. 8., 11. 2.

222.] 'Gnosia—stella Coronæ:' *στρέφανος, τὸν ἀγῶνός ἐθηκε Σῆμ' εἶναι Διόρυτος, ἀποικομένης Ἀριδίδης*, Arat. Phaen. 71. Virg. follows Democritus in Geop. 2. 14 and Ptolemy in placing the setting of the Crown between November 15 and December 19. Others (Col. 11. 2, &c.) placed its rising about the same time, though earlier (about October 8), and Serv. ac-

cordingly would understand 'decedat' of retiring from the Sun. Its sense however is fixed by such passages as v. 450, E. 2. 67. Virg.'s meaning is express, and his error is sufficiently accounted for when its source is pointed out. 'Stella,' perhaps because one star in the Crown is brighter, and rises earlier than the rest: but the distinction between 'stella' and 'sidus' was sometimes overlooked. ['Cnosia' Pal., 'Gnosia' Med., Rom., Gud.—H. N.]

223.] 'Ere you charge the furrows with the seed which they have begun to want, or force the care of a whole year's hopes on a reluctant soil.'

224.] 'Invitæ,' like 'properes,' refers in thought, though not grammatically, to the earth before the proper sowing-time.

225.] 'Maiæ' was one of the Pleiades.

226.] ['Vanis,' empty: Non. p. 416.—H. N.] Pal., Gud., and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'avenis:' Heins. restored 'aristas,' which is found in Med., Rom., fragm. Aug., and Nonius, pp. 301, 416. 'Avenis' is supported by the belief already alluded to on E. 5. 37, that corn had a tendency to degenerate into wild oats if it lay too long in the ground, while 'aristas' may have been introduced from v. 220. Col. (11. 2) mentions an old saying among farmers, "Maturam sationem saepe decipere solere: seram nunquam quin mala sit."

228.] "Accipe Niliacæ, Pelusiæ munera, lentem: Vilior est alicæ, carior illa faba," Mart. 13. 9.

229.] 'Bootes,' v. 204, otherwise called Arctophylax, sets acronychally from October 29 to November 2. Kidney-beans ('phaseli') were sown a month earlier when they were intended for eating, not for seed. Col. 11. 2, § 72. Vetches, from Col. 2. 10, appear to have been sown twice

Incipe, et ad medias sementem extende pruinas.

230

Idcirco certis dimensum partibus orbem

Per duodena regit mundi Sol aureus astra.

Quinque tenent caelum zonae; quarum una corusco

Semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni;

Quam circum extremae dextra laevaue trahuntur,

235

Caeruleae, glacie concretae atque imbris aetris;

a year, in January and in the autumnal equinox. Med. and fragm. Aug. have 'mittit.'

231.—251.] 'It is to ensure this regular succession of the various seasons that the sun makes his yearly way along the zodiac. There are five zones; one torrid, two frigid, one at each extreme, and two temperate between them and the torrid. Between the temperate zones passes the zodiac. There are two poles, one rising over our heads, the other extending below us into the depths. In the former are placed the Serpent and the Bears; the latter is either in perpetual darkness, or visited by the sun while he is away from us.'

231.] Virg.'s meaning is that these various seasons depend in fact on the sun's apparent yearly course in the heavens. 'Certis partibus' seem to be the twelve divisions of the zodiac. 'Orbem': "Annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis," A. 5. 46.

232.] 'Duodena' may be intended, as Forb. thinks, to refer to the annual course of the sun, which, as it were, sees twelve signs in each circuit: but it seems simpler to make it = "duodecim." 'Regit,' of directing a way. "Cursusque regebam," A. 6. 350, "Nulla viam fortuna regit," 12. 405. 'Mundi' with 'astra' like "sidera mundi," Lucr. 1. 788, 2. 328., 5. 514. 'Sol aureus': "sinul aureus exoritur Sol," Enn. A. 95.

233.] This passage down to v. 251 seems to be thrown in to give a notion of the magnitude and fixity of the mundane system. The description of the zones is taken from a passage in the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes, preserved by Achilles Tatius, and in part by Heraclides of Pontus. It may be worth while to quote it in extenso:

πέντε δὲ οἱ ζῶναι περιελάδες ἐσπεύρητο,
αἱ δύο μὲν γλαυκαῖα κελευντότερά κύναιο,
ἡ δὲ μία φαφαρή τε καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς οἶον ἐρυθρή.
ἡ μὲν ἐὼν μεσάτη, ἐκέκαστο δὲ πᾶσα περιπρὸ
τυπομένη φλογμοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ βαῖ μοῖραν ὑπ'
αὐτὴν
κεκλιμένην ἀκτῖνες ἀειθερεές πυρῶσιν.

αἱ δὲ δύο ἐκάτερθε πόλοισι περιπεπτηνῖαι
αἰεὶ κρυμαλλεῖαι, αἰεὶ δ' ὕδασι μογεύουσαι·
οὐ μὲν ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐραίοθεν
κρύσταλλος

κεῖται ἀναμπεσχε' περιψυκτος δὲ τέ-
τυκτο. (κεῖτ', αἶαν τ' ἀμπέσχε?)
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χερσαῖα, καὶ ἀμβατὰ ἀνθρώ-
ποισι.

δοῖαι δ' ἄλλαι ἔασιν ἐναντία ἀλλήλησι
μεσσηγὺς θέρεός τε καὶ ὑετίου κρυστάλλου,
ἄμφω ἐκρηγνύει τε καὶ ὑμπιον ἀλδίσκουσαι
καρπὸν Ἑλευσίνης Δημητρός· ἐν δὲ μιν
ἄνδρες

ἀντίποδες ναῖουσι.

Comp. also Ov. M. 1. 45 foll., Tibull. 4. 1. 151. An unimportant fragment on the zones from a poem by Varro Atacinus is preserved by Isidorus and Bede (Wernsdorf's Poett. Lat. Minn. vol. 5, p. 1403). 'Caelum,' because the zones of heaven answer to the zones of earth, and determine their character. Macrobius discusses the subject Somn. S. 2. 7.

234.] 'Ab igni' is a translation of ἐκ πυρὸς in Eratosth. Ordinarily we should have expected the abl. instr. So probably "pluvioque madescit ab Austro," Ov. M. 1. 66.

235.] 'Trahuntur' expresses extent, like "tractus," and is meant to translate περιπεπτηνῖαι.

236.] ['Caeruleae' Med. Pal. Rom. Gud. 'Caerulea' is only found in inferior copies.—H. N.] 'Caeruleus' is used somewhat widely to express various colours of a dull blue or green sort, being to a certain extent, as Dr. Arnold remarked, the antipodes of "purpureus" (E. 5. 38 note). So in A. 3. 194., 5. 10, it is used of a black storm-cloud (answering to 'aetris' here), in G. 4. 482, A. 7. 346, of a serpent. The mention of ice seems more appropriate to the earthly than to the heavenly zones, as Keightley observes: but Virg. was doubtless thinking of the sky as the parent of ice. [The rhythm is like that of Il. 4. 281, Κύναιαι, σάκεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι περικλυταῖαι.—H. N.]

Has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris
 Munere concessae divom, et via secta per ambas,
 Oblicus qua se signorum verteret ordo.
 Mundus, ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces 240
 Consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in austros.
 Hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum
 Sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.
 Maxumus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis
 Circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos, 245

237.] 'Mortalibus aegris,' Lucr. 6. 1, Hom.'s *δελιοῖσι βροτοῖσι*. Comp. also A. 2. 268, where there is a similar juxtaposition of man's weakness and heaven's indulgence. The ancients supposed only the temperate zones to be habitable: consequently, as discovery advanced, the area occupied by those zones was extended, so that instead of five parts or thirty degrees (from 24° to 54°), the space originally allotted to them, they were made to contain seven parts, to 66°.

238.] 'Et' was added by Wagn. before 'via secta,' and is found in all Ribbeck's MSS. and fragm. Aug. The position of the zodiac is thus referred to the divine clemency. 'Per' is rightly explained by Macrob. Somn. S. 2. 8, as equivalent to "inter," as the sun never enters the temperate zones. That which goes between two connected objects goes through the pair. So v. 245, "per duas Arctos." Comp. Ov. M. 2. 130, "Sectus in obliquum est lato curvamine limes, Zonarumque trium contentus fine, polumque Effugit australem, iunctamque Aquilonibus Arcton."

239.] 'Oblicus' with 'se verteret.' So "esse tulit obvia," A. 1. 314, "Infert se saeptus nebula," ib. 430. The use of the participle in such expressions as "sensit medios delapsus in hostis," A. 2. 377, is of the same kind. The ordinary grammatical usage attaches an adjective or participle to a noun as its absolute property: here the adjective or participle belongs to the noun only contingently on the relation of the noun to the verb. Thus in the present line the order of the signs is oblique not in itself but in reference to its revolution. The principle is the same as in cases of prolepsis. The language here is not strictly accurate, as it was not the zodiac but the sun that was supposed to move. ['Oblicus' Pal. 'obliquus' Rom. 'obliquus' Med.—H. N.]

240.] Virg. goes on to describe the

Poles, North and South, speaking of the one as elevated and visible, the other as depressed and invisible. 'Scythia' is used for the North generally, as in 3. 349. The 'Rhipaeae' (*ῥίπη*) arces' ('arces' of mountains, "Rhodopeiae arces," 4. 461) were supposed to separate the land of the Hyperboreans from the rest of the world. Comp. 3. 381., 4. 517. Here these countries are made to stand for the northernmost point, not only of earth, but of the mundane system (mundus), as Libya for the southernmost.

242.] 'Vertex' is a translation of "polus." "Extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex Dicitur esse polus," Cic. N. D. 2. 41 (translating Aratus). Ribbeck reads 'sublimen,' which he extracts from a doubtful passage in Festus, p. 306 Müller; but the MSS. of Virg. give him no countenance here, though in A. 1. 259 Gud. has 'sublimen' for 'sublimem.'

243.] The infernal regions were supposed to be in the centre of the earth (comp. 2. 292): so here they are said to be over the south pole. 'Sub pedibus' is to be connected with 'videt,' the feet being those of Styx and the Manes; but 'videt' of course is not to be pressed, as if it were meant that the south pole were actually visible from the shades. Arat. Phaen. 25 says of the poles, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίοπτος, ὁ δ' ἀντίος ἐκ βορέας, ὁ γὰρ ὅθεν ὠκεανοῖο.

244—246.] Imitated again from Arat. Phaen. 45.

Τὰς δὲ δι' ἀμφοτέρας, οἷη ποταμοῖο ἀπορρώξ,
 εἰλείται, μέγα θαῦμα, δράκων, περί τ' ἀμφί
 τ' ἐγώως,
 Μυρίας αἱ δ' ἔρα οἱ σπειρὴς ἐκέρπει φύονται
 Ἀρκτοῖο κυανέου πεφυλαγμένα ὠκεανοῖο.

'Elabitur,' shoots out: not the same as "labitur," Forb.

Aretos Oceani metuentes aequore tingui.
 Illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox
 Semper, et obtenta densentur nocte tenebrae;
 Aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,
 Nosque ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis, 250
 Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.
 Hinc tempestates dubio praediscere caelo

246.] 'Metuentes—tingui' like "metuente solvi," Hor. 2 Od. 2. 7. So Hom. of the Bear (Il. 18. 489), *οἷη δ' ἑμμορὸς ἐστὶ λοετρῶν ὠκεανοῖο*.

247.] The two cases are that either the southern regions are in total darkness or that they have day when we have night. The doctrine that the sun perishes every day is Epicurean. Lucr. mentions both alternatives (5. 650 fol.):

"At nox obruit ingenti caligine terras,
 Aut ubi de longo cursu sol ultima caeli
 Inpulsit, atque suos adflavit languidus
 ignis

Concussos itere, et labefactos aëre
 multo:

Aut quia sub terras cursum convortere
 cogit

Vis eadem, supra quae terras pertulit
 orbem."

'Intempesta nox:' Enn. A. 106, 172, Lucr. 5. 986, like *νυκτὸς ἀνὰ*: "cum tempus agendi est nullum," as it is defined in Varro, L. L. 5. 2. It seems to have been a question whether the expression denoted any particular time of night. Macrobius (Sat. 1. 3) and Censorinus (Die Nat. last ch.) make it the interval between bed-time ("nox concubia") and midnight. Varro l. c. identifies it with "nox concubia:" Serv. on A. 3. 587 with midnight; while Festus, p. 82, arguing from its etymology, refers it to no fixed time. There appears to be the same uncertainty about its Greek equivalent. The rhythm of the verse is doubtless meant to be descriptive.—'All is wrapped in eternal night, with its silence that knows no seasons, and its thick pall deepening the gloom.'

248.] Wagn. connects 'semper' with what follows: but the rhythm produced by the old pointing is surely superior. 'Obtenta nocte,' which is introduced rather carelessly after 'nox,' is perhaps imitated from Od. 11. 19, *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ' ὅλοη τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι*. Here as elsewhere in Virg. in similar cases the best MSS. are divided between 'densentur' and 'densantur.' On the whole authority

seems in favour of the former, which Serv also on A. 7. 794., 11. 650 declares to be the legitimate form, so I have uniformly adopted it. But the point is difficult to settle, as it is admitted that 'densatus' and 'densavi' are legitimate.

249.] 'Redire,' 'reducere,' and other words of the sort, are constantly used, as Wund. remarks, of the recurring order of nature. "Informes hiemes reducit Iuppiter, idem Summovet," Hor. 2 Od. 10. 15. The words imply that the thing has happened before, and thence the notion of regular succession is inferred.

250.] 'Oriens,' the rising sun, as in A. 5. 739, where this line is nearly repeated. The horses of the sun come panting up hill, casting their breath, which, as Keightley observes, represents the morning air, on the objects before them.

251.] Seneca (Ep. 122), quoting this line, gives 'illis,' which would be highly plausible, if supported by any MS. But Virg. is speaking of the region, not of the inhabitants, and the hypothesis of vv. 247, 248 would be hardly compatible with the existence of antipodes at all, though in a different connection, v. 237, he seems to believe in them. So 'a nobis,' v. 249, answers to 'illic,' v. 247. 'Lumina' is Vesper's own rays; not the light of sunset, as Voss thinks, taking 'Vesper' generally of evening; nor the other stars, as others interpret it, much less, as the old commentators thought, the candles that are lighted on earth. Comp. 4. 401, "medios cum sol accenderit aestus." 'Rubens' may merely mean bright, like "luna rubens," Hor. 2 Od. 11. 10 (where see Maclean's note), or the colour of sunset may be naturally transferred to the star.

252—253.] 'From this disposition of nature the husbandman and the mariner get certain knowledge, and may consult the heavens with confidence.'

252.] 'Hinc' seems to refer to the whole of the preceding passage from v. 231, which has been devoted to an exposition of certain parts of the mundane system.

Possumus, hinc messisque diem tempusque serendi,
 Et quando infidum remis impellere marmor
 Conveniat, quando armatas deducere classis, 255
 Aut tempestivam silvis evertere pinum :
 Nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus,
 Temporibusque parem diversis quattuor annum. ✓
 Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,
 Multa, forent quae mox caelo properanda sereno, 260
 Maturare datur : durum procudit arator

That system has been mentioned at the outset ('Idcirco,' v. 231) as the guarantee for the regularity of the seasons, on the knowledge of which the proceedings of the husbandman depend, and now Virg. enforces the conclusion—"It is on the strength of this that we know beforehand," &c. Vv. 257, 258 must clearly belong to this paragraph, not to that which follows, as Prof. Ramsay pointed out in the *Classical Museum*, vol. 5, pp. 107 foll. They come in fact under 'Hinc,' which is the introduction to the whole paragraph. 'Hence it is that our watchings for the rising and setting of the stars and our attention to the course of the seasons are not thrown away.' It is from not perceiving this connexion that Ribbeck has transposed them, placing them after v. 251, a notion which had occurred to me many years ago, previous to the publication of my first edition. 'Tempestates' seems rightly understood by Keightley of changes of weather, which agrees with 'dubio caelo.' Rom. and fragm. Aug. have 'praedicere.'

253.] The weather and the seasons are matters of equal importance to landmen and seamen (vv. 204 foll. : comp. v. 456), so the occupations of both are mentioned here. 'Infidum' is significant, as showing the importance of knowing when to venture on the sea. There may be a distinction, as Voss thinks, between 'remis,' the smaller craft, and 'classis,' the larger; but it seems more likely that Virg. first speaks generally of putting to sea, and then contrasts the fleet when rigged with the cutting down of the timber.

255.] 'Armatas,' rigged. "Armari classem cursumque parari." A. 4. 299. 'Deducere' of ships, A. 3. 71., 4. 398. Cerdà comp. Hor. 1 Od. 4. 1, "Solvitur acris hiemps grata vice veris et Favoni, Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas."

256.] 'Tempestivam' with 'evertere.'

ὥραια τέμνεσθαι ξύλα, Theophr. cited by Ursinus. Cato 31., whom Macrob. Sat. 6.4. rather unreasonably charges Virg. with copying, says, of pines and other trees, "cum effodies, luna decrescente eximito, post meridiem, sine vento austro. Tum erit tempestiva, cum semen suum maturum erit." Pal. (12. 15) says that the best time of the year is February.

258.] 'Parem' is intended to contrast with 'diversis,' as Serv. remarks. The seasons are diverse, yet as they are of equal lengths, and succeed each other regularly, they make the year uniform. 'Speculamur' in v. 257 appears to mean strictly to be on the watch for: here it means merely to pay attention to.

259—275.] 'Even rainy weather has its employments; and so have holy days.'

259.] Hitherto Virg. has been insisting on the importance of the weather: he now shows that weather which is bad for ordinary out-door purposes is good for other things. 'Frigidus imber' cannot apply to the winter, on account of 'si quando;' besides, winter occupations are mentioned vv. 305 foll. 'Frigidus' is an ordinary epithet of rain, as chilling the air, just as 'hiemps' is used indifferently of storm and winter. 'Continet,' keeps him from his work: confines him to the house. "Dum se continet Auster, Dum sedet et siccata madidas in carcere pinnas," Juv. 5. 100.

260.] 'Properare,' to hurry, is contrasted with 'maturare,' to get done in good time. See A. 1. 137. The contrast is noticed by Gell. 10. 11=Macrob. Sat. 6. 8, who follow a remark of Nigidius Figulus, "Mature est quod neque citius neque serius sed medium quiddam et temperaturum est." [The note in Gell. and Macrob. is abridged in the Berne scholia.—H.N.]

261.] 'Procudit' is explained by 'ob-

Vomeris obtunsi dentem, cavat arbore lyntres,
 Aut pecori signum aut numeros impressit acervis.
 Exacuunt alii vallos furcasque bicornis,
 Atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti.
 Nunc facilis rubea texatur fiscina virga;
 Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo.
 Quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus
 Fas et iura sinunt: rivos deducere nulla

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tunsi.' Forb. quotes Lucr. 5. 1264, "Et prorsum quamvis in acuta ac tenuia posse Mucronum duci fastigia procudendo."

262.] 'Lyntres' [so the word is written in the uncials] were troughs into which grapes were put after the vintage. "Haec mihi servabit plenis in lyntribus uvas," Tibull. 1. 5. 23. Cato (11) mentions them among the requisite apparatus for a vineyard, saying that two are required for a vineyard of 100 jugera. They appear to have been the same as "naviae" (Fest. s.v. "navia"), which were made from a single piece of wood, and so called from their resemblance to ships or canoes, whence both names. 'Arboro' is a sort of material ablative, like "ocreas lento ducunt argento," A. 7. 634.

263.] Branding cattle is mentioned again 3. 158. It was done with boiling pitch, generally towards the end of January and April (Col. 7. 9., 11. 2). It is not easy to see how the 'acervi' can have had numbers stamped on them if they were merely heaps of corn, as apparently they are in vv. 158, 185; so we must either suppose 'impressit' to be used by a kind of zeugma, the heaps being really numbered in some other way, or understand 'acervi' as sacks or vessels of corn. ['Numeri' is explained by Serv. and the Berne scholia as = 'tesserae' or tickets.—H.N.]

264.] The 'valli' and 'furcae' were probably intended to support the vines. See 2. 359.

265.] Col. (4. 30), speaking of willows for tying up the vine ("salices viminales"), enumerates three sorts, the Greek, the Gallic, and the Sabine or Amerian, the last of which has a slender red twig.

266.] 'Facilis,' pliant, an epithet belonging rather to 'virga,' as Keightley remarks. Pal. has 'facili.' 'Rubea' of briars. "Vincula qualia sunt ex rubo," Col. 4. 31. Serv. [and Philarg. quoted in the Berne scholia] make it an adjective

from Rubi in Apulia (Hor. 1 S. 5. 94); but there is no reason to suppose that the twigs there were good for basket-making.

267.] A. 1. 178, 179. The roasting or drying was to make the corn easier to grind. Rom. has 'saxis.'

268.] 'Why, even on holy days a husbandman may do something.' So Cato 2, speaking of the means which the landowner has of checking the amount of work done by his servants, mentions holiday employments after those for rainy weather. The things which may or may not be done on holy days are enumerated at length by Col. 2. 21 (22).

269.] 'Fas et iura,' divine and human laws, Serv. [and the Berne scholia] who however seem wrong in seeking for a real distinction where Virg. probably only intended surplusage. 'Rivos deducere': it is not clear whether letting water on or off is meant. The language will bear either equally, according to the use of 'deducere,' though "deducere aquam in vias," Cato 155 (156), is used for drawing water off from a field, and "deducit" occurs in a similar sense above v. 113, as opposed to "inducit," v. 106. Serv. [and the Berne scholia] maintain that the latter must be intended, asserting on the authority of Varro that irrigation was forbidden, and appealing to the Pontifical books to show that works might be finished on holy days, though not begun, and consequently that water already let on might be let off; but the extract which Serv. gives is rather in favour of the other interpretation: "feris denicalibus aquam in pratrum ducere, nisi legitimam, non licet: ceteris feris omnis aquas licet deducere" (comp. Col. 2. 21 (22), where there is a similar distinction between the sanctity of "feriae denicales" and that of other holy days). Macrob., Sat. 3. 3, explains 'deducere' by 'detergere,' alleging that old watercourses might be cleaned on holy days, but not new ones

Religio vetuit, segeti praetendere saepem, 270
 Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,
 Balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.
 Saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli
 Vilibus aut onerat pomis; lapidemque revertens
 Incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat. 275
 Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna

made: and so Columella, l. c., enumerates among lawful things "fossas veteres tergere et purgare." But it is not easy to extract this sense out of the words of Virg., though Heyne attempts to do so, arguing that he who cleans a watercourse lets the water flow, 'deducit.' If any argument could be founded on the greater or less appropriateness of the work in question to holy days, it would be natural to suppose Virg. to be speaking of drawing off a stream which had suddenly overflowed in the corn-field. On the other hand, Mr. Macleane remarks that to lead the water down the channels would be a work of daily necessity for gardens in hot weather. Med. has 'diducere'; but in such cases MSS. are of little weight, and the question, so far as they are concerned, is really one of spelling.

270.] 'Religio' is here used in its technical sense as a restraining, not an imperative power. 'Segeti praetendere saepem' raises another difficulty, as Col. l. c. says that the pontiffs forbid the making of hedges for corn on holy days. Forb. and Keightley suppose that old hedges might be repaired, though not new ones made: but Virg.'s words are surely express.

271.] 'Insidias avibus moliri' seems to refer to snaring mischievous birds (vv. 119, 156), as that would be a work of necessity, which ordinary bird-catching would not be. 'Incendere vepres': Cato, 2 (quoted by Keightley), mentions "vepres recidi" among the works for holy days.

272.] Washing sheep for cleanliness was not allowed on holy days, according to Macrob. and Col. ll. cc. who observe that 'salubri' is emphatic, indicating that the washing is to cure disease. Comp. 3. 445 foll. 'Balantum' is doubtless meant to be forcible, the sheep bleating when they are washed, as in 3. 457, when they are in pain: but it is elsewhere no more than a generally descriptive epithet, discriminating sheep from other cattle by their bleat, as in A. 7. 538. To which class

such passages as Enn. Alex. fr. 1. 5, Lucr. 2. 369., 6. 1182 are to be referred, is hard to say.

273.] Varro ap. Serv. says that markets were held on holy days, to give countrymen an opportunity of going to town. Col. l. c. quotes Cato (138) as saying that mules, horses, and asses had no holy days, adding that the pontifical books forbade the harnessing of mules on "seriae denicales." 'Agitator aselli,' the driver, like "equorum agitator," A. 2. 476, i. e. not the man whose business it was to drive asses ('asinarius'), but the peasant who happens to drive the ass to market. We need hardly inquire whether 'aselli' belongs primarily to 'costas' or to 'agitator.'

274.] 'Vilibus' harmonizes with 'onerat,' implying, as Serv. remarks, that they are abundant. 'Lapidem incusum' is explained by Serv. [and Gaudentius in the Berne scholia] of a millstone, which is indented that it may crush the corn better.

275.] 'Picis': pitch would be useful for marking cattle, securing casks, repairing vessels, &c. ['Incusum' Med. Pal. Rom. —H. N.]

276—286.] 'The days of the lunar months are not all equally lucky for work. The fifth is bad, the seventeenth good, and, in a different way, the ninth.'

276.] Virg. is said by Pliny (18. 321) to have followed Democritus in this enumeration of lucky and unlucky days. Hesiod (Works 765 foll.) had treated the subject at much greater length. Varro, l. 37, has a chapter on the same subject, but his treatment of it is entirely different. Virg.'s own treatment is sufficiently cursory, only three days being named in all, for good or for evil, and those not accurately represented, at least according to Hesiod, who was evidently to some extent his model. The force of 'ipsa' seems to be that the mere position of days in the month gives them a certain fitness or unfitness for agricultural purposes, irrespectively of more

Felices operum. Quintam fuge: pallidus Orcus
Eumenidesque satae; tum partu Terra nefando
Coeumque Iapetumque creat, saevumque Typhoea,
Et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres.
Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam

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scientific considerations. 'Dedit' is commonly taken as an aorist: but it may mean that the moon has made the ordinance once for all in regulating the month. 'Alio ordine' opp. to "uno ordine," A. 2. 102. It is as if Virg. had said "omnes dies non pariter felices fecit." 'Alios' is followed by 'quintam,' as in Tibull. 3. 6. 32 (quoted by Wund.), "Venit post multos una serena dies."

277.] 'Felices operum,' happy in respect of (agricultural) work ('operum' as in 2. 472: comp. the title of Hesiod's poem), like "infelix animi," A. 4. 529 (see on G. 3. 498), "fortunatus laborum," 11. 416. The construction is virtually equivalent to that with the abl. 'Quintam fuge:'

Πέμπτας δ' ἐξάλασθαι, ἐπεὶ χαλεπαὶ τε καὶ αἰνὰ.

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασιν Ἑρινύας ἀμφιπο-
λεῦν

Ὅρκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἑρις τέκε πῆμ'
ἑτιόχοις. (Hes. Works 802.)

Wilfully or ignorantly Virg. misinterprets Hesiod, confounding Ὅρκος, the god of the oath, with the Latin Orcus, the god of the dead, and making the Eumenides born themselves on the fifth, instead of attending on the birth (if that be Hesiod's meaning, which is doubtful, especially as some copies give *τυννόμενας* for *γεινόμενον*) of Ὅρκος. For a similar misinterpretation see E. 8. 58 note. Pal. however gives 'Horcus,' which Ribbeck adopts, quoting Serv., who says that Celsus explains 'pallidus' of the paleness of those who are put on their oath. But the spelling proves nothing for the interpretation, as the MSS. constantly vary in proper names, and in 4. 502 one of Ribbeck's cursives has 'Horci.' Serv. says "Probus 'Orchus' legit: Cornutus vetat aspirationem:" but there is nothing to show whether these opinions were delivered with reference to the word as occurring here or as generally used. [It should be observed that the text of Serv. ought probably to be corrected thus: "Probus *Horcus* legit: Cornutus vetat aspirationem." For the Berne scholia say "quidam cum aspiratione *Horcus* legunt."—H. N.] 'Pallidus' of the

ghastliness of death, Horace's 'Pallida mors.'

278.] 'Tum' seems better taken with Serv. in its ordinary sense of 'then' than with Forb. as 'moreover.' It appears to be added here because it had been omitted in the previous clause. No other extant authority appears to fix the birth of the giants to this day.

279.] The birth of 'Coeus' and 'Iapetus' is mentioned Hes. Theog. 134, that of 'Typhoeus,' ib. 821 foll., the latter not taking place till after the expulsion of the Titans from heaven. The two former were the sons of Earth and Uranus, the latter of Earth and Tartarus. 'Typhoeus' is distinguished from the rest by the epithet 'saevus,' as he was the most formidable (Hes. l. c.). 'Creat:' see on E. 8. 45. 'Typhoea' is probably a trisyllable, the two last vowels coalescing (comp. 'Orphea,' E. 6. 30), as in Greek (*Τυφωέα*), though it might be scanned as a dactyl, hypermetrically or otherwise. See on 2. 69.

280.] It is doubtful whether 'fratres' refers to the giant-brood generally, or to the two Aloidae. The deeds mentioned in the following lines are ascribed to the latter by Hom. (Od. 11. 304 foll.), and by Virg. himself (A. 6. 582, where the words 'rescindere caelum' occur again): but the Aloidae were the sons not of Earth, but of Poseidon and Iphimedeia. Possibly Virg. may have misunderstood the passage in the Odyssey, where they are said in Homeric phrase to have been nourished by the earth, though the word there used is *θρονα*. 'Rescindere' may be to break open, like "vias rescindere," Lucr. 2. 406, or it may be compared with Aesch. Prom. 357 (of Typhoeus) *ὡς τὴν Αἰδὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπέρσων βίᾳ*.

281.] Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέσσαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὅσση Πήλιον εἰνο-
σίφυλλον, ἢ οὐρανοῦς ἀμβατὸς εἴη, Hom. l. c. Virg. reverses the positions of Pelion and Olympus, and transfers to the latter the epithet attached to the former. The non-elision of the 'i' and 'o' and the shortening of the latter are in imitation of the Greek rhythm, and are appropriate

Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympos;
Ter Pater exstructos disiecit fulmine montis.

Septima post decumam felix et ponere vitem,

Et prensos domitare boves, et licia telae

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Addere; nona fugae melior, contraria furtis.

Multa adeo gelida melius se nocte dedere,

Aut cum sole novo terras inrorat Eous.

Nocte leves melius stipulae, nocte arida prata

Tondentur; noctes lentus non deficit umor.

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here and elsewhere where the subject reminds us of Greek poetry.

282.] 'Scilicet,' agreeably to its etymology ("scire licet"), introduces an explanation or development. Here it introduces the details of the conspiracy of the giants. 'Involvere' is used in its strict sense of rolling upon, like "involvitur aris," A. 12. 292. Olympus is heaved up the sides of Ossa. Pal. originally had 'invertere'

283.] The threefold attempt seems to be Virg.'s invention.

284.] 'Septima post decumam,' the seventeenth, as is evident from Hes. Works 805, where the seventeenth follows the fifth immediately, though the work which he assigns to it is not the same as here. Of the works which Virg. assigns to the seventeenth, planting is referred by Hes. to the thirteenth, taming cattle to the fourteenth, weaving to the twelfth. 'Ponere' 'to plant in order,' 2. 273, E. 1. 74. 'Felix ponere:' see on E. 5. 1.

285.] 'Prensos domitare,' perhaps for 'prendere et domitare:' *πρηνεῖν ἐπὶ χεῖρα* *τίβελς*, Hes. v. 797. Taking in hand, 'prendere,' is the first step towards breaking in, 'domitare.' Comp. 3. 206, 7. 'licia telae addere,' to add the leashes to the warp, to weave. See Dict. A. 'tela,' where Tibull. 1. 6. 78, "Firmaque conductis adnectit licia telis," is compared.

286.] 'Fugae' seems to refer to fugitive slaves. Virg. however, as Heyne remarks, is speaking not in their interest, but in that of the husbandman who is warned to be on his guard that day, while on the other hand he need not watch against thieves. In Hesiod the ninth day is merely mentioned as good for work of any sort. 'Contraria furtis:' "avibus contraria cunctis," Lucr. 6. 741.

287—296.] 'Some work is fittest for night or early morning, mowing for instance; and long winter evenings may be well spent by the husbandman in cutting

torches, by his wife in weaving, or boiling and skimming.'

287.] ['Adeo' is taken by Serv. and the Berne scholia to mean 'valde,' but it may well have its original sense of 'besides.'—H. N.] As in vv. 259 foll., Virg.'s thought seems to be that no part of the husbandman's time is unemployed, and that every work should be done at its right time. 'Gelida nocte' is doubtless contrasted with 'medio aestu,' at the same time that it indicates the cool dew as that which makes work easier. 'Melius se dedere:' the general sense is that many operations are performed better at certain times. Virg. expresses the notion of performance by 'se dedere,' to indicate the dependence of the husbandman upon nature. Thus the use of 'se dare' here is parallel rather to the instances where it is equivalent to "occurrere" than to those where it denotes compliance with the will of another. ["'Se dedere,' nostro obsequuntur labori." Serv.—H. N.]

288.] Wakef. supposes Virg. to have imitated Lucr. 5. 281, "aetherius sol Inrigat adsidue caelum candore recenti." But the primary reference of 'inrorat' evidently is to literal dew, and it seems hardly worth while to suppose a secondary one to the sprinkling of the earth with sunlight. Heyne comp. 3. 305, "extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno." For 'aut' Rom. and some others have 'vel.'

289.] 'Stipulae:' see on v. 85. The cutting of the stubble took place in August, within a month after the reaping. 'Leves' and 'arida' seem both to be emphatic, as suggesting what the husbandman has to obviate. 'Arida prata,' opposed to those which could be irrigated. Voss.

290.] 'Lentus' expresses the effect of the moisture on the grass rather than the

Et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignes
 Pervigilat, ferroque faces inspicat acuto ;
 Interea longum cantu solata laborem
 Arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas,
 Aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem
 Et foliis undam trepidi despumat aheni.
 At rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu,

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nature of the moisture itself. 'Noctes deficit,' the more ordinary construction referred to on v. 148. "Hominem totum magis ac magis undique sensus Deficit," Lucr. 3. 546.

291.] 'Quidam,' like "est qui," Hor. 2 Ep. 2. 182, Pers. 1. 76. as if Virg. knew the man, but did not choose to name him. 'Luminis' is generally taken of lamp or torch-light. Keightley refers it to fire-light, comparing 2. 432, A. 7. 13, where however there is the same doubt. It would be possible also to refer it to the late dawn of a winter sun ("lumine quarto," A. 6. 356), so that the sense should be 'one man sits through a long winter's night,' though the parallel in A. 7 l. c. would point rather to either of the other interpretations. Mr. Blackburn, accepting this last view, comp. Hor. 3 Od. 8. 14, "vigiles lucernas Perfer in lucem." A. 8. 411 "famulas ad lumina longo Exercet penso" is similarly open to all three interpretations.

292.] 'Inspicat,' makes into the form of an ear of corn, the end of the wood being cut into a point and split into various parts. Forb. comp. Sen. Med. 111, "Multifidam iam tempus erat succedere pinum." This is probably the same as "incide faces," E. 8. 29, though a distinction has been attempted between them by Ullitius on Gratius' Cynegetica, v. 484, who supposes 'incidere' to refer to the cutting of pieces of wood to be bound together into brands (Dict. A. 'fax').

293.] 'Solatus' might be taken strictly, as if Virg., though meaning of course that singing and weaving went on together, chose to take a point from which the former might be regarded as past, the latter as beginning or continuing, but such an explanation would not apply to A. 5. 708, "Isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit," so that we must say that the past participle is used with a present force. See Madvig, § 431. 6. The domestic picture has the effect, which doubtless was one of the objects of the composi-

tion of the Georgics, of placing the life of a small country proprietor in an attractive light.

294.] Comp. A. 7. 14, which shows the 'pectine' goes with 'arguto.' 'Pectine,' *κεπίς*, "the comb, the teeth of which were inserted between the threads of the warp, and thus made by a forcible impulse to drive the threads of the woof close together. . . . Among us the office of the comb is executed with greater ease and effect by the reed, lay, or batten." Dict. A. 'tela.'

295.] 'Must' was boiled down to "carenum," "defrutum" (4. 269), or "sapa," on a night when there was no moon (Dict. A. 'vinum'). 'Volcanus,' as Cerda remarks, is used elsewhere of a large fire, such as would be required for boiling 'must' (Col. 12. 19; so G. 4. 269, "igni multo"). The hypermeter here seems to be a fair instance of a metrical anomaly introduced for descriptive effect. See on v. 482.

296.] 'Foliis,' vine leaves, as wood was apt to give a smoky taste to the liquor. 'Undam aheni' like "undantis aheni," A. 7. 263. Col. 12. 20 says that the vessel should be of lead, as brass was liable to rust in boiling. For 'trepidi' many MSS., including Pal. originally, give 'tepidi,' which could scarcely be used of boiling liquid. Rom. has 'trepidus—aenis,' which is partially supported by Med. ['Aeni' Med., Pal. Gud., but Gell. 2. 3, says that the best MSS. in his time read 'aheni.'—H. N.]

297—310.] 'Summer is the time for reaping and threshing. Winter is the husbandman's season for festivity; but he still has work, stripping acorns and berries, snaring and killing game.'

297.] 'Rubicunda Ceres,' v. 96. Col. 2. 21 says that corn should be reaped "cum rubicundum colorem traxerunt." "Medio aestu," would most naturally mean midday, as in 3. 331., 4. 401. In that case however we must suppose a strange piece of ignorance on Virg.'s part, midday being precisely the time which the reaper

Et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges.
 Nudus ara, sere nudus; hiemps ignava colono.
 Frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur, 800
 Mutuaque inter se laeti convivio curant;
 Invitat genialis hiemps curasque resolvit:
 Ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae,
 Puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.
 Sed tamen et quernas glandes tum stringere tempus 305
 Et lauri bacas oleamque cruentaque myrta;

would avoid, though it is the time for threshing. Comp. Theocr. 10. 49 foll.:

Σίτον ἀλοιῶντας φεύγειν τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν ἔπνον

Ἐκ καλῆς ἔχουρον τελέθει ταμὸςδε μά-
 λιστα

Ἀρχεσθαι δ' ἀμῶντας ἐγειρομένο κορυ-
 δαλλῶ,

Καὶ λήγειν εὐδοντος ἐλινύσαι δὲ τὸ καῦμα.

'Aestu' then had better be taken of summer as the hot season, as "frigoribus mediis," E. 10. 65, means midwinter. Wagn. objects that the information in that case would be so obvious as to be needless, but Virg. is speaking of the operations proper to the various seasons, as the next lines show, as well as of the times when they should be performed, and 'hiberni,' v. 291, prepares us for the mention of summer. Wagn.'s own view, that 'medio aestu' means generally a summer's day as contrasted with a winter's night, without any special reference to noon, makes 'medio' a worse than useless epithet. 'Succiditur' seems not to specify any thing about the manner of cutting, merely implying that the thing is severed from below. "Flos succisus aratro," A. 9. 435.

298.] 'Tostas' not to be joined with 'aestu.'

299.] 'Ploughing and sowing both belong to the warm months,—spring and autumn. 'Nudus,' without the upper garment, as Cincinnatus was found ploughing, when the messenger from the Senate arrived, Livy 3. 26. Here and in the following lines Virg. imitates Hes. Works, 493 foll. The precept is word for word from Hes. Works 391, γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοῦρεῖν. Serv. has a story, mentioned also by Suetonius in his Life, that some one, apparently in Virg.'s lifetime, hearing the first part of the line repeated, completed it with the words "ha-

bebis frigore febrem." 'Colono' seems to be intended strictly with reference to the labours of cultivation, as other works for winter follow, v. 305. So perhaps 'agricolae.'

300.] With the use of 'parto' comp. "parcere parto," A. 8. 317. "Plerumque" dicit, quia dicturus est aliqua, quae rusticus etiam hieme possit efficere," Serv.

302.] 'Winter is the entertainer, calling out man's happier self, and unbinding his load of care.' So December is called by Ov. F. 3. 58, "geniis acceptus." The "genius" seems to be an impersonation and half-deification of the happy and impulsive part of man, so that an offering to it would imply that the day was to be spent in enjoyment. Hor. 3 Od. 17. 14, 2 Ep. 1. 144, A. P. 209. We have here another domestic picture: see on v. 291 above.

303.] 'Winter is to them what port is to the sailor, the jovial end of a weary time.' 'Pressae,' heavy laden: virtually equivalent to Heinsius' conjecture "fessae," and doubtless intended to convey the notion that the ship feels the relief. Heyne. Tibull. 1. 3. 40, "Presserat externa navita merce ratem."

304.] A. 4. 418. Comp. Prop. 4. 24. 15, "Ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae," probably an imitation of this passage.

305.] 'Glandes stringere,' E. 10. 20 note. 'Stringere' like "stringunt frondes," E. 9. 61 note, where Cato is quoted, using it of gathering the olive. 'Quernas' because 'glans' was used of other fruits than acorns. "Glandis appellatione omnis fructus continetur, ut Iavolenus ait," Gaius, Dig. 50. 16. 236.

306.] Myrtle berries were used for mixing with wine, which was called "murteus" or "myrtites," and used medicinally for pains in the stomach. (Cato 125 (126), Col. 12. 38.) 'Cruenta,' from their juice. Voss thinks the red wild myrtle is spoken

Tum gruibus pedicas et retia ponere cervis,
 Auritosque sequi lepores; tum figere dammas,
 Stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae,
 Cum nix alta iacet, glaciem cum flumina trudent. 810
 Quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam,
 Atque, ubi iam breviorque dies et mollior aestas,
 Quae vigilanda viris? vel cum ruit imbriferum ver,
 Spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit, et cum
 Frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent? 815
 / Saepe ego, cum flavis messorem induceret arvis
 Agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,

of as distinguished from the black or white: but the agricultural writers do not countenance this. Forb.

307.] Cerda comp. Hor. Epod. 2. 35, "Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem Iucunda captat praemia." Cranes were a delicacy of the table: but the husbandman might naturally snare them in self-defence: see v. 120.

308.] The epithet 'auritos' is said by Macrobius, Sat. 6. 5, to be taken from Afranius, who in one of his prologues introduces Priapus saying, "Nam quod volgo praedicant Aurito me parente natum, non ita est." [Paul. (Fest. p. 8 M.) "auritus a magnis auribus dicitur, ut sunt asinorum et leporum; alias ab audiendi facultate." It is possible that the passage in Macrobius comes directly or indirectly from Verrius Flaccus. H. N.] The word itself merely means 'having ears,' the length of the ears being an inference from the application of the epithet, just as in Soph. Aj. 140, πτηνῆς πελίας, the notion of fluttering is inferred from the strict meaning 'winged.' 'Figere,' E. 2. 29. Here the word must mean to hit with a bullet, not with an arrow.

309.] "The sling . . . was made of . . . hair, hemp, or leather (Veget. De Re Mil. 3. 14. . . . 'habena,' A. 6. 579)." "The celebrity of the natives of the Balearic isles as slingers is said to have arisen from the circumstance that when they were children their mothers obliged them to obtain their food by striking it with a sling (Veget. 1. 16)." Dict. A. 'funda.' Rom. has 'torquentes.'

310.] 'Glaciem . . . trudent' apparently describes the process of freezing, the rivers driving down the ice in masses, which get stopped and joined together, so that the whole surface becomes frozen. [Forb.

now agrees with this explanation, though he formerly took the words to mean 'when the rivers roll down the ice to the sea.' He compares the use of 'trudo' G. 2. 31, 335.—H. N.]

311—334.] 'Autumn and spring have their special perils. Just when harvest is beginning, a hurricane will come and tear up the corn from the ground, or a thunder-storm will burst on the field in all its horrors.'

311.] 'Tempestates' seems fixed by 'sidera' to mean 'weather' rather than 'storms.' The latter notion is not expressed, but left to be inferred. The stars on which the autumn storms were supposed to depend were Arcturus, the Centaur, the Kids, and the Crown. Cerda comp. Il. 16. 385, ἤματ' ὀπωρινῶν δτε λαβρότατον χέει δδωρ Ζεύς.

312.] 'Mollior,' less oppressive. "Quas et mollis hiemps et frigida temperat aestas," Stat. S. 3. 5. 83.

313.] 'Vigilare aliquid' is to bestow wakeful care on a thing. "Vigilateque proelia dele," Juv. 7. 27. 'Ruit imbriferum,' comes down in showers, Wagn., like "nox umida caelo Praecipitat," A. 2. 8.

314.] 'Messis inhorruit:' δτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι, Il. 23. 599. The erect and bristling appearance of the field is intended, as Forb. remarks, not its agitation by the wind. For 'et cum' Pal. originally had 'etiam,' i.e. apparently 'et iam.'

315.] Serv. says that Varro in his books "rerum divinarum" speaks of a god Lactens, who made the ears of corn milky. Comp. Dict. B. 'Lactans.'

316.] Med. originally had 'duceret.'

317.] The husbandman brings the reaper with him into the field, and is beginning himself to lop the ears. 'Stringeret,' as in v. 305, 'fragili culmo' being

Omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi,
 Quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
 Sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro 320
 Ferret hiemps culmumque levem stipulasque volantes.
 Saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum,
 Et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbris atris
 Collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,

a descriptive ablative. This explanation is as old as Serv.

318.] 'Omnia ventorum proelia' seems to be a variety for "proelia omnium ventorum." 'I have seen all the armies of the winds meet in the shock of battle.' The winds are supposed to be blowing from all quarters at once, as in A. 1. 85 (note), 2. 416. Comp. Daniel 7. 2, "The four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea." Lucr. talks of 'ventorum paces', 5. 1230, compared by Cerda. Rom. has 'consurgere.'

319.] 'Late' with 'eruerent.' 'Ab radicibus imis,' Lucr. 1. 352.

320.] 'Sublimem' is restored by Wagn., for the old reading 'sublime,' which is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive. Virg. probably imitated Accius, Medea fr. 1, "sublime ventis expulsum rapi Saxum aut procellia." 'Expulsam eruerent' is equivalent to "eruerent et expellerent," as "digesta feratur," 2. 167, to "feratur et digeratur." The words 'ita—volantes' present great difficulty. Martyn and others suppose them to contain a comparison between the hurricane that roots up the corn ('gravidam segetem') and an ordinary gust which whirls about stubble ('culmumque levem stipulasque volantes'), 'ita' being i.q. "tam facili negotio." But the 'culmus' and the 'stipula' can hardly be any thing but the straw of the 'seges' spoken of in the context; and the change of the point of view, the same thing being spoken of one moment as heavy and the next as light, is natural enough, both representations being equally true. It would seem best then to take 'ita' 'to such an extent,' 'so furiously,' comparing a similar passage, Lucr. 1. 275, 286, "ita perfurit aori Cum fremitu, saevitque minaci murmur pontus (?) . . . ita magno turbidus imbri Molibus incurrens validis cum viribus amnis Dat sonitu magno stragem." To this, which is the interpretation of the Delphin editor, Heyne objects that 'ferret' ought to be 'ferebat:' but the verb seems to have been attracted into the subj. by

'eruerent' (comp. however A. 7. 808 foll.). The construction would be assisted if with Wagn. we were to make 'ita' a particle of transition, "eruerent et sublimem eicerent atque ita, i.e. erutam, ferrent;" but the effect of the two sentences, thus connected, would be rather cumbrous.

322.] The first part of the following description seems to be modelled on Lucr. 6. 253 foll., the latter on Il. 16. 384 foll. 'Venit agmen' is perhaps intended to suggest the image of a column marching, though the word may have a more general meaning.

323.] So Lucr. l. c. of a storm, "trahit atram Fulminibus gravidam tempestatem atque procellia," from which Wakef. conjectured 'fetam' here. 'Foedam' however is supported by Lucr. 4. 169, "Tempestas perquam subito fit turbida foede Undique" (which from another part of the passage it is evident that Virg. had in his mind), "tempestatas foedae fuere," Livy 25. 7, passages which seem to show that 'tempestatem' here is merely weather, 'foedam' having the sense of ugly or grim, or, as we should say, foul. 'Glomerant' is perhaps to be taken with 'foedam,' thicken or mass into foulness. This would seem to be a case of *βοτρεπον πρότερον*, as the brewing of the storm would naturally precede the descent of the rain. But Keightley may be right in taking 'caelo,' v. 322, as the dative, the waters marching upon the sky, though Lucr. 6. 257 ("Ut picis e caelo demissum flumen") is in favour of the common view. From this line to 2. 139 there is a lacuna in Pal.

324.] 'Ex alto' may very well be taken 'from the deep,' which would doubtless be the truer view of the phenomenon; but on the whole it seems more probable that Virg. meant to represent clouds as mustered from on high, 'collectae,' like 'glomerant,' keeping up the military associations already introduced by 'agmen.' [Serv. and Gaudentius in the Berne scholia take 'ex alto' as = 'ex septentrione.'

Et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores 325
 Diluit; implentur fossae, et cava flumina crescunt
 Cum sonitu, fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.
 Ipse Pater media nimborum in nocte corusca
 Fulmina molitur dextra; quo maxuma motu
 Terra tremit; fugere ferae, et mortalia corda 330
 Per gentis humilis stravit pavor; ille flagranti
 Aut Athon, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ceraunia telo

—H. N.] 'Ruit aether,' like "aether descendit" 2. 325, 'caeli ruina' A. 1. 129, an image explained by Lucr. 6. 291, "Omnis uti videatur in imbrem vertier aether."

325.] 'Sata laeta boumque labores,' A. 2. 306, a translation of ἔργα βοῶν, Hes. Works 46. Homer in the parallel passage has ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων. Virg., as Ursinus remarks, seems to have imitated Apoll. R. 4. 1282, ἡέ τι' ὄμβρον ἄσπετον, ὅστε βοῶν κατὰ μύρια ἔκλυσεν ἔργα.

326.] 'Fossae,' v. 372, otherwise called "colliciae" or "colliquiae." 'Cava:.' During the summer months in Italy there is little or no water in the beds of most of the rivers, so that their channels may justly be called 'hollow,' for they resemble a road running between two high banks. Keightley.

327.] 'Fervet . . . aequor:.' "freta circum Fervescunt graviter spirantibus incita flabris," Lucr. 6. 427. 'Spirantibus,' of the sea, as in A. 10. 291, "Qua vada non spirant" (si lectio certa), the violent heaving of the waves against the shore being compared to human breathing. 'The sea glows again through every panting inlet.' Rom. has 'spumantibus.'

328.] "Usque adeo, taetra nimborum nocte coorta, Independent atrae Formidinis ora superne, Cum commoliri tempestas fulmina coepat," Lucr. 6. 253. 'Ipse,' as in A. 5. 249, 12. 725, &c., seems to express not only dignity (above, v. 121), but personal exertion (A. 2. 321, &c.). 'Corusca' with 'dextra' = "coruscante." So Sen. Hipp. 156, "Vibrans corusca fulmen Aetnaeum manu" (quoted by Forb.), an imitation which shows how he understood Virg.

329.] 'Molitur:.' "validam in vitis molire bipennem," 4. 331. The word is one of rather wide application, generally implying effort in the agent or bulk in the object, or both. 'Quo motu,' referring to the sense rather than to the words of the preceding sentence. So "carmine quo,"

4. 348; "quo gemitu," A. 2. 73. Forb. comp. Sall. J. 114, "Per idem tempus adversum Gallos male pugnatum: quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat." "Ea signa dedit," A. 2. 171, is an instance of the same principle. See Kritz on Sall. J. 54, "ea formidine." 'Maxuma,' a perpetual epithet, the γαῖα πελώρη of Hes. Theog. 173, &c., but acquiring force here from 'tremit.'

330.] 'Fugere' of instantaneous flight, like "exiit," 2. 81. The two perfects connected by 'et' apparently describe actions connected and simultaneous, the asyndeton in the other clauses successive effects. Voss comp. Orpheus, Hymn 18. 13, "Ὁν καὶ γαῖα πέφρικε βάλασσαν τε παμφανόουσα, καὶ θῆρες πτήσσουσιν, δταν κτύποι ὁδὰς ἐσέλθῃ, Cerdà Hes. Works 511, &c., where the effect on the various beasts is drawn out at length.

331.] 'Humilis' qualifies 'stravit.' Virg. may have thought of Lucr. 5. 1218 foll.

332.] Partly from Theoc. 7. 77, "Ἡ Ἄθω ἢ Ῥοδόταν ἢ Κάκκασον ἐσχατέοντα. 'Athon' is the reading of all the MSS. The earlier editors introduced 'Atho' as the regular form of the Greek accusative. 'Athon' however occurs elsewhere, both in verse and prose (e.g. Livy 45. 30, Val. Fl. 1. 164, in which latter passage the final syllable is shortened as here). Accepting it, we must assume a form Ἄθωρ, which agrees with a precept laid down by Serv. on A. 12. 701, Prisc. 6. 13. 70, that the last syllable of the nominative is to be made short. 'Alta Ceraunia,' a half-translation of Ἀκροκεραυνία, which Hor. 1 Od. 3. 20 uses untranslated. The name Κεραυνία seems the commoner of the two. The fact of lightning striking the mountains is urged by Lucr. 6. 420 as an argument against its supernatural origin, and explained by him physically ib. 458 foll. 'Telo,' as βέλος is used of the thunderbolt, Aesch. Prom. 358, and elsewhere.

Deicit; ingeminant austri et densissimus imber;
 Nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.
 Hoc metuens, caeli menses et sidera serva;
 Frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet;
 Quos ignis caeli Cyllenius erret in orbis.
 In primis venerare deos, atque annua magnae
 Sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis,

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333.] 'Deicit,' of lightning, A. 6. 581, Lucr. 5. 1125. "Telo deicis," A. 11. 665. Here it is apparently intended that one of the peaks is overthrown, though 'deicit Athon telo,' may only mean "deicit telum in Athon." ['Deicit' i.e. 'deicit' Med. and Rom. and so Ribbeck.—H. N.] 'Ingeminant': it is observed that the rain and wind increase after a thunderclap. "Quo de concussu (comp. 'quo motu,' above) sequitur gravis imber et uber," Lucr. 6. 289.

334.] 'Plangunt,' intransitively, probably with a notion of wailing, in which sense the participle occurs without an accusative. "Plangentia iungit Agmina," A. 11. 145. The reflective 'planguntur' would be more usual, even in this sense; but the common use of 'plango' with an accusative of the person lamented may prepare us for finding it used without an expressed object of any kind. Jahn makes 'austri' and 'imber' the nominative, which seems less forcible and appropriate. 'Plangit,' the reading of Rom., and one of Ribbeck's cursives, adopted by Masvicius and Wakef., would be awkward, whether the nominative were sought in 'imber' or in 'Iuppiter.' Both readings are recognized by Serv. 'Doubly loud howls the south wind, doubly thick gathers the cloud of rain, and under the blast's mighty stroke forest and shore by turns wail in agony.'

335—350.] The precautions to be observed are attention to times and seasons and observance of the rural deities, especially Ceres, who is to be worshipped duly in the spring of each year, with offerings of milk, wine, and honey, and the ceremony of leading a victim round the young corn with a rustic procession.

335.] A virtual repetition of vv. 204 foll. 'Sidera' is not here to be restricted to the signs of the Zodiac with Wagn., as the next two lines are evidently intended to give instances of the things to be observed. 'Caeli menses,' like 'caeli hora' 3. 827, "caeli tempore" 4. 100.

336.] Saturn and Mercury are chosen

as the two extremes, and the husbandman is told to observe their course in the sky. Saturn in Capricorn, according to Serv., was supposed to cause heavy rains especially in Italy. [Forb. comp. Pliny 2. 106.] 'Frigida' from its distance from the sun. 'Recepto' is used nearly in the sense of "recipio:" otherwise we might say that the frequentative here has a sort of intensifying force, denoting the distance of the retirement, as in Pera. 6. 8, "multa litus se valle receptat," it may be intended to mark the depth of the bay.

337.] 'Ignis' with 'Cyllenius.' 'Caelo,' the reading of Med., is preferred by several of the later editors. That 'caeli orbis' (A. 8. 97) might be used for the orbit of a planet, no less than for that of the sun, appears from 2. 477, "caeli vias," Lucr. 5. 648, "Qui minus illa queant per magnos aetheris orbis Aestibus inter se diversis sidera ferri?" 'Caelo' on the other hand is slightly supported by Catull. 62. 20, "Hesperes, qui caelo fertur crudelis ignis?" 'Ignis' here is probably emphatic, contrasted with 'frigida Saturni stella.' The Greeks called Mercury $\delta \sigma \tau \iota \lambda \alpha \beta \omega \nu$.

338.] Ceres is distinguished from the other gods to show that she in particular is to be worshipped. 'Magnae,' an ordinary epithet of the gods, applied not only to Jupiter, but to Apollo, Hercules, Juno, Pales, &c. 'Annua sacra' are the Ambarvalia, mentioned before, E. 5. 70 (note), and described at length Tibull. 2. 1. (See Dict. A. 'Arvalae fratres'.)

339.] 'Refer' might express recurrence; see on v. 249, and comp. A. 5. 605, "tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis:" but here it seems rather to denote the payment of a due. 'Operatus,' sacrificing, like "facio," $\phi \acute{\epsilon} \zeta \omega$, &c. "Tunc operata Deo pubes discumbet in herba," Tibull. 2. 5. 95. For the present force of the part. see on v. 293. Med. originally had 'orbis,' which was altered first into 'herbis,' then into 'arbis,' i.e. 'arvis,' the reading of some inferior copies.

Extremæ sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno. 340
 Tum pingues agni, et tum mollissima vina;
 Tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae.
 Cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret;
 Cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho;
 Terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, 345
 Omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,
 Et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta; neque ante

340.] The language is not to be pressed, as the Ambarvalia did not take place till the end of April. 'Casum' contains that sense of "cadere" which is more generally expressed by "occidere." Rom. and a correction in Gud. have 'casu.'

341.] τῆμος πιδτατα τ' αἰγες καὶ οἶνος ἄριστος, Hes. Works 585, speaking of summer. 'Pingues agni' is the order of all Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive, restored by Heins. for 'agni pingues.' 'Pingues' doubtless refers to fatness either for sacrifice or for eating, as the mention of wine immediately afterwards shows. 'Mollissima': so "mollī mero," Hor. 1 Od. 7. 19, "molle Calenum," Juv. 1. 69, 'mellow,' the Greek μαλακός as opposed to σκληρός ("durum Bacchi saporem," 4. 102).

342.] The second clause explains the first. Hesiod l. c. wishes for a seat under the shadow of a rock. See p. 139.

344.] Libations of honey, milk, and wine are to be made to Ceres. Macrob. Sat. 3. 11, explaining this passage, says that the mixture was called "mulsum." He also comp. 4. 102, and explains 'miti' here of the wine as corrected by the honey; but this is obviously needless after 'mollissima,' preceeding. Cato 134 directs that wine be offered to Ceres before harvest, along with the entrails of the sacrifice, but says nothing of any other liquid. Milk, wine, and honey formed part of the Grecian offerings to the dead (Aesch. Pers. 611 foll.); and we know that the Greek Demeter was connected with the lower world. (Müller's Dissertations on the Eumenides, §§ 80 foll.); Daphnis at the Ambarvalia is to have milk and oil (the latter being part of the funeral libations, and occasionally offered to Demeter, Müller, § 89), and also wine (E. 5. 67 foll.). Theocr. 5. 53 foll. makes milk and oil offered to the nymphs, milk and honey to Pan: and Macrob. l. c. says that on December 21 'mulsum' was offered to the Panes. Serv. mentions an

interpretation which coupled 'Baccho' with 'cui;' but 'miti' is strongly against this, though Bacchus and Ceres are invoked together at the beginning of Tibullus' description (2. 1. 3), and associated, perhaps in connexion with the Ambarvalia, by Virg. himself E. 5. 79.

345.] "Tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuvenco: Nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli. Agna cadet vobis, quam circum rustica pubes Clamet: Io messis et bona vina date," Tibull. 1. 1. 21 foll., from which it appears that the victim varied according to the circumstances of the worshipper. Cato 134 speaks of a sow. In the 'Suovetaurilia' the sacrifices were carried three times round the assembled multitude, and so in the lustration of the fleet (Dict. A. 'lustratio'). 'Felix' is doubtless 'auspicious,' not, as Serv. thinks, 'fruitful,' there being no instance quoted where it is applied in that sense to an animal.

346.] 'Chorus et socii': "chorus sociorum."

347.] So Hor. 1 Od. 30. 3, "vocatīs Ture te multo Glyceræ decoram Transfer in ædem," though the goddess is invited there to a chapel, not to a house. 'Neque ante:' it is a question whether this is merely an additional warning to the husbandman to celebrate the Ambarvalia, as an indispensable preliminary to the harvest, or an injunction to perform a second set of rites in summer time (Cato 134). The language is rather in favour of the latter, as otherwise, taken strictly, it would seem to imply that the Ambarvalia might be celebrated any time before the harvest: still it would have the awkwardness of an apparent afterthought, the mention of the second festival being almost entirely overshadowed by the first. Comp. however Tibull. 2. 1. 21, where harvest rejoicings are briefly alluded to in the middle of the description of the Ambarvalia. The observances here specified, dancing and singing, are too common to be fixed to either fee-

Falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis,
 Quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu
 Det motus incompósitos et carmina dicat; 350

Atque haec ut certis possemus discere signis,
 Aestusque, pluviasque, et agentis frigora ventos,
 Ipse Pater statuit, quid menstrua Luna moneret;
 Quo signo caderent austri; quid saepe videntes
 Agriculae propius stabulis armenta tenerent. 355
 Continuo, ventis surgentibus, aut freta ponti
 Incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis
 Montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe
 Litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur.
 Iam sibi tum curvis male temperat unda carinis, 360

tival in particular. Comp. E. 5. 73, 74, Tibull. 2. 1. 51 foll., Hor. 3 Od. 18. 15.

349.] 'Quercu,' in memory of man's first food. Serv.

350.] 'Det motus;' "haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant," Livy 7. 2, speaking of the origin of dramatic entertainments. 'Incompósitos:' "incomposito pede," Hor. 1 S. 10. 1, of rough verses.

351—392.] Besides, Jupiter has given the husbandman prognostics of the weather. Thus wind is foretold by noises on the sea, in the mountains, and in the woods, by the habits of birds, by shooting stars, and by down on the water. Rain is preceded by thunder and lightning, by the descent of cranes, cattle snuffing the air, swallows flying low, frogs croaking, ants carrying out their eggs, the rainbow drinking, rooks flying in company, sea-birds dipping in the water, ravens croaking by the water, and lamps sputtering.

351.] 'Possemus,' Med. (first reading) Rom. restored by Wagn. 'Possimus' (Gud.) was the old reading. 'Moneret' supports 'possemus.' 'Haec' is 'aestus, pluvias, agentis frigora ventos.' For 'discere' Canon. and a variant in Med. have 'noscere,' Rom. 'dicere.'

352.] In 'agentis frigora ventos,' 'frigora' is the important word, contrasted with 'aestus' and 'pluvias.' Ov. M. 1. 56 has "facientis frigora ventos," an obvious imitation.

353.] There is a slight similarity in these lines to Aratus, Diosemeia 10—13. 'Menstrua:' in her monthly course.

354.] 'What should betoken the fall of the wind.' 'Signum,' σῆμα. 'Quid saepe videntes:' 'saepe videntes' is explained

by vv. 365 foll. to mean not observation of the same thing on different occasions, which seems to be its force in v. 451, but observation of a thing frequently repeated on the same occasion, and thus proved not to be accidental. Natural observation is grounded by Virg. on divine warning.

356.] The important words are 'ventis surgentibus.' These that follow are prognostics of wind. Almost all of them are closely copied from Arat. Dios. 177—200, while many of them in turn are reproduced by Lucan 5. 551—567, an ingenious passage, which is worth comparing. [With the whole of the passage vv. 356—392 comp. Pliny 18. 359—365, who differs, however, from Virg. in some of his details.—H. N.]

357.] Connect 'agitata tumescere.'

358.] 'Aridus fragor:' καρφαλέον, αδον, and ξηρόν are used for sounds. The two first occur in the Iliad of metal pierced by a spear (13. 409, 441). It will then mean 'harsh,' opposed to 'liquidus,' as αδός, &c. are to ὑγρός: so δίσρον μέλος. The two contrasted notions seem to be those of fluency and abruptness. "Aridus unde auris terget sonus," Lucr. 6. 119, of certain varieties of thunder. So Mr. King-ley talks of "thunder harsh and dry." Rom. has 'arduus.' 'Resonantia longe:' μακρὸν ἐπ' αἰγιαλοὶ βοῶντες 'Ακταὶ τ' εἰσάλωι, ὅπότ' εὐδίοι ἤχησσαι γίγνονται, Arat. 1. c. Virg. has passed over εὐδίοι.

359.] 'Misceri' is explained by 'resonantia,' which acts instead of an abl. like "murmure" A. 1. 124, "tumultu" A. 2. 486. For the sound of the woods as a sign of wind, comp. A. 10. 97. foll.

360.] 'Curvis' Med., Gud., 'a curvis' Rom. and two of Ribbeck's cursives, sup-

Cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi
 Clamoremque ferunt ad litora, cumque marinae
 In sicco ludunt fulicae, notasque paludis
 Deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem.
 Saepe etiam stellae, vento inpendente, videbis 865
 Praecipites caelo labi, noctisque per umbram
 Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus;
 Saepe levem paleam et frondes volitare caducas,
 Aut summa nantis in aqua colludere plumas.
 At Boreae de parte truci cum fulminat, et cum 870
 Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus, omnia plenis
 Rura natant fossis, atque omnis navita ponto
 Umida vela legit. Numquam inprudenter imber
 Obfuit: aut illum surgentem vallibus imis

ported by Arusianus p. 264 L. Euphony is in favour of the omission of the preposition, which is likely to have been added by a transcriber. Probably 'sibi temperat' should be taken as one word = "parcit," and 'curvis carinis' as the dat. There seems to be no conclusive instance of 'temperare' followed by the abl. without a preposition. 'Male: scarcely. 'The storm is close at hand.'

361.] There is some difficulty in identifying two out of the three birds here mentioned. 'Mergi' are commonly supposed to be cormorants, but their flying from the sea before a storm leads Keightley to identify them with sea-gulls, though he admits that this does not suit Ovid's description (M. 11. 794) of the 'mergus' as long-necked. 'Fulicae,' Keightley thinks, are cormorants, not coots, as Pliny 11. 122 speaks of them as created. On the other hand Cic. de Div. 1. 8, translating Aratus, gives 'fulix' for *ἑρδιδός*, the heron. The confusion is further increased by the want of correspondence between Virg. and Aratus. What Virg. says of the 'mergus' is said by Aratus of the heron: what Virg. says of the 'fulicae' is said by Aratus of the *αἰθυαί*, which appear from Pliny 10. 91 to have been the Greek equivalent to 'mergi.' [Pliny 18. 362 speaks of "mergi, gaviae, mariae aut stagna fugientes" as one of the signs of wind.—H.N.]

362.] 'Marinae' is opp. to 'in sicco.' Lucan (5. 553) agrees with Aratus, 'Aut siccum quod mergus amat.'

364.] Keightley says that Virg. is more accurate here than Aratus, who makes the heron fly from the sea. Aratus however had been preceded by Theophrastus (De

Sign. Vent. p. 420), *ἑρδιδὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πετόμενος καὶ βοῶν πνεύματος σημείον ἐστὶ*.

365.] 'Vento inpendente:' emphatic, like 'ventis surgentibus.' Arat. l. c. says that the wind comes from the same quarter as the shooting stars. In Geopon. 1. 11, on the contrary, the wind is said to come from the quarter towards which the stars shoot.

367.] 'Flammarum:' *τοὶ δ' ὄπιθεν ῥυμοὶ ὑπολευκαίνονται*, Arat. l. c. But the words are from Luor. 2. 206 foll., "Nocturnasque faces caeli sublime volantis Nonne vides longos flammarum ducere tractus? . . . Non cadere in terram stellas et sidera cernis?" as Macrob. Sat. 6. 1 points out.

369.] Arat. 189 makes thistle-down playing on the water a sign of wind. 'Colludere:' they stick together and drive the same way.

370.] These are the signs of rain, also taken with few variations from Arat. 201 foll. 'Boreae:' the meaning is, when there are thunders and lightnings from all parts of the sky, three winds being put for all, as Arat. l. c. shows.

371.] 'Domus,' as if each of the winds had a home in the quarter of the heavens from which it blows, a different conception, as Voss remarks, from the cave of Aeolus in A. 1.

372.] 'Plenis fossis:' comp. "implentur fossae," v. 326.

373.] 'Umida,' with the rain. 'Inprudenteribus' = "ex improviso," unwarned. Med. originally had 'prudenteribus,' which Schrader preferred. 'Obfuit,' comes upon them, in a bad sense.

374.] The perfects seem to be used on

Aëriæ fugere grues, aut bucula caelum
 Suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras,
 Aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo,
 Et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam.
 Saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
 Angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens
 Arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno
 Corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.
 Iam varias pelagi volucres, et quæ Asia circum

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account of 'numquam obfuit.' 'Rain has never been known to take men by surprise: there have always been these and those prognostics.' 'Vallibus imis' with 'fugere'; comp. Tac. H. 3. 85, "si diem latebra vitavisset," though "latebra" in this passage may be the abl. instrum., while 'vallibus imis' must be the abl. loci. For the fact of cranes descending before rain see Aristot. Hist. A. 9. 10.

375.] 'Aëriæ,' a translation, and if Buttmann is right, a mistranslation of *ἠέριαι γέρανοι*. Virg.'s epithet applies to the usual mode of the crane's flight, and is contrasted with 'vallibus imis.' 'Bucula:' the whole passage from this place to v. 387 is closely imitated and partly borrowed from the "Navales Libri" (if Wernsdorf's conjecture is right) of Varro Atacinus (quoted by Serv.), who has himself translated Aratus,—

"Tum liceat pelagi volucres tardaeque
 paludis

Cernere inexploto studio certare lavandi,
 Et velut insolitum pennis infundere
 rorem;

Aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo,
 Et bos suspiciens caelum (mirabile visu)
 Naribus aërium patulis decerpit odorem,
 Nec tenuis formica cavis non evehit ova."

377.] "The swallow is always observed to fly low before rain, because the flies and other insects on which she feeds keep at that time near the surface of the ground and the water." Keightley. 'Arguta,' not a perpetual epithet, but denoting that she twitters as she flies.

378.] 'Vetus querella' has no reference to legend or fable, as Serv. supposes. Keightley quotes the schol. on Hor. Epod. 2. 26, who says that the ancients used 'querella' of the note of all animals but man. Some MSS. have 'aut' for 'et;' but the 'et' couples the two sounds.

379.] 'Saepius' denotes repetition (v.

384), which agrees with 'terena.' Whether it is to be extended to 'bibit' and 'increpuit' is not clear. 'Tectis penetralibus,' like "adytis penetralibus," A. 2. 297, and "caeli penetralia templa," Lucr. 1. 1105, if the reading is certain. Keightley remarks that on the contrary the ant is observed to carry in her eggs on the approach of rain. [Pliny 18. 364 enumerates among his prognostics "formicae concursantes aut ova progerentes."—H. N.]

380.] It has been supposed from *κοιλῆς ὄχης*, Arat. 224, that 'terens angustum iter' means 'boring a narrow passage.' But 'tectis penetralibus' is the translation of *κοιλῆς ὄχης*, and 'angustum iter' is to be interpreted like "calle augusta," A. 4. 405, 'terens' ("terere viam") being explained by 'saepius.' 'Arcus:' Aratus has *διδύμη Ἰρις*. Plaut. Cure. 1. 2. 41, "Ecce autem bibit arcus! pluet, Credo, hercle hodie." The rainbow was supposed to draw up moisture from the sea, rivers, &c., with its horns, and to discharge it in rain. Hence Tibull. 1. 4. 44 and Stat. Theb. 9. 405 talk of "imbrifer arcus." Sen. N. Q. 1. 6, who refers to Virg., says that a rainbow in the south brings heavy rain, in the west slight showers and dew, in the east fair weather. Virg. of course can only mean that the appearance of the rainbow is a sign of rain, drawing up the water being assumed to be its constant function.

382.] 'Densis alis' looks like a mistranslation of *τιναζόμενοι πτέρω πυκνὰ* in Arat. 237. It here means however 'with crowded wings.'

383.] Arat. 210 foll. 'Variae' Med., Rom., Gud. originally, 'varias' Gud. corrected and two other of Ribbeck's cursives, one of them from a correction. Serv. mentions both readings, but decidedly prefers 'varias.' It is conceivable that Virg.'s love of variety may have led him to change the construction (comp. vv. 199 foll., A. 2. 775, notes); but the acc. is on the whole

Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri,
 Certatim largos umeris infundere rores, 385
 Nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas,
 Et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.
 Tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce
 Et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena.
 Ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae 390
 Nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent
 Scintillare oleum et putris concreescere fungos. —
 Nec minus ex imbri soles et aperta serena
 Prospicere et certis poteris cognoscere signis:
 Nam neque tum stellis acies obtunsa videtur, 395

neater, and is supported by the passage from Varro. 'Variæ volucres' is common in Lucr., where some suppose it to = "pictæ" (see on G. 3. 243). Here at any rate it has its more ordinary meaning. 'Circum,' adverbial. ['Atque' for 'et quæ' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

384.] 'Rimantur Asia prata:' search, try in every clink; "rimaturque epulis," A. 6. 599. 'Asia prata:' Il. 2. 461. Ἀσία ἐν λειμῶνι Καδστρίου ἀμφιβάθρα. 'Caystri' with 'stagnis.' The whole clause 'quæ—Caystri' is a literary amplification of Aratus' epithet λειμναία.

385.] 'Rores' implies that they make it into spray.

386.] Med. second reading, Rom. and Gud. have 'in undam.'

387.] 'Incassum,' wantonly or without object; nearly the same notion as Aratus' ἀπληστον, Varro's "inexpleto studio."

388.] 'Improba:' comp. 'improbanser,' v. 119. If it means 'ceaselessly' here, it should be taken with 'vocat.' But we may render it 'villainous,' or, as we should say, 'good-for-nothing,' because the raven invites the rain. Ladewig gives the spirit of it in the words 'die Hexe,' the witch, which may be illustrated by Hor. 2 S. 5 84, "anus improba." 'Pluviam vocat' is from Lucr. 5. 1084 foll., "cornicum ut saecula vetusta Corvorumque greges, ubi aquam dicuntur et imbris Poscere, et interdum ventos aurasque vocare." [Pliny 18. 363 "cum terrestres volucres contra aquam clangores dabunt perdentesque sese, sed maxime cornix . . . ardea (not cornix) in mediis harenis cristis."—H. N.]

389.] 'Spatiat' expresses the pace of the 'stately raven.' The alliteration, as in the previous verse, gives the effect of monotony. Some MSS., including the

margins of Med. and Gud., insert a line after or before this verse, "At (or 'aut') caput obiectat querulum venientibus undis," which is doubtless manufactured from v. 386, though it would agree with Aratus.

390.] The stress is rather on 'nocturna.' Not even those who are shut up in doors at night are without prognostic. "Nisi erile mavis Carpere pensum," Hor. 3 Od. 27. 64.

391, 392.] From Arat. 302, 307. Aratus makes the sputtering a prognostic of bad weather generally, and the fungi a prognostic of snow. Virg. however agrees exactly with Aristoph. Wasps 262, ἔπεισι γούν τοῖσιν λύχνοις οὐτοῖς μύκητες· φίλει δ', ὅταν τοῦτ' ᾖ, ποιεῖν δερὸν μάλιστα. 'Testa,' the earthen lamp. [Pliny 18. 358 describes similar phenomena.—H. N.]

393—423.] 'When the rain is over, you can tell whether the weather is going to be fine, by such marks as these: the moon and stars are bright, the sky free from fleecy clouds, kingfishers leave off sunning themselves, and pigs tossing straw, mists float low, owls hoot at sunset, larger birds chase smaller, rooks caw joyously in their nests, as if they felt the pleasure, not, however, from real foresight, but from sympathy with the atmosphere.'

393.] 'Soles,' fine days. Ov. Trist. 5. 8. 31, "Si numeres anno soles et nubila toto, Invenies nitidum saepius isse diem." 'Ex imbri,' after the shower you will know whether it is going to be fine or rain again, as Wagn. remarks. Rom. has 'eximbres,' which Martyn adopted; but the word has no authority.

395.] Virg. begins by negating certain phenomena, which would have been more naturally mentioned among the

Nec fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna,
 Tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri ;
 Non tepidum ad solem pinnae in litore pandunt
 Dilectae Thetidi alcyones, non ore solutos
 Immundi meminere sues iactare maniplos. 400
 At nebulae magis ima petunt campoque recumbunt,
 Solis et occasum servans de culmine summo
 Nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus.
 Apparet liquido sublimis in aëre Nisus,
 Et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo ; 405
 Quacumque illa levem fugiens secat aethera pinnis,
 Ecce inimicus, atrox, magno stridore per auras
 Insequitur Nisus ; qua se fert Nisus ad auras,
 Illa levem fugiens raptim secat aethera pinnis.
 Tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces 410

signs of rain. Arat. 281. Ἦμος δ' ἀστέροθεν καθαρὸν φῶς ἀμβλύηται. [Gellius 6. 17. 8. quotes this line 'Nam neque tunc astris acies obtusae videri.'—H. N.]

396.] 'Obnoxia,' beholden. 'And the moon is bright as though she shone with her own light.' "Non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curae," 2. 438. Wagn. interprets it 'not reddened by the sunset.' Heyne, who has an Excursus on the passage, supposes the meaning to be that the moon does not rise, regarding 'fratris radiis obnoxia' as a sort of perpetual epithet.

397.] Arat. 206, 207. Lucr. 6. 504 compares rain-clouds to "pendentia vellera lanae," referring principally to their power of imbibing moisture. 'Tenuia,' trisyllable, as in Lucr. 3. 383, "tenuia fila," and elsewhere. [Pliny 18. 356 "si nubes ut vellera lanae spargentur."—H. N.]

398.] 'Tepidum ad solem,' the afternoon or evening sun.

399.] 'Dilectae Thetidi,' possibly because the lovers were changed into Halcyons by Thetis; but it is simpler to say 'loved by her as sea-birds.' Comp. Theocr. 7. 59. Serv. mentions a strange reading 'soluto,' "i. e. nimum patenti."

400.] 'Meminere:' comp. "meminere fugai," Lucr. 4. 713, and the Homeric use of μεμνήσθαι. 'Iactare solutos maniplos,' to toss them so as to loosen them; toss them to pieces. Keightley says the swine carry straw in their mouths to make beds for themselves. [Pliny 18. 364 mentions

as a sign of bad weather "turpes porci alienos sibi manipulos faeni lacerantes."—H. N.]

401.] 'Nebulae,' that is, the clouds on the mountains. Comp. Arat. 256—258.

403.] The night-owl is a sign of fine weather, Arat. 267. 'Nequiquam,' like 'incassum'—a prolonged objectless effort.

404.] 'Liquido,' clear after the storms. For the story see the Pseudo-Virgilian Ciris (where vv. 538—551 are reproduced); also Ov. M. 8. 1 foll. Rom. has 'aethere.'

407.] It is best to take 'inimicus, atrox' as two epithets. Comp. "Acer, anhelanti similia," A. 5. 254.

408.] Keightley explains "qua se fert Nisus ad auras" of the greater bird having missed his pounce, and thus being obliged to soar into the air in order to make a second, while the smaller escapes as fast as it can.

409.] 'Raptim:' the primitive meaning is either by a snatch or by snatches; hence eagerly, hastily, quickly. Comp. that sense of 'rapidus' in which it seems to have the meaning of 'rapio,' noticed in E. 2. 10 note.

410.] 'Liquidas,' soft, opposed to "raucas." 'Presso gutture,' apparently opposed to "plena voce." The whole passage is loosely rendered from Arat. 271—277. Aratus appears to distinguish accurately between the ἐρημαῖος κόραξ that cries δισσάκεις and πλειότεροι δ' ἀγεληδόν. Comp. Lucr. 5. 1083 foll.

Aut quater ingeminant, et saepe cubilibus altis,
 Nescio qua praeter solitum dulcedine laeti,
 Inter se in foliis strepitant; iuvat imbribus actis
 Progeniem parvam dulcisque revisere nidos;
 Haut, equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis 415
 Ingenium aut rerum fato prudentia maior;
 Verum, ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor
 Mutavere vias et Iuppiter uvidus austris
 Denset, erant quae rara modo, et, quae densa, relaxat,
 Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus 420
 Nunc alios, alios, dum nubila ventus agebat,
 Concipiunt: hinc ille avium concentus in agris,

411.] 'Cubilibus altis' seems to be a loose version of ἐν ἡν κοίτοι μέδονται.

412.] 'Nescio qua,' &c.: χάρειν κέ τις ἔσται. The Virgilian version is characteristic.

413.] The old reading was 'inter se foliis.' Wagn. restored the prep., which is found in Med., Rom., Gud., &c. 'Imbribus actis' may either be 'when the rain is spent,' like "tempus actum" (Burm.), or 'when the rain is driven away' (Heyne), not 'when the rain has descended' (Wund., who comp. 2. 334). The sentence can hardly have any other meaning than that the rooks are glad to revisit their young when the showers are over, though Keightley objects that they have been driven home already by the shower, and accordingly understands 'revisere,' to review, examine the state in which they are in after the storm. Serv. asserts on the authority of Pliny that rooks are apt to forget their young and not go near them.

415.] An allusion to the Pythagorean, Platonist, and Stoic spiritualism, which Virg. here rejects in favour of the Epicurean and Lucretian materialism. In 4. 219 &c. he mentions the "anima mundi" view without disapprobation. Here as elsewhere the subj. is used of a reason not accepted as the true one by the speaker: see Madv. § 357 b. 'Divinitus' is distinguished from 'fato,' as Virg. is apparently alluding to the language of different philosophies. 'Not, if I may judge, that Heaven has given them any spark of wit like ours, or Fate any deeper insight into things,' 'Rerum prudentia' go together. 'Maior,' 'more than usual'—more, for instance, than men have. It seems better to follow Reiske in pointing 'Haut, equidem credo'

than to keep the common punctuation 'Haut equidem credo.' 'Equidem credo' is thrown in modestly. 'Iuvat—nidos' will then be a kind of parenthesis, giving the reason for the joy of the birds, which is the main subject of the sentence. Ov. M. 15. 359 however has "Haut equidem credo."

416.] Lucr. 5. 1083, "Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus una Raucisonos cantus."

418.] 'Mutavere vias' is explained by 'mobilis,' the weather and the atmospheric moisture being supposed to shift. "Commutare viam" occurs Lucr. 2. 130. Thus there is no occasion to follow Ribbeck in reading 'vices,' the conjecture of Catrou and Markland, confirmed by one MS. [the Arundelianus]. 'Iuppiter uvidus austris' denotes the condition of the atmosphere before the change. Connect 'uvidus austris,' not, as Keightley, 'austris denset.' "Umidus auster," v. 462. Rom. and Gud. have 'umidus' here.

419.] For 'denset' see on v. 248.

420.] 'Species,' phases, a materialistic word. 'Motus,' also materialistic.

421.] 'Alios, dum nubila ventus agebat' is to be construed parenthetically. The change from low to high spirits being the point, the second 'alios' is logically = "quam," and does not denote a co-ordinate difference, as in "Numquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit" (Juv. 14. 321). Comp. Plaut. Trin. 1. 11. 123, "Alium fecisti me, aliud ad te veneram."

422.] For 'hinc' Med. a m. p. has 'hic.' Perhaps we may render 'There lies the secret of the birds' rural chorus, and the ecstasy of the cattle, and the rooks' triumphal paean.'

Et laetae pecudes, et ovantes gutture corvi.

Si vero solem ad rapidum lunasque sequentes

Ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallat 425

Hora, neque insidiis noctis capiere serenae.

Luna, revertentes cum primum colligit ignis,

Si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aëra cornu,

Maximus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber ;

At si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem, 430

Ventus erit ; vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe ;

Sin ortu quarto, namque is certissimus auctor,

424—437.] 'You may get prognostics too from observing the sun and moon. Obscurity in a new moon is a sign of rain : redness, of wind ; but if she is clear on her fourth day, there will be fine weather to the end of the month.'

424.] 'Rapidum' comp. above E. 2. 10, though here it may have its ordinary sense. 'Sequentes,' following each other. 'Lunas' might mean either the daily or monthly moons, but, looking to 'primum' and 'ortu quarto,' it probably means the daily.

426.] Cerda comp. A. 5. 851, "Caeli toties deceptus fraude sereni."

427.] These lunar prognostics are selected from Arat. 46 foll., where the subject is treated much more elaborately. Virg. has seized the three main points, dulness as a sign of rain, redness of wind, brightness of fair weather, and expressed them in language borrowed from various parts of his original. Aratus has expressed them himself yet more concisely, vv. 70 foll.

Πάντῃ γὰρ καθαρῇ κε μάλ' εὖδ' α τεκμήραο,
Πάντα δ' ἐρευνδομένη δοκέειν ἀνέμοιο κελεύ-
θους,

"Ἄλλοθι δ' ἄλλο μελαινομένη δοκέειν δετοῖο.

'Colligere' seems to imply the recalling of things scattered and their formation into a mass. 'Revertentes,' returning to her.' "Sparsosque recolligit ignis," Lucan. 1. 157, of the lightning. The metaphor is perhaps from a general rallying his forces. If this seem too great a strain on the language, we may construe 'colligit' simply 'gathers,' and 'revertentes' 'reappearing.' "What time the mighty moon was gathering light," Tennyson.

428.] 'Aëra, the air seen between the horns of the crescent moon. We should

say 'there is a halo round the moon.' But the words need only mean 'if the air is dark and the crescent dull.' [The Berne scholia quote from Nigidius Figulus De Ventis lib. iv. "Si summum corniculum maculas nigras habuerit in primis, mensis partibus imbres fore ; at si in imo cornu, serenitatem debemus scire." See also Pliny 18. 347 foll., and Varro quoted there.—H. N.]

429.] 'Agricolis pelagoque,' a poetical variety for "agris pelagoque" or "agricolis nautisque."

430.] 'Ore' may be explained as an ablative of place ; which without the prep. is rare, but occasionally occurs, particularly in poetry (comp. "arbore," A. 6. 187). Perhaps the already double construction of 'suffundo' may have suggested this further variety, which is simply an inversion of "suffuderit os rubore." Here as elsewhere (see A. 1. 381) Virg., in seeking for variety, seems to have had more than one possible construction in his mind. It seems scarcely Virgilian to suppose 'ore' to be an old form of the dative, as Key thinks, Lat. Gr. 1020.

431.] 'Vento' might be taken either as an abl. instrum. (see v. 44), or as an abl. of circumstance (comp. "ut in tectoris videmus Austro," Cic. de Div. 2. 27). It might be objected to the latter that the redness is a prognostic of coming wind, although we might perhaps say, 'when there is wind about.'

432.] 'Is,' 'ortus quartus.' Aratus dwells on the third and fourth as the critical days, and connects his prognostics with them. Virg. first gives the unfavourable prognostics without reference to days, and then connects the favourable prognostics with one of the critical days. "Auctor," authority ; "non simihī Iuppiter auctor Spondeat," A. 5. 17.

Pura neque optunsis per caelum cornibus ibit,
 Totus et ille dies, et qui nascentur ab illo
 Exactum ad mensem, pluvia ventisque carebunt, 485
 Votaque servati solvent in litore nautae
 Glaucō ēt Panopeae ēt Inoo Melicērtae.
 Sol quoque et exoriens, et cum se condet in undas,
 Signa dabit; solem certissima signa secuntur,
 Et quae mane refert, et quae surgentibus astris. 440
 Ille ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum
 Conditus in nubem, medioque refugerit orbe,
 Suspecti tibi sint imbres; namque urget ab alto
 Arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister.
 Aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese 445
 Diversi rumpent radii, aut ubi pallida surget

433.] Virg. takes his general distinctions from Aratus, 'pura,' answering to καθαρή, 'optunsis cornibus' to παχίων και ἀμβλείῃσι κεράσι, and 'rubes' to ἐρυθρός.

434.] Arat. 73 foll. seems to say that the signs of the third and fourth days will only hold good for half the month. [Nascentur, Rom.—H. N.]

436.] 'Servati,' that have come safe to port; not preserved from peril as if there had been a storm. Comp. σώζεσθαι. 'In litore,' A. 5. 236. Rom. has 'ad litora.'

437.] Taken almost verbally, according to Gell. 13. 26 (= Macrob. Sat. 5. 17) from a line of Parthenius, —Γλαύκῳ και Νηρεί (Νηρηΐ?) και Ἰνώῳ (Gell. gives εἰναλίῳ) Μελικέρτῳ. The peculiarity is that the last syllable of 'Glaucō' is left open in the thesis, a licence not indulged in by Virg. elsewhere. Wagn. would read 'Glaucōque.'

438—460.] 'For the sun's prognostics, a spotted or hollow disc at rising is a sign of rain: a cloudy or pale sunrise of hail. At sunset dark grey spots denote rain, fiery red wind, a mixture of the two rain and wind. But a clear rising and setting betoken clear weather.'

438.] The following passage is closely imitated from Arat. 37 foll. Gud. and some others have 'condit,' which Heyne adopted.

439.] Med. and one or two of Ribbeck's cursives read 'sequentur.' 'Secuntur,' attend.

440.] 'Refert,' probably of recurrence: see on v. 249. 'Surgentibus astris,' at sunset. [Med. has 'austriis.'—H. N.]

441.] Virg. has here mixed two, and

unless 'que' in the next line is to be taken for 've,' three signs which are separate in Aratus. 'Nascentem,' &c. is a translation of ποικίλλοιτο νέον βάλλοντος ἀρούρας κύκλος, and 'medioque refugerit orbe' of κύκλος ἐξιδόμενος περιτέλλῃ, which is translated by Avienus "medioque recedens orbe." 'Medioque refugerit orbe': either recedes from the middle of his disc to the circumference, or retires in respect of the middle of his disc. Lucan, 5. 544, has a similar line, speaking however of sunset: "Orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit." As in the case of the moon, Virg. has picked out salient points from Aratus' lengthy enumeration.

442.] 'Condo' is naturally constructed here, as in v. 438, as a verb of motion, as it means strictly not 'to hide,' but 'to throw together' or 'into' (comp. "conicio," "contorqueo").

443.] 'Urget' without a case, as in A. 10. 433. There is the same doubt about 'ab alto' here as about "ex alto," v. 324. The sense 'from the deep' is truer to nature; 'from on high' perhaps more like Virg.

445.] Aratus couples this prognostic with the concavity of the disc as portending either rain or wind. 'Sese diversi rumpent' is σχιζόμεναι. 'Sese rumpent' = "erumpent," as in A. 11. 549, "tantus se nubibus imber Ruperat." Lucan 5. 542, speaking of sunset, says, "Noton altera Phoebi, Altera pars Borean diducta luce vocabat." ["Si medius erit inanis, pluviam significabit." Pliny 18. 346.—H. N.]

446.] The only thing answering to this in Aratus is v. 115—119; where however

Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,
 Heu, male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas;
 Tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.
 Hoc etiam, emenso cum iam decedit Olympo, 450
 Profuerit meminisse magis; nam saepe videmus
 Ipsi in voltu varios errare colores:
 Caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros;
 Sin maculae incipient rutilo immiscerier igni,
 Omnia tum pariter vento nimisque videbis 455
 Fervere; non illa quisquam me nocte per altum
 Ire, neque a terra moneat convellere funem;
 At si, cum referetque diem condetque relatum,
 Lucidus orbis erit, frustra terreberet nimbis,
 Et claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri. 460
 Denique, quid vesper serus vehat, unde serenas

though the phenomenon is the same, its significance is totally opposite. [Pliny 18. 343 "si in exortu spargentur (radii) partim ad austrum, partim ad aquilonem, pura circa eum serenitas sit licet, pluviam tamen ventosque significabunt." 'Rumpunt' Rom.—H. N.]

447.] Imitated from Il. 11. 1, Od. 5. 1, and repeated A. 4. 585., 9. 460.

448.] ['Defendit' Gud. originally.—H. N.]

449.] Comp. *φρίσσοντας θυμους*, Pind. Pyth. 4. 81. The radical notion of 'horridus' seems to be that of erect points.

450.] If 'hoc' refers to what goes before, it may mean either generally the sun's significance, or specially the particular fact just noted, that being taken as a type of the others, which are supposed to be yet more significant in the evening than in the morning. Aratus, v. 158, says, 'Ἑσπερίοις καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τρεπε σήμασι τοῖσι' (the last three words are otherwise read *ἀληθέα τεκμήρια*.) 'Ἑσπερόθεν γὰρ ὁμῶς σημαίνεται ἔμμενές αἰεὶ. This points to the latter of the two interpretations suggested, 'hoc' being *σήμασι τοῖσι*. If any MS. were to give 'haec,' it would perhaps be an improvement. But it is possible that Virg. may refer to what follows, and that 'nam' v. 451 has the force of 'nempe' (see on 2. 398), explaining rather than justifying the words preceding it. Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'decedet,' which Heyne retained.

451.] Comp. Arat. 102—107. After 'nam' understand 'tum,' at evening.

452.] 'Errare,' *ἐπιτρέχει*.

453.] 'Caeruleus' (note on v. 236), *μελανεῖ*. 'Igneus,' *ἔρευθος*.

454.] A translation of *ἐν γὰρ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων θυμῶσι κεχρωσμένος εἶη*. 'Maculae' must therefore relate to 'caeruleus,' 'igni' to 'igneus.' ['Incipient' Med. corrected, 'incipiunt' Med. originally, Rom. and Gud.—H. N.]

456.] 'Fervere.' Virg. also uses 'effervo,' 'strido,' and 'fulgo.' 'Non' for 'ne' is rarely used. Quintilian (1. 5) mentions it as a solecism.

457.] Wagn. and others read 'ab,' from Valerius Probus 1, p. 1411, but without MS. authority. Wagn.'s theory that 'ab' is always *ἀπὸ* seems arbitrary. Ribbeck reads 'moveat' from Med. a m. p., it is difficult to see why. 'Convellere funem' to cast loose the rope fastening the ship to the shore.

458.] Arat. 126 foll. Aratus says that if the sun sets without cloud, but there are red clouds above, there is no danger of rain next morning or at night. Virg. omits half the prognostic, and extends the rest to the morning.

459.] 'Frustra terreberet nimbis' appears at first sight to mean 'you need not be frightened by clouds if there are any,' implying that there are likely to be some. But the words seem to be a rhetorical translation of Arat. l. c. *οὐ σε μάλα χρεὶ Ἀβρίον οὐδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ περιτρομέειν ὑετοῖο*.

460.] 'Claro' marks that the fear of 'nimbi' is vain.

461—491.] 'In short, the sun is your

Ventus agat nubes, quid cogitet umidus: Auster,
 Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum
 Audeat? Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus
 Saepe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella. 465
 Ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam,
 Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,

great prognosticator of weather; and not of weather alone, for he gives signs of sudden and secret commotions, as lately when he darkened himself in grief for the death of Caesar, though in truth that was a time for other portents in earth, sea, and sky—dogs howling, owls hooting, volcanic eruptions, arms clashing in the sky, earthquake shocks, mysterious voices, apparitions, cattle speaking like men, rivers stopping, images covered with moisture, inundations, ill-omened sacrifices, springs of blood, wolves heard within city walls, lightning in a clear sky, and shooting stars—all prelusive to a second battle of Roman against Roman, fought in the same country as the first, and leaving a store of relics to be turned up in distant days by the husbandman.

461.] Med. (first reading) and Rom. have 'ferat:' but "nescis quid vesper serus vehat" was a Roman proverb, and formed the title of one of Varro's Menippean Satires. Gell. 13. 11, Macrob. Sat. 1. 7. 'The secrets which evening carries on his wing.' 'Unde serenas Ventus agat nubes' seems to be explained by the previous line. The sun gives prognostics of fair winds producing fair weather. 'Serenas agat nubes' is either to be explained "agat nubes ita ut serenum sit caelum," or, with Mr. Blackburn, brings clouds prognosticating fine weather. In any case 'serenas' is evidently opposed to 'umidus.' [Nonius p. 175 in a note on 'seresco' says that Virg. here is using 'serenas' 'docte' in the sense of 'siccus,' and quotes "arida nubila" from G. 3. 197. This note occurs in a shorter form in the Berne scholia. There seems no reason against taking 'serenas' as = 'dry.' H. N.] Probably Virg. is loosely summing up the minute directions in Arat. 880—889.

462.] 'Cogitet:' Heyne comp. Hor. 1 Od. 28. 25, "quodcumque minabitur Eurus." Forb comp. Id. 4 Od. 14. 25, "Auidus—Diluvium meditat agris." 'The hidden purpose of the rainy South.'

463.] Comp. Manil. 2. 134, "Quod fortuna ratum faciat, quis dicere falsum Audeat?"

464.] 'Tumultus' has here its political sense of a sudden alarm of war, generally in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul, when all citizens were at once called out (Dict. A. s.v.). So A. 6. 858, "magno turbante tumultu."

465.] 'Fraudem,' unseen danger or treachery, as is shown by 'caecos tumultus' and 'operta bella.' 'He it is who often betrays the stealthy approach of battle alarms, the heavings of treachery and concealed rebellion.'

466.] 'Ille etiam' is parallel to 'ille etiam' v. 464, being in fact only a stronger form of the copulative. 'Miseratus' need merely mean 'showed his sympathy with Rome's loss,' though it might also imply that the sun sent a friendly warning of the evils that were yet to come.

467. 'Ferrugine,' the dark colour of the sun under eclipse. An eclipse of the sun occurred in November, u.c. 710, in which year Caesar was murdered. "Caerulus, et vultum ferrugine Lucifer atra Sparsus erat," Ov. M. 15. 789, who gives a similar account of the portents on the occasion. Lucan, 1. 522 foll., also imitates this passage, describing the prodigies which heralded the first civil war. But the light of the sun seems to have been abnormally affected at different times during the year in question (Pliny 2. 98, Dion Cass. 45. 17, Plut. Caes. 69) Taking this in connexion with the other prodigies, Keightley observes that the phenomena appear to have been parallel to those which occurred in 1783, when Calabria was devastated by earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and the atmosphere of the whole of Europe more or less obscured. 'Ferrugo' is explained by Nonius, p. 549, as a kind of iron-grey, from which it comes to be used of objects of a lurid or murky hue, as of Charon's boat, A. 6. 303, not unlike "caeruleus," with which Ovid, l. c., couples it. But it is also used of more pleasing objects, as in G. 4. 183, A. 9. 582., 11. 772. Its various applications may perhaps be reconciled if we suppose the colour intended to be a dark blue, which would strike different observers differently according as they compared it with dif.

Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.
 Tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti,
 Obscenaque canes, importunaeque volucres 470
 Signa dabant. Quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros
 Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
 Flammaramque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!
 Armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo
 Audiit; insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes. 475
 Vox quoque per lucos volgo exaudita silentis,

ferent shades. So Catull. 64. 223, speaks of the sail of Theseus' ship as "obscurus ferrugine Hibera," while "ferrugine clarus Hibera," is said of a warrior A. 9. 582.

468.] 'Impia saecula,' the impious race, like "mortalia saecula," &c., in Lucretius.

469.] 'Quamquam': 'though if we are to speak of the sun's significance to the world as well as to the husbandman, it was not the sun alone,' &c. And this leads the way to past and present politics. 'Tellus,' by earthquakes, vv. 475, 479: *σεισμός μέγας γερόμενος*, Dion. l. c.

470.] 'Obscena,' Med., 'obsceni,' the rest of the MSS. But the fem. seems more usual. "Visaeque canes ululare per umbram," A. 6. 257. 'Importunus' ("in quo nullum est auxilium, velut esse solet portus navigantibus," Festus) seems to be the same as "inopportunus." It is sometimes coupled with "incommodus." It hence acquires that strong sense which we see in the Greek *ἀκαρπός*. "Crudelissimus atque importunissimus tyrannus," Livy 29. 17, in fin. Here, as in A. 12. 864, 'importuna' seems = "infausta," 'ill-omened,' 'accursed,' and so virtually synonymous with 'obscena,' itself an epithet of 'volucres,' A. 3. 241, 262., 12. 876. Rooks were said to have picked out an inscription in the temple of Castor, a pack of dogs to have howled at the door of the chief pontiff. Dion. l. c. "Tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo," Ov. l. c. So Shakspeare, Jul. C. 1. 3, "And yesterday the bird of night did sit, Even at noonday, upon the market-place, Hooting and shrieking." Serv. says night-birds appeared by day, and so Lucan l. c. "dirasque diem foedasse volucres."

471.] 'Signa dabant' seems to imply that these portents occurred before Caesar's death, as warnings of the crime and harbingers of the calamity, which is the meaning of Ov. l. c.; Virg. however may mean that they were signs of the anger of

the gods at the parricide, and prognostics of civil war as a punishment. See v. 489. Dion describes the portents as happening after Caesar's death, and speaks as if they were regarded by some as omens of the subversion of the republic. Cic. Phil. 4. 4 makes another use of them. Comp. also Hor. 1 Od. 2, who treats the prodigies in the same spirit as Virg., apparently regarding them as penalties from heaven for the civil wars. The phenomena of that time were doubtless spread over a considerable period. Serv. quotes from Livy a statement that before the death of Caesar there was an eruption of Aetna so tremendous as to be felt even at Rhegium. 'In agros,' on account of the motion implied in 'effervere.'

472.] 'Undantem' refers to the lava. 'Fornacibus' is suggested by 'Cyclopum.' 'Volvere' is the lava stream. 'Liquefacta saxa': comp. A. 3. 576. With the language comp. Lucr. 6. 680—693.

474.] "The noise of battle hurries in the air," Shakspeare, Jul. C. 2. 2. Comp. A. 8. 526 foll., Ov. M. 15. 783, "Arma ferunt nigras inter crepitantia nubes, Terribilisque tubas auditaque cornua caelo Praemonuisse nefas."

475.] The belief of the ancients that earthquakes took place in the Alps from time to time (Pliny 2. 194), is confirmed by modern experience, though Heyne suggests that avalanches may have been mistaken for them. Lucan l. c. has "veteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes Discussere nivem." 'Montibus,' the reading of Med. a m. p. and Rom. a m. s., though adopted by Wakef., is an obvious error.

476.] "Eodem anno N. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis, se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est (sc. Aii Locutii) supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare," Livy 5. 32. Comp. Juv. 11. 111. So the famous *μεταβαλόμεν ἑρπείδων*, the voice

Ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
 Visa sub obscurum noctis ; pecudesque locutae,
 Infandum ! sistunt amnes, terraeque dehiscunt,
 Et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur, aeraque sudant. 480
 Proluit insano contorquens vertice silvas
 Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes
 Cum stabulis armenta tulit. Nec tempore eodem
 Tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces,
 Aut puteis manare cruor cessavit, et altae 485
 Per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.
 Non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno

(Bathcol) from the Temple just before the taking of Jerusalem. 'Lucos' shows that the voice was divine. So Ov. l. c. has "sanctis lucia."

477.] 'Simulacra modis pallentia miris,' Lucr. l. 123 [quoted in the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

478.] 'Pecudesque locutae:' the old Roman portent "locutus bos." 'Infandum' calls attention to its unnatural horror.

479.] 'Sistunt,' intransitive. The cause of 'sistunt amnes' is given in 'terrae dehiscunt,' the earthquake. The same portent seems to be pointed to by Horace, "Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis Litore Etrusco violenter undis," l. Od. 2. 13 foll., where see Maclean. 'Terra' generally means the whole expanse of the earth. Here it implies that there were numerous or repeated earthquakes.

480.] 'Templis,' abl. of place. 'Ebur' and 'aera' are ivory and bronze statues, the material being put for the object. So 'ebur' for an ivory pipe, 2. 193; "spirantia aera," A. 6. 848. Ov. M. 15. 792, "Mille locis lacrimavit ebur." 'Inlacrimat' seems to mean 'weeps over Caesar.'

481.] Dion, l. c. says ὁ τε Ἡριδανὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς περιῆς γῆς πελαγίστας ἐξαίφνης ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄρεϊ ἐγκατέλιπε.

482.] The notion of overflowing is expressed here metrically by a crasis, as in v. 295 by a hypermeter. 'Campos—tulit,' repeated (with the substitution of 'trahit') A. 2. 499.

484.] 'No respite was there in those fearful days to the threatening filaments that overcast the entrails with sadness, or to the blood that welled from springs in the ground, or to the howling of wolves by night, echoing through our steep-built towns.' 'Fibrae,' according to Varro, L.

L. 5. 79, [Fest. p. 90 M.] and Serv. on v. 120, A. 6. 599., 10. 176, are the extremities of the liver. Cels. 4. 11 says that the lungs are divided into two 'fibrae,' the liver into four. What the point to be observed with regard to them was does not appear. Cic. de Div. 1. 10 says "quid fissum in extis, quid fibra valeat, accipio," which would almost seem as if the existence of a 'fibra' at all was a phenomenon: but he may merely mean what good or evil can be prognosticated from the state of the 'fibra.' Ovid's language here is parallel to Cicero's: "magnosque instare tumultus Fibra monet, caesumque caput reperitur in extis," l. c. Inauspicious appearances during sacrifice happened to Caesar himself, Suet. Jul. 81. Dion, l. c. speaks of a bull leaping up after sacrifice.

485.] 'To run from wells,' as if there were springs of blood. Ov. l. c. speaks of bloody rain.

486.] 'Resonare' depends on 'cessaverunt.' 'Altae' perhaps, as Wakef. says, may have reference to 'resonare,' the sound being increased by the height of the buildings; at any rate it seems to point to the position of the Italian cities, 2. 156. Wolves entering Rome are several times mentioned in Livy as portents. In Shakespeare there is a lion, but no wolf. 'Ululare' of wolves, A. 7. 18, of dogs A. 6. 257.

487.] 'Serenus' is the emphatic word. Thunder in a clear sky converted Horace "Namque Diespiter Igni corusco nubila dividens Plerumque, per purum tonantis Egit equos volucrumque currum," l. Od. 34. 5. Dion l. c. speaks of lightning striking the temple of Victory, but not of a clear sky. A correction in Gud. has 'sinistro,' [a reading which is mentioned in the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

Fulgura, nec diri totiens arsere cometae.
 Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
 Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi; 490
 Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
 Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.
 Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
 Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
 Exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila, 495
 Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
 Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

488.] 'Totiens arsere cometae:' Voss suggests that they were meteors. Dion says λαμπρὰς ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς διέδραμε, καὶ τις ἀστὴρ καινὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὄφθη.

489.] 'Ergo:' the murder of Caesar led to a retribution on Rome, which was foreshadowed by all these portents. 'Paribus,' because they were Romans on both sides. "Pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis," Lucan 1. 7.

490.] It is not necessary to suppose that Virg. actually confounded the site of the two battles of Pharsalia and Philippi, as 'iterum' may very well go with 'concurrere,' the sense being 'the issue of all was a second civil war.' But in the next line he dwells on the fact that both were fought in the north of Greece with something less than geographical accuracy, extending Emathia, which was a name of Paeonia, afterwards of Macedonia, so as to cover Thessaly. Other writers were still less strict, probably, as Mr. Merivale (Hist. Rom. 3. 214) has suggested, mistaking Virg., whom they imitated. Ov. M. 15. 824, "Emathiaque iterum madefient caede Philippi," may mean no more than Virg. does; but Manil. 1. 906 can hardly be referring to the two engagements which actually took place at Philippi with twenty days' interval, and Lucan 1. 680 foll., 7. 854 foll., 9. 270, treats Emathia, Thessaly, and Haemus as poetically convertible terms, as does Juv. 8. 242, who makes Octavianus conquer in Thessaly. [Serv. and one of the notes in the Berne scholia say: "Philippi civitas Thessaliae in qua primo Caesar et Pompeius, postea Augustus et Brutus dimicaverunt." But another note in the Berne scholia is more accurate.—H. N.]

491.] 'Nor did it seem too cruel in the eyes of the gods.' Comp. "Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies," Hor. 1 Ep. 2.

30, and for the absolute use of 'indignum' with the ethical dative, "Sat fuit indignum, Caesar, mundoque tibi," Lucan 10. 102. [Markland conj. 'superi' for 'superis,' which is favoured by the remark of Servius and the Berne scholia, "quasi exclamatio est ad deos."—H. N.]

492.] 'Pinguescere:' comp. Hor. 2 Od. 1. 29, and Maclean's note. Plutarch, Marius 21, says that Archilochus spoke of the plains as fattened by human bodies—perhaps the earliest that did so. Comp. also Aesch. Theb. 587, τήνδε πᾶντι χθόνα. Pers. 806 is not parallel, as πῖσμα evidently refers to Ἀσπιδὸς ἄρδει.

493.] 'Yes, and the time will come when in those borders the husbandman, as with his crooked plough he upheaves the mass of earth, will find, devoured by a scurf of rust, Roman javelins, or strike his heavy rake on empty helms, and gaze astounded on the gigantic bones that start from their broken sepulchres.' The touch in 'agricola' is probably meant to recall the reader's mind to the real subject of the poem. In any case it is a sort of unconscious testimony to the arts of husbandry as more permanent than those of war.

494.] Lucr. 5. 932, "Nec robustus erat curvi moderator aratri Quisquam, nec scibat ferro molirier arva." 'Molitus' (v. 329 note) perhaps contains a suggestion that the relics of Pharsalia would be buried deep by age.

495.] 'Pila' is emphatic, as it was the characteristic Roman weapon. So Lucan 1. 7, cited on v. 489. 'Scabra robigine,' Catull. 68. 151.

496.] 'Inanis' is emphatic, as the hollowness would affect the sound, at the same time that it reminds us that the heads which wore the helmets have long since mouldered away.

497.] 'Grandia' refers to the notion of perpetual degeneration. Juv. 15. 69,

Di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
 Quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,
 Hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo 500
 Ne prohibete! Satis iam pridem sanguine nostro
 Laomedontaeae luimus periuria Troiae;
 Iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,
 Invidet, atque hominum queritur curare triumphos,
 Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas, tot bella per orbem,
 Tam multae scelerum facies, non ullus aratro 506

"Nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero; Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos." Comp. also Lucr. 2. 1150 foll. 'Effossia,' broken into by the plough or harrow.

498—514.] 'We have a Caesar yet: spare him to us, ye gods, though ye may well call him away from a world like ours, where right and wrong are inverted, husbandry gives way to arms, war rages from east to west, cities of the same land are arrayed against each other, and humanity is whirled on like a charioteer in a race mastered by his horses.'

498.] With this whole passage compare Hor.'s imitation, 1 Od. 2. 'Di patrii' are not the same as 'Indigetes,' as appears from Ovid's parallel to this passage, M. 15. 861, "Di, precor, Aeneae comites, quibus ensis et ignis Cesserunt, dique Indigetes, genitorque Quirine," where the "Di Aeneae comites" are the 'Di patrii,' as they include Vesta, while the "Di Indigetes" include Quirinus. [The meaning of the word 'Indigetes' is still uncertain. The Berne scholia give a good summary of the various opinions held on the subject by the Romans themselves. "Indigetes a Latinis qui a Graecis *ἰμυγχοί* cognominantur. Alii dicunt, ex quibus Nigidius, omnes deos *indigetes* cognominari quia nullius indigent." Alii *indigetes* proprie interpretantur quorum propria nomina ignorantur, ut sunt Di Penates, item Di Lares et di Consentes." (So Fest. p. 106 M). "Alii: *indigetes* proprie sunt di ex hominibus facti, quasi *in dis agentes*."—H. N.]

499.] 'Tuscum Tiberim:' it seems probable that the old connexion of Etruria with Rome may be in Virg.'s mind here, as it obviously was in the Aeneid. 'Romana Palatia:' the Palatine was the hill of Romulus and his city.

500.] 'Hunc saltem:' as the gods had snatched away Caesar. 'Saeculum' answers exactly to 'the age.' In modern

English perhaps we should say 'society.' 'Iuvenem:' comp. E. 1. 43 and Hor. 1 Od. 2. 41, "Sive mutata iuvenem figura Ales in terris imitatis almae Filius Maiæ patiens vocari Caesaris ultor."

502.] Hor. (3 Od. 3. 21) indulges in the same affectation of antiquarian superstition, a spirit to which it must be allowed that the Aeneid itself ministers. The line itself is nearly repeated A. 4. 541.

504.] Octavianus had probably not yet enjoyed his triple triumph, which was not celebrated till 725, though he had had more than one ovation; but Virg. speaks to him, as Forb. remarks, as if to live on earth were synonymous with to triumph. Yet there is something strange in the expression 'human triumphs,' unless we suppose the poet to intend some still more extravagant compliment. Perhaps the feeling may be that the human victor was all but a god,) 'Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostis Attingit solum Iovis et caelestia temptat,' Hor. 1 Ep. 17. 33), but that Caesar might rise higher. Hor. treads closely in the steps of Virg. "Hic magnos potius triumphos, Hic ames dici pater atque princeps" (1 Od. 2. 49). The concluding strophe of Mr. Tennyson's Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington may illustrate the difference of tone with which a Christian poet would speak of the translation of an earthly conqueror to higher 'triumphs.'

505.] 'Ubi' = "apud quos," sc. "homines." 'Quippe' assigns the reason why heaven grudges Caesar to so thankless a sphere. 'Versum,' inverted, not overturned. Comp. Hor. Epod. 5. 87, 88. "Venenamagnum fas nefasque non valent Convertere humanam vicem."

506.] ['Iam' Med. for 'tam.'—H. N.] 'Aratro' is probably the dative. 'The plough has none of its due honour.' "Honos erit huic quoque pomo," E. 2. 53. But it might possibly be the abl. 'There is no honour that is worthy of the plough'

Dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis,
 Et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem;
 Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum;
 Vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
 Arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe;
 Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,
 Addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens

510

= 'the plough is thought worthy of no honour.' The language is like A. 7. 635, "Vomeris huc et fulcis honos, huc omnis aratri Cessit amor." Here and in the two following lines the subject of the Georgics is kept before the eye.

507.] 'Squalent,' are gone to weeds. "Abductis," taken away to serve as soldiers." Keightley.

508.] 'Curvae' and 'rigidum' seem to be opposed, and 'rigidum' seems to refer to the straight sword of the Romans. ['Formantur' for 'conflantur' Nonius p. 380, and Servius on A. 12. 304, both in a note on the word 'rigidus.'—H. N.]

509.] 'Euphrates,' the Parthians, against whom Antonius was commanding in 718. [Phraates overran Media and Armenia when Antonius withdrew his forces from the frontier (32 B.C.). The allusion to Germany is not cleared up by any explicit reference in the current historical authorities; but it should be remembered that, according to Dio. 51. 21, Gaius Carrinas was, in 29 B.C., allowed a triumph for his victories over the Morini and the Suevi. (Comp. A. 8. 727). His victory over the Suevi it is reasonable to suppose took place after the German campaign of Agrippa in 36 B.C., and at a period not very far distant from that of the triumphs of 29. The war against the Suevi was defensive on the part of the Romans (Dio. 1. c.), the Suevi having crossed the Rhine: a fact which agrees with Virg.'s phrase 'movet bellum.' If we suppose this war to have taken place in 32 B.C., and our passage to have been written in that year, all difficulty disappears.—H. N.]

510.] 'Vicinae urbes,' alluding to the cities which took different parts in the civil war in Italy, especially in Etruria. [See Dio. 50. 6. who, in speaking of the events of 32 B.C., clearly implies that there were cities in Italy which favoured Antony, and that Octavianus had some trouble in disarming their opposition.—H. N.] 'Ruptis inter se legibus,' break-

ing the laws which bound them together. 'Legibus,' the laws of civil society. Forb. comp. A. 8. 540, "Poscant acies et foedera rumpant."

511.] 'Arma ferunt,' are in arms, A. 9. 133. Wakef. wished to read 'fremunt,' not seeing that great part of the emphasis is on v. 510. 'Impius' is emphatic, as most of the wars of the time were connected directly or indirectly with the civil conflict.

512.] 'Carceribus sese effudere:' the 'carceres' were a range of stalls at the end of the circus, with gates of open wood-work, which were opened simultaneously to allow the chariots to start. Dict. A. s. v. 'Circus.'

513.] The true reading of the opening words of this line is not certain. 'Addunt spatia' is the reading of Rom., 'addunt spatium' of Med., altered into 'addunt in spatia,' which is also the corrected reading of Gud. Another of Ribbeck's curatives has 'addunt se in spatia,' which is found in some inferior MSS., and for a long time was the common reading. Heins. adopted 'addunt in spatia,' the original reading of Gud. Since Burm., most editors have read 'addunt in spatia.' The choice seems to lie between the two last-named readings, as there is an evident imitation of this passage in Sil. 16. 373, "Iamque fere medium evecti certamine campum In spatia addebant," where "spatia" may be an error for "spatia," but there is no room for "se." Till the true interpretation of the passage has been arrived at, the reading must remain uncertain: but the two most plausible explanations, that which renders 'addunt in spatia' 'they throw themselves on to the course' (the verb being used intransitively, or 'sese' supplied from 'effudere,' with which comp. A. 1. 439, "Infert se . . . micetque viris"), and that which understands 'addunt' as an elliptical expression for "addunt gradum," "pedem," or "viam" (phrases for which see Heinsius' note), 'in spatia' being

Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas. /

taken like 'in dies, both presuppose 'in spatia.' [The Berne scholia read 'addunt in spatio,' and say "propria vox circi; equi enim cursus *spatio addere* dicuntur." And Serv. may have read 'spatio,' for he explains the words "quemadmodum in *processu* equorum cursus augetur." "*Currendo* plus eorum cursus augetur." The Bamberg and Munich MSS. of Quintilian 8. 3, who quotes the passage, also read 'in spatio.'—H. N.]

514.] 'Fertur equis,' like *ἔστομοι πᾶλοι βίᾳ φέρονται*, Soph. El. 725. Comp. A. 1. 476. For 'audit' comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 15. 13, "equi frenato est auris in ore;" and for 'currus audit,' Pind. Pyth. 2. 21, *ἄρματα πεισιχάλινα*. Serv. suggests that the charioteer hurried on by the furious horses is Octavianus; but this hardly agrees with v. 500.

P. VERGILI MARONIS
G E O R G I C O N
LIBER SECUNDUS.

THE main subject of the Second Book is the culture of trees, especially of the vine. But there is no great regularity in the mode of treatment. Virgil opens with an enumeration of the different ways of propagating trees, natural and artificial, so as to give some notion of the magnitude of the theme; then shows how art can improve upon nature, and recurs again to the manifoldness of his subject, dwelling especially on the innumerable varieties of vines. Without much relevancy he talks of the trees which are indigenous to different countries, and is thence drawn off into an eulogy of Italy, which he does not fit with any practical application. The question of the aptitudes of various soils is treated far more widely than the subject of the book requires, embracing the choice of corn and pasture land as well as of ground for planting vines and other trees. For the next 160 lines the poet seems to be thinking exclusively of the vine or of the trees planted in the 'arbustum' as its supporters. He does not distinguish between the different modes of rearing the vine, but in general appears to assume that the 'arbustum' will be the means adopted. He speaks of the vine and its supporters almost indifferently, as objects more or less of the same culture, so that while keeping the former prominently before him he feels himself at liberty to use general language, or even to confine his language to the latter, as metrical convenience or poetical variety may suggest; a manner of speaking which renders this part of the book peculiarly difficult, at least to an unprofessional commentator. The olive, which was put forward prominently in the programme of the book, is actually disposed of in a very few lines, as requiring hardly any culture at all, while the other fruit-trees are dismissed even more briefly. The remaining trees receive a very hasty recommendation to the cultivator, backed however with an assurance that they are even more useful to man than the vine. In the celebrated digression which concludes the book the laborious aspect of a country life, elsewhere so prominent, is studiously kept out of sight, and we hear only of ease, enjoyment, and plenty. Its interest as bearing on the tastes of the poet himself has been noticed in the general introduction to the Georgics.

The beauties of this book have always been admired, and deservedly so. They are most conspicuous in the digressions; but the more strictly didactic part contains innumerable felicities of expression, though it may be doubted whether in general they do not obscure the practical meaning as much as they illustrate it—whether in fact they do not constitute the strongest condemnation of that school of poetry of which they are so illustrious an example.

As in the case of Book 1, we can say nothing of the date. All that we know is that vv. 171, 172 seem to have been written just after the battle of Actium; but the

passage to which they belong is precisely one which may have been introduced after the rest of the poem was composed. [Vv. 497 foll. (see note there) may allude to the events of 32 B.C.—H. N.]

HACTENUS arborum cultus et sidera caeli,
Nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non silvestria tecum
Virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivæ.
Huc, pater o Lenææ; tuis hic omnia plena
Muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnus
Floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris;
Huc, pater o Lenææ, veni, nudataque musto
Tingue novo mecum dereptis crura coturnis.

5

1—8.] 'Thus far of tillage and seasons: now of the vine, the trees of the plantation, and the olive. May the patron of the vine assist me, helping the poet as he helps the vine-dresser.'

1.] 'Arvorum cultus' is the general subject of Book 1. 'Sidera caeli' refers to vv. 204—258, and perhaps also to the prognostics which occupy the latter part of that book down to the conclusion. 'Hactenus,' sc. "cecini." Comp. Aesch. Cho. 143, ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχὰς τόσας, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις λέγω, κτλ. Rom. is wanting from this line to v. 215.

2.] 'Silvestria virgulta:' Voss and Wagn. have rightly observed that the forest-trees are introduced principally as forming the supporters of the vine, so that there may be a special propriety in 'tecum.' ["Virgulta pro infelicibus arboribus posuit quibus in Italia vitas cohererent." Berne schol. and Serv.—H. N.] 'Virgulta' for "virguleta," a number of twigs, hence applied to bushes or low or young trees, which here seem to be taken as the type of such trees as the husbandman cultivates. 'Silvestria' seems to be used vaguely, as elsewhere in this book.

3.] Hesiod, as reported by Pliny 15. 3, said that the "sator" (perhaps the sower) of an olive never saw its fruit. Theophr. De Caus. Plant. 1. 9 called the olive *δυσ-αυγής* contrasting it as such with the vine. For this reason Varro 1. 41 recommends that it should not be raised from seed (see below, vv. 56 foll.).

4.] 'Huc' may be elliptical, like *δεῦρο*: but 'veni,' v. 7, smooths over the ellipse, which is at least unusual in Latin. 'Pater:' "Omnem deum necesse est inter sollemnis ritus patrem nuncupari; quod Lucilius in deorum concilio inridet (Sat. 1. 9, Müller): Nemo ut sit nostrum, quin aut pater optum' divum, Aut Neptunu' pater, Li-

ber, Saturnu' pater, Mars, Iannu', Quirinu' pater, siet ac dicatur ad unum," Lactant.

4. 3. Compare or contrast the equally general application of *δαίς* to the gods of Greece. Virg., while showing his ritual learning, and giving the invocation an air of pontifical solemnity, doubtless thought of Bacchus as patron of men and giver of increase to the fruits of the earth. 'Tuis hic omnia plena muneribus:' Virg. fancies himself surrounded by the gifts of autumn, of which he is going to sing. To conceive of him as meaning that he actually writes in autumn would be less natural, though a modern poet (Keats at the opening of his *Endymion* is an instance) might introduce such a personal specification.

5.] 'Tibi:' comp. Lucr. 1. 7 foll. 'Tibi' can hardly be taken in these two passages as the dative of the agent, but in each case it seems to express the acknowledgment of nature to its author and sustainer. See on 1. 14. It is a question whether 'autumnus' is temporal, or constructed with 'gravidus' in the sense of the fruits of autumn, like *δωρόα*.

6.] 'The vintage is foaming in the brimming vats.'

8.] 'Tingere,' like *βαπτειν*, means both to immerse and to dye. For 'mecum' comp. "Ignarosque viæ mecum miseratus agrestis," l. 41, and 'una,' v. 39 below. 'Dereptis' is the reading of four MSS. for 'direptis.' The question, as has been remarked on 1. 269, was probably one of mere orthography to the copyists, who use 'de' and 'di' indifferently without regard to their meaning. 'Coturnia:' Vell. P. 2. 82, of Antonius, "Cum redimitus hedera coronaque velatus aurea et thyrsus tenens coturnis nec succinctus curru velut Liber pater vectus esset Alexandriae." Bacchus was represented with hunting buskins, which would naturally

| | |
|---|----|
| Principio arboribus varia est natura creandis. | |
| Namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae | 10 |
| Sponte sua veniunt camposque et flumina late | |
| Curva tenent, ut molle siler, lentaeque genistae, | |
| Populus et glauca canentia fronde salicta; | |
| Pars autem posito surgunt de semine, ut altae | |
| Castaneae, nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet | 15 |
| Aesculus, atque habitae Grais oracula quercus. | |
| Pullulat ab radice aliis densissima silva, | |
| Ut cerasis ulmisque; etiam Parnasia laurus | |
| Parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra. | |
| Hos natura modos primum dedit; his genus omne | 20 |

form part of his fawn-skin dress. Virg. professing to write with a view to practice, identifies the poet with the husbandman, and invokes Bacchus at the opening of his subject, as if the assistance he actually required were in the vine-dresser's occupation.

9—34. 'Trees are propagated in various ways, some natural, some artificial.'

9.] 'Varia est natura' includes all the modes by which trees are generated, down to v. 34. Of these modes there are two divisions, vv. 10—21 and vv. 22—34. The first division, generation without the help of man, is subdivided into spontaneous generation (vv. 10—13), generation by seed (vv. 14—16), and generation by suckers (vv. 17—19.) 'Nullis hominum cogentibus' really specifies the first division, though it nominally belongs only to its first subdivision. 'Arboribus creandis,' like "habendo pecori," l. 3 note. 'The law of the production of trees is various.'

10.] Virg. is supposed by Heyne and others to refer here to production by invisible as distinguished from visible seeds, agreeably to a distinction made by Varro l. 40, but from v. 49 it seems as if he believed in strictly spontaneous generation.

11.] 'Ipsae' and 'sponte sua,' in spite of a subtle distinction attempted by Voss, are a tautology. 'Veniunt' for "proveniunt," l. 54.

12.] 'Curva,' by calling attention to the bends of the river, shows that the trees grow along its side. The scanty notices of the 'siler' do not enable us to identify it; but it is conjectured to be the osier. See Keightley, *Flora Virg.* s. v.

13.] 'Salicta' = "saliceta," for "salicea."

14.] 'Posito de semine,' from seed de-

posited casually, dropping from trees. The words themselves, like "seminibus lactia," v. 57, might refer to any kind of sowing, but in each case they are determined by the context. At the same time, as Virg. says nothing in the rest of the passage about sowing by the hand, we may suppose that he regarded it as virtually mentioned in the mention of dropped seed, and not worth particularizing separately, being the lowest form of human co-operation with nature.

15.] 'Nemorum' is either partitive, 'maxima nemorum' being equivalent to "maxima arborum nemorensium," or constructed as a kind of local genitive, 'chief over the woods,' like *ἑταρος χώρας*, Aesch. Ag. 509. See on v. 534 below. 'Iovi' like "tibi," v. 5.

16.] 'Quercus,' the oak-groves of Dodona. The oracles were drawn either from the murmuring of the foliage or from the notes of the pigeons.

17.] 'Pullulat ab radice,' &c.: propagation by natural suckers, called "pulli" by Cato 51, "pulluli" by Pliny 17. 65.

19.] 'Se subicit,' E. 10. 74.

20.] 'Primum,' in the first instance, i.e. before man had tried experiments. 'Natura' here seems used strictly, opposed to 'usus,' not generally, as in v. 9, where it means the natural principle of growth, whether assisted by cultivation or not; or we may lay the stress on 'dedit,' and make the contrast between what is asked or extorted from nature, and what she gives unsolicited. Lucr. (5. 1361 foll.) speaks similarly, though in less detail, of sowing and planting as suggested by nature. 'His,' by these modes. 'To these they owe their verdure.'

Silvarum fruticumque viret nemorumque sacrorum. —

Sunt alii, quos ipse via sibi repperit usus.

Hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum

Deposuit sulcis; hic stirpes obruit arvo,

Quadrifidasque sudes, et acuto robore vallos;

25

Silvarumque aliae pressos propaginis arcus

Expectant et viva sua plantaria terra;

21.] 'Fruticum,' shrubs, that is, trees without trunks. 'Nemorumque sacrorum' does not denote a botanical, but merely a poetical division.

22.] Artificial modes—suckers, sets, layers, cuttings, pieces of the cleft wood, and engrafting. Comp. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. 2. 1, Pliny 17. 65 foll. The reading of this line is not quite certain. Med., the only uncial that contains the passage, seems to have had originally 'alie quos,' which was afterwards corrected into 'aliae quas.' This strongly favours Scaliger's conj., adopted by Ribbeck, 'aliae quas—vias,' as the omission of the 's' before 'sibi' would be a sufficiently common form of error. The bulk of MSS. however, including those of Ribbeck's cursives, appear to give 'alii quos,' which is [supported by the Berne scholia, and must have been read by Serv., who says 'via, ratione'.] and may have been the original reading of Med., Foggini declaring that 'alie' is so written that it may have been 'alii,' while it is less trivial in expression than the emended text. Possibly too it may receive a slight confirmation from the turn of expression in Pliny 17. 123, "Reliqua genera casus ingenio suo excogitavit." It may still be doubted whether 'via' means the method (*μέθοδος*) by which things are found out, or the course of experience in which they are found out. The former meaning is borne out by Cic. Brutus 12, "Nam antea neminem solitum via neo arte sed accurate tamen et de scripto plerosque dicere;" but the latter agrees with Lucr. 5. 1452 foll. which Virg. probably imitated, "Usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis Paullatim docuit pedetemptim progredientia." Perhaps it is most in unison with Virg.'s manner to suppose that he intended both. Gud. has 'alii quos ipsa,' which, if more than an error, may show that the transcriber intended nature by 'ipsa,' connecting 'usus' as a gen. with 'via.' 'Usus' seems to mean practical experience. The word is frequently

used in connexions which suggest the notion of want, 1. 183, E. 2. 72, Lucr. 4. 852., 5. 1452., 6. 9. But it is clear from the context in these cases, especially in the whole passage Lucr. 4. 822—857, that the original notion is still prominent. In passages like Cic. Tusc. 4. 2, it may be rendered 'occasion,' as in the common phrase "usus" or "usu venit." 'Ipsa usus,' experience alone, without the example of nature.

23.] 'Plantas,' suckers. Heind. and Heyne read 'abscidens,' which is found in Gud. and another of Ribbeck's cursives. Wagn. supposes that there is a distinction in the sense of the words, the former being restricted to separation by the knife, while the latter is equivalent to "avellere." 'Tenero' is not for "teneras," but expresses the violence done to the tree by the artificial separation, thus contrasting it with natural propagation by suckers, vv. 17—19; as we might say, 'from the bleeding stem.'

24.] "Hic altius deponit validiores cum radicibus plantas," is Serv.'s paraphrase of 'hic stirpes obruit arvo.' 'Stirpes' may, however, be used merely for "stipites," and in this case 'stirpes,' 'sudes,' and 'vallos' may denote the same thing differently treated. 'Quadrifidas' implies that the bottom is cut across to form a root, 'acuto robore' that it is brought to a single point.

26.] 'Some forest-trees wait to receive the arch of the depressed layer, and slips which partake of their life, and spring from their soil.' 'Silvarum' for 'arborum,' see on v. 15. 'Arcus,' the bow which the depressed layers form.

27.] 'Viva,' unseparated from the parent stem. 'Sua,' in which they themselves grow. 'Plantaria' seems to be from "plantare" ("exiguus laetum plantaribus horti," Juv. 13. 123), though it may possibly be from "plantarium," which might very well stand in poetry for "plantae."

Nil radicis egent aliae, summumque putator
 Haut dubitat terrae referens mandare cacumen.
 Quin et caudicibus sectis, mirabile dictu, 30
 Truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno.
 Et saepe alterius ramos impune videmus
 Vertere in alterius, mutatamque insita mala
 Ferre pirum, et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna.
 Quare agite o, proprios generatim discite cultus, 35
 Agricolae, fructusque feros mollite colendo,
 Neu segnes iaceant terrae. Iuvat Ismara Baccho

28.] 'Putator' the gardener, only called 'putator' here because he has lopped the shoot from the tree.

29.] 'Referens,' restoring it to its native earth. "Summum cacumen," a cutting from the very top of the tree. Palladius 3. 25 (§ 28), "[Morus] serenda est taleis vel cacuminibus."

30.] Theophr. Hist. Plant. 2. 2, enumerating the ways in which trees may be propagated, concludes with τοῦ ξύλου κατακοπέντος εἰς μικρά. I do not know that he anywhere details the process explicitly, nor is it clear how he distinguishes it from two other modes of propagation, ἀπὸ τοῦ στελέχους and ἀπὸ τοῦ πρέμνου, along with which he mentions it. There is the same doubt how Virg. means to distinguish the process described here and that touched on vv. 24, 45; and, again, which of them is intended by "truncis," v. 63, and "solido de robore," v. 64. Confining ourselves to the present passage and vv. 24, 25, we may perhaps say that here the pieces are smaller, and have no root, natural or artificial. This would agree with the account given by Cerda, who professes to have derived it from practical men in his own country, Spain. "Secant agricolae scinduntque in partes plures caudicem olivæ cui amputata radix, cui amputati rami: ita consectum infodiunt, ac inde format se radix, et mox arbor, quod poeta stupet, quia vere mirum." Even he however does not explain whether the wood is cleft, as Serv. would lead us to think, or simply cut. The passage from Pliny 17. 58, referred to on v. 22, fails us here, as in the part of the enumeration which seems to apply to this method the text is uncertain.

31.] 'Radix oleagina' is mentioned as a specimen of the several kinds of trees which are grown in this manner; the myrtle is instanced by Serv. as one of

them. Comp. A. 3. 21, 46, the prodigy of the bleeding myrtle. "Pliny (16. 230) tells us that olive wood wrought and made into hinges for doors has been known to sprout when left some time without being moved." Keightley. 'Sicco ligno' is a further description of 'caudicibus sectis.'

32.] 'Impune,' without damage to the quality of either tree. We might render "by harmless magic."

34.] 'Pirum' is the subject of 'ferre.' 'Prunis,' on prunes. The epithet 'lapidosa' shows that 'corna' is not put for 'cornos,' though this objection might perhaps be met by supposing Virg.'s meaning to be that the fruit of the cornel becomes transformed into the prune. 'Rubescere,' too, would be inapplicable to a change from the redder fruit to the less red. At the same time the difficulty of supposing a fruit-bearing tree to have a "victus infelix" (A. 3. 649) grafted on it remains unexplained.

35—46.] 'Listen to me then husbandmen, bend to the work, and learn to subdue this part of nature also; and you, Maecenas, join me in coaxing along this boundless main.'

35.] Having opened out the subject in its manifoldness, he seizes that as an opportunity for bespeaking his readers' and patron's attention. For this and the following lines comp. Lucret. 5. 1367, "Inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli Temptabant, fructusque feros mansuescere terra Cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo." 'Generatim,' after the kinds of trees; a Lucretian word.

37.] 'Neu segnes iaceant terrae:' comp. 1. 124, where the feeling is the same. 'Iuvat:' Virg. is exhorting to exertion, and accordingly stimulates enthusiasm by pointing to two great triumphs of industry, Mount Ismarus, planted all over

Conserere, atque olea magnum vestire Taburnum.
 Tuque ades, inceptumque una decurre laborem,
 O decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae, 40
 Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.
 Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,
 Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraue centum,
 Ferrea vox; ades, et primi lege litoris oram;
 In manibus terrae; non hic te carmine ficto 45
 Atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.

with vines, Mount Taburnus, with olives. Comp. v. 260, "magno scrobibus concidere montis," and note on l. 63. Thus the words 'conserere,' 'magnum,' 'vestire,' are emphatic. 'Iuvat' then will have its full sense, expressing a delightful occupation, not as Keightley and Bothe seem to think, a mere repayment of labour. 'What joy to plant Ismarus all over with the progeny of the wine-god, and clothe the mighty sides of Taburnus with a garment of olives!'

39.] Heyne has remarked the propriety of separating the invocation to Maecenas from that to Bacchus. There is, however, the obvious difference that while Bacchus, like Augustus in G. 1, is invoked as a god to give his aid, Maecenas, like Memmius in Lucretius, is invited as a patron and reader to give his attention. 'Decurre,' a naval metaphor. Comp. A. 5. 212, "pelago decurrit aperto," where "aperto" will illustrate 'patenti,' v. 41. Catull. 64 6, "Ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi." 'Laborem' is a cognate accus. Comp. A. 5. 862, "Currit iter tutum." It is not easy to say whether 'laborem' is to be understood of the whole subject of the Georgics, 'inceptum' referring to Book 1, or 'inceptum decurre' regarded as equivalent to "incoepe et decurre," or, lastly, 'inceptum' understood of the beginning already made in the present Book. [Serv. and the Berne scholia say that 'una decurre' was taken by some as referring to Maecenas' own literary efforts.—H. N.]

40.] The words imply an acknowledgment to which 'merito' refers. Comp. Epictetus 15, ἀξίως θεοῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλόγοις. So Prop. 2. 1, 74 calls Maecenas "Et vitae et morti gloria iusta meae."

41.] 'Da vela,' set sail; 'pelago patenti,' on or over the open sea. The metaphorical reference of the epithet may possibly be to the unbrokenness of the field (comp. v. 175) rather than to its extent;

but, however understood, it still clashes with the imagery of vv. 44, 45. 'Volans,' at full speed. So A. 1. 156, "curruque volans dat lora secundo," which shows that Burm. and Voss are wrong in preferring 'volens' here, the reading of one MS. Gud. has 'petenti,' rather an ingenious error.

42.] 'Cuncta,' the whole subject. Comp. v. 103. 'Opto' seems to be used here of undertaking boldly, as apparently A. 6. 501, "Quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?" where "optavit" seems equivalent to ἐτλη. See note there.

43.] An obvious imitation of Il. 2. 488. Macrob., Sat. 6. 3, says that Hostius had already imitated the passage in the Second Book of a poem on the Histrian War, from which he quotes "non si mihi linguae Centum atque ora sient totidem voceque liquatae." 'Non,' sc. "optem amplecti," or "amplectar."

44.] 'Primi litoris oram' = "primam litoris oram." Comp. A. 1. 541, "prima—terra."

45.] 'In manibus terrae:' comp. Apoll. R. 1. 1113, τοῖσι δὲ Μαρπιδῆς σκοριαί, καὶ πάντα περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ χερσὶν εἰς προὔφαλιν ἰδίσθαι, and with the language generally Prop. 4. 9. 35, "Non ego velifera tumidum mare findo carina:" Tuta sub exiguo flumine nostra mora est." 'Carmine ficto,' feigned strains, i.e. romantic or mythical. 'Hic' almost seems to imply an intention of doing so one day. It is difficult otherwise to see the point of these lines, unless we suppose the poet to have one of his predecessors in his eye.

46.] 'Ambages:' comp. Lucr. 6. 1079, "Nec tibi tam longis opus est ambagibus usquam." The word denotes, as we should say, going a long way round, instead of coming to the point. 'Exorsa' for "exordia." So "exorsus" in Cic. Pro Lege Manil. 4.

Sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras,
 Infecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt;
 Quippe solo natura subest. Tamen haec quoque, si quis
 Inserat, aut scrobibus mandet mutata subactis, 50
 Exuerint silvestrem animum, cultuque frequenti
 In quascumque voces artes haut tarda sequentur.
 Nec non et sterilis, quae stirpibus exit ab imis,
 Hoc faciet, vacuos si sit digesta per agros;
 Nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant, 55
 Crescentique adimunt fetus, uruntque ferentem.
 Iam, quae seminibus iactis se sustulit arbos,

47—60.] 'Nature requires to be assisted by art: trees of spontaneous growth are not fruit-bearing, but may be made so: natural suckers are dwarfed unless transplanted: trees springing up from seed grow slowly, and yield poor fruit.'

47.] Virg. here returns to the three-fold division of trees naturally produced, viz. those that are generated spontaneously, those from seed, and those from suckers, the order of the last two being here reversed. He shows that each of these kinds admits of improvement by cultivation. 'Sponte sua,' &c., those which are spontaneously generated. 'Oras' is the reading of Med. a m. p. only, the other MSS. having 'auras.' But the expression here and in A. 7. 660 seems to be clearly from Ennius and Lucretius, in the latter of whom 'luminis oras' frequently occurs. Compare Gray's "warm precincts of the cheerful day." In itself 'auras' might be supported from A. 6. 747 and other passages, where light and vital air are treated as identical, [if indeed 'aura' in A. 6. 747 does not mean 'light': see Nonius p. 245. and Serv. on A. 6. 204.—H. N.]

49.] 'Natura,' productive power. The words 'quippe—subest' refer only to 'laeta et fortia,' not to 'infecunda.' Comp. Quint. 10. 2. 11, "Namque iis quae in exemplum adsumimus subest natura et vera vis: contra omnis imitatio ficta est." Comp. also Lucr. 3. 273, "Nam penitus prorsum latet haec natura subestque." For Virg.'s doctrine see note on v. 10 above. 'Tamen' must relate to 'infecunda,' to which 'silvestrem animum' is clearly parallel; though the qualifying particle ought rather to belong to 'sed laeta et fortia,' as being the last assertion. 'Unfruitful as they are.'

50.] 'Inserat,' engraft them with cut-

tings from other trees. 'Insero' has a double construction. Comp. "Inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horrida," below v. 69. 'Mutata,' transplanted. That simple transplantation improves a tree is stated by Pallad. 12. 7, and other rural writers. 'Subactis,' well prepared with the spade. 'Subigere' is used for kneading and chewing. Comp. Col. 3. 5, "Locum subigere oportet bene: ubi erit subactus, areas facito."

51.] 'Exuerint—sequentur:' see on 4. 282.

52.] 'Artis:' that which is alien to their nature and communicated by training. 'They will learn whatever lessons you choose to teach.' Ribbeck reads 'voles' from Med. and a correction in Gud.: but 'voces' suits 'sequentur' better.

53.] 'Sterilis' is the general description, 'quae stirpibus exit ab imis' the characteristic. 'Stirpibus ab imis' = "ab radice," v. 17.

54.] ['Faciati' originally Med. and one of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.] 'Vacuos' contrasted with the wood where it is choked by the parent tree.

55.] 'Nunc,' in its natural state. 'As it now is the towering foliage and branches of its mother overshadow it, and rob it of its fruit as it grows up, and wither up the productive powers it exerts.'

57.] Wagn. commences a new paragraph with 'Iam, quae;' but it is unnecessary. This is the third kind of wild trees. This use of 'iam' nearly in the sense of "praeterea" is not uncommon. Comp. "Iam varias pelagi volucres," l. 383. [Gud. originally and some other cursives have 'nam.'—H. N.] 'Seminibus iactis' = "posito semine," v. 14. It does not relate to sowing by the hand.

Tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram,
Pomaque degenerant sucos oblita priores,
Et turpis avibus praedam fert uva racemos. 60

Scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus, et omnes
Cogendae in sulcum, ac multa mercede domandae.

Set truncis oleae melius, propagine vites
Respondent, solido Paphiae de robore myrtus ;
Plantis et durae coryli nascuntur, et ingens 65

Fraxinus, Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae,
Chaoniique patris glandes ; etiam ardua palma
Nascitur, et casus abies visura marinos.

Inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horrida,

58.] 'Venit,' as v. 11. 'Seris nepotibus,' to unborn generations of men. Comp. v. 294 below, E. 9. 50.

59.] 'Poma,' all kinds of fruit.

60.] 'Avibus praedam,' because no men will pick them. That vines were raised at Rome from grapes or grape-seeds appears from Cic. Sen. 15, Pliny 17. 59 (Forb.).

61—72.] 'Artificial methods vary according to the kind of tree: with some trees truncheons suit best, with some layers, with others sets, with others suckers: grafting again is practised on some trees, not on others.'

61.] 'Scilicet' is explanatory. 'The fact is.'

62.] 'Cogendae in sulcum,' formed on the analogy of "cogere in ordinem," and giving the notion of training and discipline. 'Drilled into trenches.' 'Multa mercede,' at great cost of labour. Comp. Sen. de Tranq. 11, "Magna quidem res tua mercede colui."

64.] 'Respondent:' "votis respondet avari agricolae," l. 47. The word is sometimes, as here, used absolutely. Col. 3. 2, "Gemella vitis maior nisi praepingui solo non respondet." This may possibly be derived from the use of the word in the case of debtors, as in Cic. Att. 16. 2, Sen. Ep. 87, "respondere nominibus." 'Truncis' and 'propagine' are ablatives of the instrument. Five of the six methods (v. 22—34) are here mentioned. The "cacumen" (v. 29) is omitted. The instance of the olive in both cases seems to identify 'truncis' with "caudicibus sectis," v. 30; and if this is so, 'solido de robore' must answer to "stirpes," "sudes," "vallos," v. 24, 25, in spite of the testimony of Serv. as to the applicability of "caudicibus sectis" to the myrtle, quoted on v. 31. But, as

was remarked on v. 30, it is not easy to say.

65.] For 'et durae' Serv. [and the Berne scholia] mention another reading, 'edurae,' which is found in some inferior MSS. Ribbeck reads 'ecdurae.' ['Educae' Serv. explains as—'non durae.'—H. N.]

66.] Comp. "Populus Alcidae gratissima," E 7. 61. 'Coronae' seems to be a sort of attributive gen., like "gratum littus amoeni secessus," Juv. 3. 4.

67.] 'Chaonii patris:' comp. "Lemnius pater," A. 8. 454. 'Chaonii' = "Dodonaei."

68.] 'Nascitur,' so. 'plantis,' which we should have expected to be repeated, as the more important word; but the repetition of the verb is meant to remind us of the rest of the expression of which it has formed a part. We may perhaps compare the half repetitions of words in Homer. See Jelf's Gr. Gr. § 343, obs. 1.

69.] Wagn. reads 'Inseritur vero et nucis arbutus horrida fetu,' on the authority of a correction in Med. and of six other MSS. [and so Forb.] Here however, as in 3. 449 (note), critical probability seems in favour of the common reading, which in both instances is supported by Serv. Wagn.'s view as to the inharmoniousness of hypermetric lines with dactylic endings does not seem of much weight in itself without MS. authority. If the elision implied a synapheia, this might require the last syllable but one to be long by nature. The copyists, even of the better MSS., are apt to remove metrical anomalies, as they have done e.g. in A. 6. 33 and A. 7. 437. [Serv. and the Berne scholia mention with disapproval a reading 'horrens,' which is] also found in some extant copies. It should be ob-

Et steriles platani malos gessere valentes ; 70
 Castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo
 Flore piri, glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis.
 Nec modus inserere atque oculos inponere simplex.
 Nam, qua se medio tridunt de cortice gemmae
 Et tenuis rumpunt tunicas, angustus in ipso 75
 Fit nodo sinus ; huc aliena ex arbore germen
 Includunt, udoque docent inolescere libro.
 Aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur, et alte
 Finditur in solidum cuneis via, deinde feraces
 Plantae immittuntur : nec longum tempus, et ingens 80

served that the expression of Serv. "versus dactylicus" suggests another principle of explanation, which might be extended to the two passages from the Aeneid, viz., that of supposing that the last foot is actually a dactyl in place of a spondee. 'Fetu' is the abl. 'Nucis,' i.e. the walnut. 'Horrida,' from the roughness of the stem (Heyne).

70.] 'Sterilis,' opp. to "pomifera."

71.] For 'fagus' all the MSS. but two, one of them from a correction, give 'fagos,' a reading which, though acknowledged by Serv., may safely be imputed to the misapprehension of copyists, who supposed 'castaneae' to be nom. pl. The structure of the sentence is decidedly in favour of connecting the words with those which follow, nor is it likely, as Serv. admits, that the Romans should have preferred the beech-nut to the chestnut, so as to graft the former tree on the latter. Wagn. takes 'fagus' as the nom. pl. of the fourth declension, relying on Culex v. 139, "Umbrosaeque manent fagus hederæque ligantes Brachia." Serv. mentions various strange ways of getting rid of the difficulty, taking 'castaneae fagos' as a hypallage (!) for "fagi castaneas," or treating 'fagos' as a Greek nominative, the latter alternative being varied by a proposition to separate 'castaneae' from 'fagos' and construct it with 'malos.' The last syllable may however be long by caesura. [The Berne scholia take 'fagus' as nom. sing.—H. N.] Keightley says of the 'ornus': "It is very uncertain what this tree is; the usual opinion is that it is the 'sorbus aucuparia,' our quicken or mountain ash. As this however is quite a different tree from the ash, and Columella (De Arb. 16) calls the "ornus" a "fraxinus silvestris," distinguished from the other ashes by having broader leaves,

botanists are now inclined to think it is the "fraxinus rotundifolia" of Lamarck, the manna tree, or tree that yields the manna, of Calabria.' The words 'incanuit albo flore' are to be taken with both clauses.

73—82.] 'Grafting is distinct from inoculation: in the latter case you introduce a bud, in the former a slip.'

73.] 'Nec modus inserere:' see on 1. 213. 'Oculus inponere,' to inoculate or bud, ἐνοφθαλμισμός. In what follows inoculation is distinguished from engrafting. We must therefore take 'simplex' as = "unus," as "duplex" frequently = "duo." 'The mode of grafting and inoculating is not one.' It is possible that Virg. may mention the two species first as constituting a genus, and afterwards as the varieties of the genus which they constitute, though this seems clumsy. Mr. Blackburn supposes Virg. to mean that there are more ways than one of grafting and budding, and then, after giving one way of budding, to pass on, without describing another, to grafting—a preference of literary variety to logical arrangement which would not be un-Virgilian. In the whole context Virg.'s object is to show the manifoldness of his subject. See above, vv. 63 foll., below, vv. 83 foll.

75.] 'Tunicas,' that which is under the "cortex." Pliny 24. 7., 16. 65.

76.] 'Fit,' is made by the knife. 'Huc . . . includunt,' A. 2. 18.

77.] 'And teach it to grow into the bark which gives it the sap of life.'

78.] 'Rursum,' on the other hand. Comp. Hor. 1. Ep. 2. 17, "Rursum quid virtus et quid sapientia possit Utile proposit nobis exemplar Ulixem."

79.] 'Feraces plantae,' slips from fruitful trees.

80.] 'Et;' comp. A. 3. 9, "Vix prima

Exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos,
Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.

Praeterea genus haut unum, nec fortibus ulmis,
Nec salici lotoque, neque Idaeis cyparissis;
Nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivae,
Orchades, et radii, et amara pausia baca,
Pomaque et Alcinoi silvae; nec surculus idem
Crustumis Syriisque piris gravibusque volemis.
Non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris,

85

inceptat aestas, Et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat," a remnant of primitive simplicity of expression, which sometimes gives more force to a passage than the employment of a more formal connecting particle.

81.] 'Exiit:' see note at the end of Book 2. The perfect expresses instantaneousness. So perhaps "ruperunt," l. 49.

82.] Serv. gives 'mirata estque' a correction, as it would appear from his note, for 'mirataque,' which seems to have been an old reading, and is found in a fragment attached to Gud. Gud. itself has 'miratur estque.' The original error, as Heyne remarks, was probably 'miratasque,' which is actually read by Med. a. m. p. and some other copies, and is easily accounted for by the confusion of terminations.

83—108.] 'Again, there are varieties in each kind of tree, the olive, the apple, and pear, and especially the vine, the diversities of which are innumerable.'

84.] According to Fée, cited by Keightley, there are five kinds of the arborescent lotus, which is itself distinct from the aquatic, containing three varieties, and the terrestrial and herbaceous (see on 3. 394), containing two. "The lotus-tree grows on the north coast of Africa; it is described by Theophrastus and Polybius, and is a tree of moderate altitude, bearing small fruits, which are sweet, resembling the date in flavour." Keightley.

85.] 'Unam in faciem:' comp. A. 10. 637, "Tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram In faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum) Dardaniis ornat telis." In both passages 'in faciem' is adverbial.

86.] Cato 6 mentions eight kinds of olives, Col. 5. 8 ten, Macrob. Sat. 3. 20 (2. 16) sixteen. 'Orchades' and 'radii' appear to be so named from their shape. The 'orchades' are oblong, the 'radii' are long like a weaver's shuttle. 'Pausia'

is a kind of olive which requires to be gathered before it is ripe; hence 'amara baca.' Pliny (15. 13) says that the 'pausia' is gathered first, then the 'orchis,' then the 'radius;' and Columella says that the oil of the 'pausia' is excellent while it is green, but is spoiled by age. 'Orchites,' the more usual form, was introduced by the early editors on very slender MS. authority, if any; but it would spoil the metre, unless, with one MS., we were to read 'radiique.'

87.] 'Pomaque et Alcinoi silvae:' the 'que' is disjunctive, as in 3. 121, "Et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae." 'Nor are apples, &c., of one sort any more than olives.' 'The orchards of Alcinoüs' (comp. the description of them in Od. 7. 112 foll.) are the same as the 'poma,' unless we suppose them to convey a still more general designation, 'apples, and all Alcinoüs' orchard trees.' 'Surculus,' cutting: a poetic variety, intended to signify not that the pear must be planted by cuttings, but that it may. The meaning of course is not that the cuttings differ as cuttings, but that they differ as belonging to different trees.

88.] 'Crustumis:' so called from Crustumium or Crustumium, at the conflux of the Alia and Tiber. Serv. says they were partly red. 'Syriis:' Serv. and Pliny say they were black. 'Volemis:' the 'volemæ' are named, without description, by Cato, and mentioned by Pliny merely as spoken of by Virg. Serv. derives them from "vola," 'hand-fillers,' mentioning however another etymology from a Gaulish word meaning 'big.' Pliny (15. 53) says that the Crustumine were the best. The 'Syria,' according to Col. 5. 10, were also called "Tarentina." Syrian pears are mentioned by Juv. 11. 73, and Martial 5. 78. 13.

89.] Here and in vv. 267, 278, 300, 'arbos' may mean either the vine or the tree which supported it, the 'silvestria

Quam Methymnaeo carpit de palmite Lesbos; 90
 Sunt Thasiae vites, sunt et Mareotides albae,
 Pinguibus hae terris habiles, levioribus illae;
 Et passo Psithia utilior, tenuisque Lageos,
 Temptatura pedes olim vincturaque linguam;
 Purpureae, preciaeque; et quo te carmine dicam, 95
 Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.
 Sunt et Aminneae vites, firmissima vina,

virgulta" of v. 2. Pliny (14. 9) and Ulpian (Dig. 47. 7. 3) include the vine among 'arbores.' On the other hand, Col. (3. 1) distinctly excludes it; Cato (32) correlatively contrasts 'arbores' and 'vites,' and the writers on agriculture generally speaking of vineyards use 'arbores' of the trees which supported the vines. It is clear that 'arbor' means the supporter in E. 5. 32, "Vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae," and in v. 290 of this book it is distinguished from the vine. Altogether there seems to be no passage in Virg. where 'arbor' is clearly used for the vine, and therefore it is not easy to resist the argument in favour of the technical sense in a technical treatise.

90.] Hor. 1 Od. 17. 21, "Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii Duces." The 'palmes' is the bearing wood of the vine. Col. 5. 6.

91.] 'Thasiae vites:' Athenaeus (1. 51) collects testimonies to the excellence of the Thasian, Lesbian, and Psithian wines among others. Pliny also speaks of an Egyptian wine called Thasian (14. 74, 117). 'Mareotides:' comp. Hor. 1 Od. 37. 14, "Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico." 'Albae' is of course an epithet of 'Mareotides.' Comp. Col. 10. 347, "Saepe suas sedes praecinxit vitibus albis." The reference then is probably to the pale green colour of the grape.

92.] From this verse it might seem as if Virg. meant that these vines may be grown in Italy, though v. 39 looks the other way.

93.] 'Passo,' sc. "vino" = "vino o passis uvis facto." Comp. Col. 12. 39, "Passum optimum sic fieri," &c.; Stat. Silv. 4. 938, "Vel passum psithiis suis re-coctum;" Pliny 14. 80, "Psithium et melampsitium passi genera sunt;" G. 4. 269, "Psithia passos de vite racemos." The word 'Psithia' is Greek, but seems to have no known meaning. 'Lageos,' ἀγέως. 'Tenuis,' as an epithet of wine, is opposed to 'dulce' by Pliny 14. 80, and

to "pingue" and "nigrum" (23. 39), where it is coupled with "austerum;" so that it seems to mean a thin and light wine. [Serv. and the Berne schol. suggest that 'tenuis' may = 'penetrabilis,' 'searching.'—H. N.]

94.] 'Olim' may either be 'some day,' after it has been made into wine, or 'soon,' after it has been drunk. Lucr. 6. 1116 has "Atthide temptantur gressus." [The Berne scholia say that this line is taken from one of Calvus, "lingua vino temptantur et pedes."—H. N.]

95.] The 'purpureae' are mentioned as a particular kind of grape by Col. 3. 2. Of the 'preciae,' which Serv. explains by "praecoquae," there were two kinds, distinguished by the size of the grape. Col. 3. 2, Pliny 14. 29.

96.] 'Rhaetica:' this wine appears from Pliny 14. 67, to have been grown as far south as the neighbourhood of Verona. Suetonius (Aug. 77) says that it was a favourite with Augustus, but it appears from Pliny 14. 16 that the fashion was changed by Tiberius. Seneca (Nat. Q. 1. 11) thinks Virg.'s language equally applicable to praise and censure; but surely 'ideo' shows that it could only be understood in the former sense. [Serv. says that the uva Rhaetica was highly praised by Cato in his "libri ad filium," but on the contrary much abused by Catullus, and that Virg.'s language is therefore intentionally ambiguous.—H. N.] 'Cellis,' the full expression is "cella vinaria."

97.] 'Firmissima:' comp. Pliny 14. 21, "Principatus datur Aminneis propter firmitatem senioque proficientem vini eius utique vitam." Further on he speaks of wines as "contra omne sidus firmissima." The 'Aminneae vitis' appears to have included several varieties, and to have grown in different parts of Italy. Where the Aminnei lived, from whom it took its name, is disputed: see Janus on Macrob. Sat. 3. 20 (2. 16). [Philarg. quotes Aristotle for the statement that they were

Tmolius adsurgit quibus et rex ipse Phanaeus ;
 Argitisque minor, cui non certaverit ulla
 Aut tantum fluere aut totidem durare per annos. 100
 Non ego te, Dis et mēdis accepta secundis,
 Transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis Bumaste racemis.
 Set neque, quam multae species, nec, nomina quae sint,
 Est numerus ; neque enim numero comprehendere refert ;
 Quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem 105

Thessalians: Varro (if we may trust the Berne scholia) said they were Pelasgi.—H. N.] In the article "vinum" in Dict. A., it is observed that the names of wines, derived from their original localities, were retained when the vines had ceased to be grown in those localities. Col. 3. 9 speaks of the Aminnean vines as among the very oldest.

98.] 'Tmolus et' is the reading of Heyne, with some of the early editions, and some inferior MSS.; but 'Tmolius' is supported by Ribbeck's MSS., including fragm. Veron. Pliny 14. 74 speaks of Tmolian wine as good not to drink alone, but to mix with other wines, to which it imparts sweetness and the flavour of age. The ellipse is *divos*. Comp. 'Lageos.' 'Rex ipse Phanaeus' is a translation of Lucilius' *Χῆδος τε δυνάστης*, which Serv. quotes, Phanae being a promontory and port of Chios. 'Adsurgit:' comp. "Utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis," E. 6. 66.

99.] 'Argitisque minor:' there were an 'Argitis maior' and an 'Argitis minor.' The name is said to be derived from *ἀργός*, alluding to the colour of the grape or wine. Col. 3. 2.

100.] 'Certaverit... fluere... durare:' comp. Stat. Silv. 5. 3. 191, "Non tibi certasset iuvenilia fingere corda Nestor," and see on 1. 213. 'Tantum fluere,' to yield so much juice: comp. below v. 190, and Col. 3. 2, "Graeculae vites acinorum exiguitate minus fluunt."

101.] 'Dis et mensis accepta secundis:' drinking did not begin till after the first course, when it was commenced by a libation (A. 1. 723, &c.); so that there is no need to refer 'Dis' to the temples. Comp. however Hor. 3 Od. 11. 6, "Divitum mensis et amica templis," of the lyric.

102.] The Rhodian vine is merely mentioned by Pliny and Columella. Rhodian wine occurs in the anecdote of Aristotle choosing his successor under pretence of choosing a wine, Gell. 13. 5. Athenaeus,

14. 68, quotes Lynceus as speaking of a peculiar species of Rhodian grape called 'Ἰππώνιος βότρυς.' 'Bumastus:' called by Varro and Macrobius "bumanuma." Pliny 14. 15, "Tument vero mammarum modo bumasti." *βου* means magnitude, as in *βούπαις*. Pliny (14. 42) says there were two kinds, black and white.

103.] Pliny (14. 20) says that Democritus alone pretended to know all the varieties of vines even in his own country. To the same general effect Col. 3. 2, who quotes these lines. Cato had noticed fifty-eight, Pliny about eighty. The number has been indefinitely increased since, 1400 having been collected in the garden of the Luxembourg, a number supposed to be not more than half of those cultivated in France alone. Fée on Pliny 14. 44 foll. referred to by Keightley.

104.] 'Neque enim,' nor indeed. See Key's Lat. Gr. 1449.

105.] 'Who should wish to know it, would wish also,' &c. It is difficult to say whether 'Libyci aequoris' means the plains or the sea of Libya. There is sufficient authority for the expression 'Libyan sea,' Pliny 5. 1; and where the word is ambiguous its usual meaning ought perhaps to prevail. There might be an objection, poetically speaking, to the repetition of the gale at sea in both similes; but in the first 'Zephyro turbentur' seems to be mere ornament. The common interpretation however, referring it to the sand of the desert, is supported by Catull. 7. 3, quoted by Ursinus, "Quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae Lasericiferis iacet Cyrenis, Oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi." Comp. the oracle in Hdt. 1. 47, οἷδα τ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, and Pind. Pyth. 9. 46,

— κῆριον δὲ πάντων τέλος,
 Οἶσα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους
 "Ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἡρῖα φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει,
 χυπόσαι
 'Εν θαλάσῃ καὶ ποταμοῖς ψάμβοι
 Κύμασιν ῥίπαις τ' ἀνέμων κλονέονται.

Discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae,
Aut, ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus,
Nosse, quot Ionii veniant ad litora fluctus.

Nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt.

Fluminibus salices crassisque paludibus alni 110

Nascuntur, steriles saxosis montibus orni;

Litora myrtetis laetissima; denique apertos

Bacchus amat colles, aquilonem et frigora taxi.

Aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem,

Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos: 115

Divisae arboribus patriae. Sola India nigrum

Fert hebenum, solis est turea virga Sabaeis.

Quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno

Balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?

106.] Most of Ribbeck's MSS., including Med., Verona fragm., and Gud. read 'dicere,' which is plainly a mistake, and may be called an orthographical error.

107.] Connect 'violentior incidit.'

108.] 'Ionii fluctus' = 'fluctus Ionii maris.' Virg. seems to have in his eye Theocr. 16. 30, 'Ἄλλ' ἴσος γὰρ δὲ μόχθος ἐπ' ἄννι κύματα μετρεῖν, "Ὅσσ' ἄνεμος χέρσονδε μετὰ γλαυκᾶς ἄλδς ὠθεῖ.'

109—135.] 'Different soils are proper for different trees, and so we find each country with trees of its own.'

109.] The words are from Lucr. 1. 166, "ferre omnes omnia possent," where the fact that particular places produce particular things is urged to prove that nothing can come of nothing. The fact has been mentioned already, 1. 50—63 (see note on latter verse), where it is recognized as connected with the present condition of humanity, just as the opposite, "omnis feret omnia tellus," E. 4. 39, is a characteristic of the golden age. Here we have the fact and nothing beyond. We may compare also, with Forb., the language of E. 8. 63.

110.] 'Fluminibus nascuntur:' the willow appears to grow in the river. Comp. E. 7. 66, "Populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis."

111.] The 'ornus' is mentioned, v. 71, as one of the trees on which a fruit tree is engrafted, in conjunction with "steriles platani."

112.] "Amantis litora myrtos," 4. 124. See on E. 7. 62. 'Apertos' suggests the idea of 'apricos,' to which 'aquilonem et

frigora' is opposed. He treats soil and climate together, as in 1. 51 foll.

114.] 'Extremis domitum cultoribus orbem,' = "extremas orbis partes cultas." 'Extremis cultoribus' is the dative of the agent. The sentence is closely connected with what follows, the sense being, 'Look at foreign lands, go as far as you will, you will find each country has its tree.'

115.] 'Pictosque Gelonos:' Hor. 2 Od. 20. 19, "ultimi Geloni." ['Pictos' = 'stigmata habentes,' Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.] Claud. in Rufin. 1. 313, "Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus."

116.] 'Divisae arboribus patriae:' their countries are divided among trees, i.e. each tree has its allotted country. 'Sola India,' &c.: comp. 1. 57. 'Sabaeis' in the next line seems to prevent our taking 'India' as a loose name for the whole East, including Aethiopia, and to require us to take it as India Proper, though ebony does not grow there alone. As Forb. remarks, the geography of the ancient poets is apt to be vague, especially in the case of countries so far removed.

117.] 'Turea virga:' Pliny (12. 57), after stating that there is great doubt and discrepancy as to the nature of the tree, says "Qui mea aetate legati ex Arabia venerunt, omnia incertiora fecerunt, quod iure miremur, virgis etiam turis ad nos commeantibus: quibus credi potest, matrem quoque tereti et enodi fruticare trunco."

119.] For the transposition of 'que' in

Quid nemora Aethiopum, molli canentia lana, 120
 Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?
 Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,
 Extremi sinus orbis, ubi aëra vincere summum
 Arboris haut ullae iactu potuere sagittae?
 Et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris. 125
 Media fert tristis sucos tardumque saporem

the construction 'que et,' comp. Hor. 3 Od. 4. 18, "ut premerer sacra Lauroque collataque myrto." It is doubtful whether the balsam and acanthus are not meant rather to be distinguished as belonging to different countries, than connected, as belonging to the same. The country of the balsam is by some thought to be Judaea, by others Arabia Felix. The acanthus is attributed both to Egypt and to Arabia. The acanthus is not a herb but a tree, the acacia. Bodaens a Stapel, cited by Martyn, accounts for 'bacas' by saying that though there are no berries the flowers grow in little balls. Martyn himself understands it of the globules of gum, Keightley of the pods.

120.] 'Lana:' called by Hdt. *ἐρίων* ἀπὸ ζύλου, i.e. cotton, the product of the tree cotton, "gossypium arboreum." Pliny 19. 14, "Superior pars Aegypti, in Arabian vergens, gignit fruticem quem aliqui gossypion vocant, plures xylon, et ideo lina inde facta xylina."

121.] This was the belief long after Virg.'s time. Pliny 6. 54, "Seres, lanitio silvarum nobiles, perfusam aqua depectentes frondium canitiem." Silkworms were not known in the Roman empire till the time of Justinian. [Serv. says "alii depectat legunt; quod si est, Seres posuit pro Ser, sicut trabes pro trabe.—H. N.]

122.] Here again Pliny supports Virg. (7. 21), "Arbores quidem" (speaking of India) "tantae proceritatis traduntur ut sagittis superari nequeant." Val. Fl. 6. 76 foll. says the same thing of the forests of Syene. Virg. does not specify the trees, but simply discriminates them from others by their height. India is said to have a greater variety of forest trees than any other country. Mr. Maclean says, "'Oceano propior India' seems to mean the jungles of the Malabar coast, running to the depth of many miles at the foot of the Western Ghâts, and abounding in teak and jack trees of an enormous height. I have seen them sixty or eighty feet from the ground to the branches, and there

are some higher still. Entire mainmasts are made of a single stem for large ships. The ancients got their pepper from this coast. The jungles in some parts run quite close to the sea." 'Oceano propior' is explained by 'extremi sinus orbis.' It seems to imply the Homeric notion of the ocean as a great stream, encircling the outside of the world. So Catull. 64. 30, "Oceanusque mari qui totum amplectitur orbem." ['Proprior' Med.—H. N.]

123.] 'Sinus:' it is hard to ascertain the exact meaning of this word in all the passages where it occurs; but here it seems to mean a deep or remote recess, a nook. Comp. Hor. Epod. 1. 13, "Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum," where the commentators are not explicit. 'Arboris aëra summum vincere,' to overshoot the air at the top of the tree; an apparent confusion between the notion of shooting through the air at the top of the tree, and shooting over the tree. The expression 'aëra summum arboris' has been imitated by Val. Fl. 6. 261, "Si quis avem summi deducat ab aëre rami;" Juv. 6. 99, "Tum sentina gravis, tum summus vertitur aër." Hom., Od. 12. 83, estimates the height of the mouth of Charybdis by saying that a strong man could not send an arrow up to the top, and Aesch. applies the same image metaphorically, Supp. 473, and probably Cho. 1033.

125.] 'Non tarda' = "impigra." For the Indian archers Keightley refers to Hdt. 7. 65. Heyne, Bryant, and others have suspected the genuineness of this verse, but without cause.

126.] 'Tardum,' lingering. 'Medicum malum' is the citron. 'Mali' is the genitive of 'malum,' not 'malus,' and therefore 'felicitas' must mean not 'prolific,' but 'blessed,' as an antidote. Comp. the application of the word to the gods, an association with which 'praesentius' agrees, though we need not suppose that Virg. intended it.

Felicitas mali, quo non praesentius ullum,
 Pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae,
 Miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,
 Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena. 130
 Ipsa ingens arbor faciemque simillima lauro;
 Et, si non alium late iactaret odorem,
 Laurus erat; folia haut ullis labentia ventis;
 Flos ad prima tenax; animas et olentia Medi
 Ora foveat illo et senibus medicantur anhelis. 135
 Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra,

127.] 'Praesens' is close at hand, and hence prompt, efficacious, sovereign. Comp. A. 12. 152 "si quid praesentius audes," and see Forc.

129.] 'Miscuerunt' seems to be used like "fuērunt," "tulērunt," "stetērunt," "dedērunt," though it is also possible that there may be a synizesis of the second and third syllables. The line is repeated 3. 283, and on that account has been suspected by Heyne and other editors. In Med. it appears not in the text, but in the margin. It is recognized by Serv. [and the Berne scholia]. There are many instances in which Virg. wholly or partially repeats in a later poem a line which has appeared in an earlier, and many where the same line is repeated in different parts of the Aeneid, a practice which was doubtless adopted deliberately from Homer; but there is apparently no instance of the recurrence of an entire line in different parts of the Georgics, with the exception of the epic repetition in 4. 550 foll., where see note on v. 551, and only one (1. 494, 2. 513) of a partial repetition, though Lucretius, whom Virg. might have been expected to follow, repeats whole passages. On the other hand, it is certain that the copyists sometimes introduced lines which they remembered to have seen elsewhere; see on 4. 338. Still, as the external evidence against the genuineness of the line is far from strong, and there is nothing inappropriate in the sense, poisons and incantations being frequently connected, it seems decidedly best to retain it. It will then serve as an epexegetis of 'infecere.' With 'miscuerunt verba' comp. the last line of the very obscure epigram attributed to Virg., 'In C. Annium Cimbrum Rhetorem' (Catalecta 2. 4), "Ita omnia ista verba miscuit fratri," where the point seems to be that the person attacked, being a suspected

fratricide, and also an affected speaker or writer, mixed his strange jargon with the draught with which he poisoned his brother.

130.] Here, as in 1. 129, 'ater' seems to contain the double notion of black and deadly. In the former sense it is to be explained either with reference to the colour of the poison itself "nigri cum lacte veneni," A. 4. 514, or to the colour produced by it on the body, "nigros efferre maritos," Juv. 1. 72. ['Membris agit,' drives away from the limbs.—H. N.]

133.] 'Erat' for "esset." Ov., Amor. 1. 6. 34, "Solutus eram si non saevius adcesset Amor." The indicative is frequently used for the subjunctive, especially by Tacitus, for the sake of rhetorical liveliness, to show how near the thing was to happening. For instances of the present participle used as a finite verb Wagn. comp. 3. 505, A. 7. 787.

134.] 'Ad prima,' in the highest degree. Comp. Hdt. 6. 13, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα. 'Apprime' is the more usual expression.

135.] 'Foveo' means generally to cherish, either physically or morally. It is one of those words which must be rendered very variously according to the context. Here it denotes a medical application, θηπαινεῖν. See on 4. 230.

136—176.] 'For the excellence of its peculiar products, however, no country can rival Italy. It has not the mythical glories of a savage antiquity, but it has more useful characteristics,—corn, wine, oil, flocks, herds, and horses, and a benignant climate, while it is free from the noxious animals and herbs that abound elsewhere. Its cities and rivers, its seas and lakes, its harbours and breakwaters, its mines, its races of men, its heroes, are all its own. I glory in it as my country, and raise in its honour this rural strain, at once old and new.' This celebrated

Nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus
Laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra, neque Indi,
Totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis.

Haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem 140

Invertere satis immanis dentibus hydri,
Nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis;
Sed gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor
Implevere; tenent oleae armentaque laeta.

Hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert; 145

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus

burst of patriotism appears to be Virg.'s own. A eulogy on the agricultural capabilities of Italy occurs near the beginning of Varro's work (R. R. 1. 2), and Pliny concludes his Natural History with another. The twenty-second elegy of Propertius' Fourth Book seems to be a direct imitation of this passage in Virg. [And the same may be the case with Pliny 3. 40-42.—H. N.]

136.] 'Silvæ' is generally taken as the genitive after 'ditissima,' a punctuation introduced by Reiske. After much hesitation, I have returned to the old interpretation, connecting 'Medorum silvæ,' and placing 'ditissima terra' in apposition. Comp. "Alcinoi silvæ," v. 87, and "Sunt et Aminneae vites, firmissima vina," v. 97. It should however be mentioned that Med. has 'rogna' as a correction instead of 'terra,' and that Manilius 4. 752 has "Et molles Arabes, silvarum ditia regna." The 'silvæ,' according to the punctuation I have adopted, will be the citron-groves; with the other pointing nothing more than general luxuriance in trees seems to be meant.

137.] 'Auro turbidus,' whose mud or sand is gold. Heyne calls it an oxymoron.

138.] 'Bactra' seems to be mentioned merely as a great Eastern power.

139.] 'Panchaia,' the happy island of Euhemerus, is here put for Arabia, near which his fancy placed it. 'Que' is disjunctive. 'Pinguis' appears to refer to the frankincense rather than to the general fertility of the soil.

140.] 'Here is a land where no bullocks breathing fire from their nostrils have ploughed the soil, where no enormous dragon's teeth were ever sown, where no human harvest started up bristling with helmets and crowded lances; but teeming corn and the wine-god's Massic juice

have made it their own; its tenants are olives and luxuriant herds of cattle.' Lucr. 5. 29, "Et Diomedis equi spirantes naribus ignem."

141.] It is difficult to say whether 'satis dentibus' is abl. abs., by a kind of *ὑπορεπον πρότερον*, or, as Wagn. after Voss and Jacobs explains it, dat. If the latter, it should be taken, not with Wagn., 'for the teeth sown in the fable by Jason,' but i. q. "propter sationem dentium" (Madv. § 426), which appears to be nearly the same as Jacob's notion of a prolepsis.

142.] 'Seges' is of course connected with 'virum.'

143.] 'Gravidæ:' comp. 1. 319, "gravidam segetem." 'Bacchi Massicus umor:' comp. "lacteus umor," Lucr. 1. 258.

144.] Perhaps an imitation of the rhythm of Lucr. 5. 202 "Possedere, tenent rupes, vastaeque paludes." 'Laeta,' prolific. It must be owned that 'armenta' is unnatural after 'tenent oleae,' but it is the reading of all the MSS. 'Sarmenta' and 'arbuta' have been conjectured, but Virg. has already spoken of the vine. After 'oleae' 'que' is inserted in Med. a. m. sec., and in some others for the sake of the metre. It was first omitted by Heins. Varro, Festus, and others derive the name "Italia" from its oxen, *ἰταλοί* (vituli), and Gell. 11. 1 calls it "armentosissima."

145.] 'From this land comes the war-horse that prances proudly over the field of battle.' Comp. A. 3. 537, where four white horses are the first object seen in Italy, and are interpreted as an omen of both war and peace.

146.] Serv. quotes Pliny as saying that the water of the Clitumnus made the animals that drank of it white; Pliny however (2. 230) does not specify the Clitumnus, but speaks of the water in the

Victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
 Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos.
 Hic ver adsidium atque alienis mensibus aestas;
 Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbor. 150
 At rabidæ tigres absunt et saeva leonum
 Semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis,
 Nec rapit immensos orbis per humum, neque tanto
 Squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.
 Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, 155
 Tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis,

"ager Faliscus," to which strictly speaking the Clitumnus does not belong. Virg. speaks of the whiteness as coming from bathing in the stream. Juv. 12. 13 confines himself to the fattening effect of the pastures of Clitumnus.

147.] 'Tuo perfusi flumine sacro:' comp. Enn. A. 1. fr. 37, "Teque, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sanoto;" and A. 8. 72. So "suo cum gurgite flavo," A. 9. 816, and "Hunc tu, Diva, tuo recubantem corpore sancto Circumfusa super." Lucr. 1. 38. This use of the possessive pronoun and epithet together belongs to the earlier Latin poetry. ['Perfundi' is the ordinary word for to bathe.—H. N.] 'Sacro:' Pliny the younger (Ep. 8. 8), speaking of the sources of the Clitumnus, says, "Adiacet templum priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse, amictus ornatusque praetexta. Praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes. Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura totidemque Dei."

148.] The white bulls did not lead the way in the procession, but they came earlier than the triumphal car. Dict. A. 'Triumphus.' [For 'ad' Pal. and Med. have 'at.'—H. N.]

149.] 'Here is ceaseless spring, and summer in months where summer is strange; twice the cattle give increase, twice the tree yields its service of fruit.' 'Ver' and 'aestas' are of course used loosely. The meaning is that there is verdure all the year, and warmth in the winter months. Lucr. 1. 180, "Quod si de nihilo flerent, subito exorerentur Incerto spatio atque alienis partibus anni." Virg. may have had the expression of Lucr. in his eye when he said that Italy really enjoyed that which Lucr. gives as a derangement of nature.

150. It is not quite clear whether 'pomis' is the dat. or abl. If the former, it

must = "pomis creandis." The latter is supported by Ovid. M. 3. 212, "Et pedibus Pterelas et naribus utilis Agre." Keightley refers to Varro 1. 7, where the apple-trees at Consentia in the Bruttian territory are said to bear twice, as the probable origin of Virg.'s statement.

151.] One of Ribbeck's cursives has 'rapidæ,' a common confusion. See on E. 2. 10. 'Saeva leonum semina' is an imitation of "triste leonum Seminum," Lucr. 3. 741. Med. originally had 'leones,' with which 'semina' might conceivably be in apposition.

152.] There is aconite in Italy, according to Dioscorides 4. 78. Virg.'s statement, therefore, is not accurate. But it is vain to attempt to save his credit, as Serv. and others have done, by laying the stress on 'fallunt,' as the context clearly requires an assertion of freedom from poisonous herbs. 'Legentis' is the subst. Comp. G. 1. 193, "Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentis." So "medentes" and "canentes" in Lucr., "amantes," "nocentes," "balantes," "salutantes," &c.

153.] 'Tanto tractu,' 'that vast train,' which he has elsewhere. Virg. appears to be thinking exclusively of the huger serpents.

154.] 'Think, too, of all those noble cities and trophies of human toil, all those towns piled by man's hand on precipitous rocks, and the rivers that flow beneath their time-honoured walls.' 'Operumque laborem' occurs again A. 1. 455. Here Virg. may be thinking of the Etruscan cities.

155.] 'Praeruptis saxis congesta' is a specific description of the position of many of the Italian towns. The addition of 'manu' here implies labour, as elsewhere violence (3. 22), or care (3. 395), the general notion being that of personal

Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.

An mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque adluit infra?

Anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime, teque,

Fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino? 160

An memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra

Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,

Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso

Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?

Haec eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla 165

Ostendit venis, atque auro plurima fluxit.

Haec genus acre virum, Marsos, pubemque Sabellam,

exertion. Hence its frequent use with 'ipse.'

157.] This might seem to be merely a picture of the situation of some of the old cities of Italy, but the mention of seas and lakes immediately following shows that Serv. is right in supposing a special reference to the usefulness of the rivers. 'Antiquos,' however, appears to be chiefly a pictorial epithet.

158.] An amplification of "mare superum" and "inferum."

159.] 'Lari,' Lago di Como.

160.] 'Benace,' Lago di Garda. 'Adsurgens,' &c., 'heaving with the swell and the roar of ocean.' Comp. Val. Fl. 3. 476, "intortis adsurgens arduus undis," and A. 1. 539, "subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion."

161.] The Avernus and the Lucrinus were two small land-locked pools on the Campanian coast between Misenum and Puteoli. Agrippa united them, faced the mound which separated the Lucrinus from the sea with masonry, and pierced it with a channel for the admission of vessels, v.c. 717. To this double haven he gave the name of the Julian in honour of his patron's house. See Merivale, Hist. vol. iii. pp. 247 foll. Horace's mention of the work is well known: "sive receptus Terra Neptunus classis Aquilonibus aret, Regis opus" (A. P. 63 foll.). 'Claustra' refers to the strengthening by masonry of the original mound which separated the Lucrinus from the sea.

162.] 'Indignatum,' chafing at the barrier. Philarg. refers the words to a particular storm which occurred while the work was going on, and which was regarded as a prodigy, being accompanied with the sweating of an image at Avernus.

163.] 'Refuso,' beaten back. 'Iulia unda' = "unda Iulii portus," which re-

sounds with the noise of the sea beating against its outer barrier.

164.] 'And the Tyrrhenian billows come foaming up into the channel of Avernus.' 'Fretis' seems to refer to the passage made between the two lakes, of which Avernus was the more inland, so that the sea is supposed to issue through the channel mentioned on v. 161, mix with the waters of the Lucrine, and thence flow into the Avernus. It is possible, too, that 'fretis,' which is properly applied to the sea, may be used proleptically of the Avernus as the receptacle of sea-water. In any case a contrast seems intended between 'Tyrrhenus' and 'Avernus,' the effect of the work of Agrippa being to mingle two distant waters.

165.] Lucr. 5. 1255, "Manabat venis ferventibus in loca terrae Concava conveniens argenti rivus et auri." These lines, however, refer to the actual liquefaction of the metals by a conflagration. 'Rivos' and 'fluxit' denote not streams but streamlike threads. 'Auro plurima fluxit' has, however, been supposed to mean the gold found in the Po, which is mentioned by Pliny 33. 66. In the same passage he speaks of Italy as abounding in metals, if the senate had not forbidden the working of the mines; and so at the conclusion of his Natural History, in the passage mentioned above on vv. 136—176, he says "Metallis auri, argenti, aeris, ferri, quamdiu libuit exercere, nullis cessit." 'Venis,' in its veins. The perfects 'ostendit' and 'fluxit' may possibly point to the discontinuance of working the mines, though they need only mean 'it has been known to display,' &c.

167.] 'Genus acre virum' refers to all that follows. 'Marsos:' Appian, B. C. 1. 46, ὅτε κατὰ Μάρσων ὅτε ἀνεν Μάρσων

Adsuetumque malo Ligurem, Volscosque verutos
 Extulit, haec Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos,
 Scipiadas duros bello, et te, maxime Caesar, 170
 Qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris
 Inbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.
 Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
 Magna virum; tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
 Ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontis, 175

γενέσθαι θραύσον. 'Pubem Sabellam' the Samnites. The name Sabellians was a general one, including the various tribes supposed to have issued from the Sabines, as well the Marsians and Pelignians as the Samnites and Lucanians. Niebuhr, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 91.

168.] 'Malo,' hardship. 'Verutos:' comp. A. 7. 665, "veruque Sabello." The regular name of the weapon appears to be "verutum." It was a short dart used by the light infantry of the Roman army, and originally borrowed from the Sabines and Volsci. Lipsius conjectured 'veruto;' but the conjunction of 'malo' and 'veruto' would be very flat.

169.] All these heroes saved Rome in extreme peril, the Decii from the Latins, Marius from the Cimbri, Camillus from the Gauls, the Scipios from Carthage; and so Octavianus saves her from her enemies in the East.

170.] The form 'Scipiadas' had been already used by Lucilius. So Lucretius calls Memmius "Memmiades" for metrical reasons. The combination of the Roman family name with the Homeric patronymic produces rather a hybrid effect, especially as there is nothing in the family name itself to distinguish the son from the father. See Munro on *Lucr.* 1. 26., 3. 1034. As Virg. is using the plural, we might have expected him to have talked of the "gens Iulia" instead of individualizing Octavianus; but the love of variety and the desire to pay a higher compliment doubtless led him to express himself as he has done.

171.] These lines refer to the battle of Actium, in which Octavianus rolled back the tide of Eastern invasion from the west, and the triumphal progress which he afterwards made as conqueror through Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. Comp. A. 8. 685—728.

172.] 'Inbellem' has given some trouble to the commentators, but it is a mere epithet of national contempt for the van-

quished, and especially for Asiatics. 'Romanis arcibus' is Rome itself. Comp. A. 4. 234, "Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arcis?" 10. 12, "Cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim Exitium magnum atque Alpīs immittet apertas;" 'arces' probably being the hills, as in v. 535 of this book. It was the prospect of an Oriental despotism at Rome which exasperated the national sentiment. Comp. *Hor.* 1 *Od.* 37. 6 foll., *Prop.* 4. 11. 41 foll.

173.] 'Hail to thee, land of Saturn, mighty mother of noble fruits and noble men! For thee I essay the theme of the glory and the skill of olden days: for thee I adventure to break the seal of those hallowed springs, and sing the song of Asen through the towns of Rome.' 'Saturnia' gives the idea of mythical greatness. See *Evander's* speech A. 8. 314 foll.

174.] 'Res antiquae laudis,' things which have been from antiquity the subject-matter of praise and art. 'Artis,' the art of agriculture. Comp. 1. 122, "primusque per artem Movit agros." Ribbeck adopts 'artem,' the reading of Pal., countenanced by an erasure in one of his cursives; but it seems decidedly inferior. 'Laudis:' comp. the opening of *Cato, De Re Rust.*: "Virum bonum cum laudabant [maiores nostri], ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur qui ita laudabatur." Possibly the words may refer to 'Saturnia tellus' and the mythical glories of agriculture under Saturn. 'Tibi,' not 'ingredior,' is the emphatic word. He has already entered on the subject.

175.] 'Sanctos ausus recludere fontis' is from the Lucretian "iuvat integros accedere fontis Atque haurire" (1. 927); but Virg. introduces a religious notion. He is the first that has been thought worthy to unseal the holy spring. Comp. below, v. 476, and *Prop.* 4. 1. 3, "Primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos Italia per Graios orgia ferre choras."

Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen. ✓

Nunc locus arborum ingeniis; quæ robora cuique,

Quis color, et quæ sit rebus natura ferendis.

Difficiles primum terræ collesque maligni,

Tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis, 180

Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivæ.

Indicio est tractu surgens oleaster eodem

Plurimus et strati bacis silvestribus agri.

At quæ pinguis humus dulcique uligine laeta,

Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus— 185

Qualem sæpe cava montis convalle solemus

Despicere; huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes,

176.] 'Ascræum,' &c.: 'I am a Roman Hesiod,' is what Virg. means to say. Comp. 3. 11 note. In E. 6. 70 Hesiod is called "Ascræus senex." Comp. "Syracosio versu," ib. 1, for Theocritean.

177—183.] 'Now for the genius of the different soils. A hilly soil of marl and gravel is the soil for the olive.'

177.] 'Robora' = "vires." Comp. 1. 86, "Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terræ Pingua concipiunt." The subjoined clauses are constructed as if "dicendis" or some such word had been expressed with 'ingeniis.'

178.] 'Quis color,' what is its distinguishing colour. See below, vv. 203—255. Pal. originally had 'qui.' 'Natura:' comp. 'Quippe solo natura subest,' v. 49. 'Natural power.' 'Rebus ferendis:' comp. v. 9 above.

179.] 'Difficiles,' opp. to "facilis," below, v. 223. 'Malignus' opp. to "benignus." Comp. A. 6. 270, "lunæ sub luce maligna," and Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 209, "laudare maligne." Comp. also Pliny, Ep. 2. 17, "Quarum arborum illa vel maxime ferax est terra, malignior ceteris." Both 'difficilis' and 'malignus' are metaphorical, as we might say 'churlish' and 'niggard.'

180.] 'Tenuis,' lean, hungry. 'Argilla:' Col. 3. 11 speaks of "creta qua utuntur figuli quamque nonnulli argillam vocant" as being in itself unfavourable to production. There are three signs of a 'terra difficilis et maligna'—'argilla,' 'dumi,' and 'calculus.' Cato's precept (6) is "Qui ager frigidior et macrior erit, ibi oleam Licinianam seri oportet."

181.] As the olive is slow of growth (v. 3 note), so it is long-lived; see Pliny 16. 239. 'Silva' seems to have no particular

force, a sort of ornamental variety for "arbores." [Med. has 'gaudet.'—H. N.]

182.] The presence of the wild olive shows that the soil is good for the cultivated. The 'oleaster,' as Martyn remarks, is not to be confounded with the plant cultivated in our gardens under that name, which is more properly called "oleagnus."

183.] With the picture comp. E. 7. 54. 'Silvestribus' here is used strictly, opp. to "felicibus."

184—194.] 'A rich and moist slope, with a southern aspect, is the soil for vines.'

184.] 'Dulci uligine:' Col. 2. 9 says, "solet autem salsam nonnunquam et amarā uliginem vomere terra, quæ quamvis matura iam sata, manante noxio umore, corrumpit." In 11. 3, § 37, he says that 'dulcis uligo' is best secured by planting near a spring.

185.] 'Frequens herbis:' comp. Or. Her. 16. 54, "locus piceis ilicibusque frequens;" Tac. A. 4. 65, "quod talis silvæ frequens fecundusque esset." 'Ubere' seems to be merely a metaphor from the breast as the source of nourishment.

186.] 'Such as we often see at the bottom (or on the side) of a mountain hollow,' Heyne, following Heins., reads 'dispicere' from several MSS., including Gud. See on A. 1. 224.

187.] 'Liquuntur' is constructed like "fluunt," as in Stat. Theb. 5. 618, "in vulnera liquitur imber," comp. by Forb. 'Huc' is used where in a regularly constructed sentence we should expect "quo." The sentence gives the reason for the moisture of land so placed. ['Liquuntur' Pal.—H. N.]

Felicemque trahunt limum—quique editus austro,
 Et filicem curvis invisam pascit aratris:
 Hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis
 Sufficiet Baccho vitis, hic fertilis uvae,
 Hic laticis, qualem pateris libamus et auro,
 Inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras

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188.] 'Felicem limum' forms a contrast to 'tenuis argilla.' 'Quique editus austro' is to be coupled with 'quique frequens herbia,' not explained with Heyne, "aut qualem eum campum videmus, qui editus austro." 'Editus austro,' rising to the south. 'Editus' is not—"expositus," but has its natural signification, and 'austro' is nearly—"ad austrum." Comp. for the expression "caelo educere," A. 2. 186, for the sense Col. 3. 1, "optimum est solum nec campestre nec praeceps, simile tamen edito campo," 3. 2, "vinum . . . iucundius adferunt collina quae magis exuberant aquiloni prona, sed sunt generosiora sub austro;" in which last passage "aquiloni prona" also illustrates the construction of 'editus austro.' Authorities were divided as to the best aspect for a vineyard; see on v. 298.

189.] 'Filicem' the female fern or brake, according to Martyn. Some of the early editors have read 'silicem,' which would agree with Col. 3. 11, but 'filicem,' besides being the reading of the MSS., is supported by Pliny 17. 29, and suits 'pascit' better.

190.] 'Fluentis:' comp. above, v. 100.

191.] 'Fertilis uvae' like "Fertilis frugum pecorisque," Hor. Carm. Saec. 29, 'fertilis,' like "ferax," being the verbal of "fero."

192.] 'Pateris et auro.' There seems no objection to explaining this and similar expressions (if it can be called an explanation) by what is termed hendiadys, so long as we bear in mind that such figures are not so much rules which the poets followed, as helps devised by the grammarians for classifying the varieties of language in which the poets indulged. The word hendiadys indeed amounts to no more than a statement of the fact that two words are used to express one thing. We might have had either 'pateris' or 'auro' separately; but the poet chooses to use both. Such a redundancy of expression is common enough in poetry, e.g. in this very passage 'hic fertilis uvae, hic laticis, qualem,' &c. are only two ways of saying that the soil bears good vines. Early poets are prone to

it from simplicity, later from a love of ornament; but whatever the reason, it is one of the most obvious of the poet's resources. The feeling which prompts its use in the particular case must vary according to circumstances, and no single rationale, such as that which supposes the second noun in the hendiadys to be epexegetical (Bryce on A. 1. 2.), will cover the instances which have to be dealt with. The relation between the two nouns may be sometimes described as that of attribute and subject, sometimes as that of a whole and its part, &c., but no general rule can be laid down, except that the two nouns, while representing the same thing, seem commonly to represent distinct aspects of it, so as not to run into simple tautology. For this reason they may generally be combined in translation, being resolved into a noun with its epithet, or a noun with another in the genitive, as here, 'golden bowls,' or 'bowls of gold.' The best wines were naturally those that were used in libations. Comp. v. 101 above, E. 5. 71. For the use of the 'patera,' a kind of saucer, in libations, see Dict. A. s. v.

193.] 'Pinguis Tyrrhenus:' comp. Catull. 39. 11, "Aut parvus Umber aut obesus Etruscus." Serv. explains 'pinguis,' "victimarum scilicet carnis." 'Ebur,' an ivory pipe: comp. 1. 480, "maestum inlacrimat templis ebur," and the use of 'auro' just above. Pliny 16. 172 speaks of the "sacrificae tibiae Tuscorum," which however he says were made of boxwood. Prop. 5. 6. 8 has a sacrificial pipe of ivory, though it is a Phrygian one. Perhaps a pipe strengthened with ivory rings is meant. Dict. A., 'Tibia.' The custom of employing pipes at sacrifices was Greek as well as Roman; but as pipers appear to have existed at Rome from the earliest times, it is sufficiently probable that, like actors, they were imported from Etruria, where from the works of art we know every description of musical instrument to have been in use. (Dict. A., 'Roman Music.') 'Tyrrhenus' then may mark the original extraction of the order, for such they may

Lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.
 Sin armenta magis studium vitulosque tueri, 195
 Aut ovium fetum, aut urentis culta capellas,
 Saltus et saturi petito longinqua Tarenti,
 Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,
 Pascentem niveos herboso flumine cynos :
 Non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina derunt, 200
 Et, quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,

be called, having been actually incorporated into a college (Val. Max. 2. 5).

194.] 'Pandis,' either curved, deep, or bowed beneath the weight of the entrails. "Pandos autumnum pondere ramos," Ov. M. 14, 660; "rotundas Curvet aper lances," Hor. 2. Sat. 4. 40. On the other hand "cavas lances" occurs in Martial 11. 31. 19. Med. a. m. pr. and another MS. give 'patulis' [perhaps a gloss, for Serv. and the Berne scholia give 'patulus' as an alternative explanation of 'pandus.' Comp. Fest. p. 220 M. "*Pandana porta dicta est Romae, quia semper pateret; pandiculari dicuntur qui totocorpore oscitantes extenduntur, eo quod pandi fiunt.*"—H. N.] 'Fumantia,' recking. Serv. however speaks of the entrails as boiled before being offered. 'Reddere' is said by Serv. to be the technical word for laying the entrails on the altar. Stat. Theb. 4. 466, "Seminces fibras et adhuc spirantia reddit viscera;" Tac. H. 4. 53, "Lustrata suovetaurilibus area et super caespitem redditus extis."

195—202.] 'For grazing choose a country like the lawns of Tarentum and the plain of Mantua.'

195.] 'Tueri:' comp. Col. 6. 3, "tueri armentum paleis," from which and other passages 'tueri' seems to have the meaning of "sustentare." A more general sense however is perhaps recommended by the parallel use of the word 3. 305. For 'studium tueri' see on 1. 21, 213. Armenta' includes horses and oxen. 'Vitulos' probably has special reference to the breeding.

196. 'Ovium fetum' Pal. 'ovium fetus' Ribbeck's other MSS., 'fetus ovium' some later copies. It seems best to follow Ribbeck in restoring the first, which is also the reading of Canon., though the agreement of several good MSS. in an unmetrical reading is strange. [Was 'fetus' a corruption of 'pecus?'—H. N.] The goat was held, either by its bite, or by something poisonous in its saliva, to

kill crops and trees, especially vines and olives. Comp. Varro 1. 2. 17, 18, 19, whence it appears that "coloni" were sometimes forbidden in the terms of their lease ("leges colonicae") to keep goats "in agro surculario," i.e. where vines, olives, or other trees were planted. See also vv. 378 foll. 'Urentis,' causing to wither, killing: comp. 1. 77. 'Culta' = "sata."

197.] 'Saturi,' rich. Pers. 1. 71, "rus saturum;" Seneca, N. Q. 5. 9, "Locos ob umidam caeli naturam saturos et redundantis." Some MSS., including Med. a. m. p., give 'Satyri,' which seems to have been introduced by those who thought with Probus that the word, like "Saturnianus," Hor. 1. 8. 6. 59, (Maclean's note,) was the adj. from Saturium or Satyrium in Calabria. For the fertility of the Ager Tarentinus see Hor. 2. Od. 6. 10 foll. 'Longinqua Tarenti:' comp. "caerulea ponti." 'Longinqua' would of course have more force, if we could suppose Virg., at least at the time of writing this passage, to have been at Mantua rather than Naples.

198.] 'The plain which Mantua lost' in the assignment of lands mentioned in E. 1 and 9.

199.] E. 9. 27—29, "Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis, Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae, Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni." 'Herboso flumine,' the Mincius. Comp. E. 7. 12, A. 10. 205.

200.] ['Derunt' for 'deerunt' Pal., Med. a. m. p., and one of Ribbeck's cursives: so 'desse' for 'deesse' Lucr. 1. 43, on which Lachmann quotes Velius Longus p. 2227 P. in support of the spelling with one e. 'Desunt,' the reading of Gud., is probably a mere mistake for 'derunt.'—H. N.]

201, 202.] 'Nay, all that your herds can devour on a summer's day will be replaced by the cold fresh dew of one short night.' This of course is an exaggeration. But

u /

Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.
 Nigra fere et presso pinguis sub vomere terra,
 Et cui putre solum,—namque hoc imitatur arando—
 Optima frumentis; non ullo ex aequore cernes 205
 Plura domum tardis decedere plaustra iuvenis;
 Aut unde iratus silvam devexit arator
 Et nemora evertit multos ignava per annos,
 Antiquasque domos avium cum stirpibus imis
 Eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis; 210
 At rudis enituit impulso vomere campus.

Varro 1. 7 quotes a statement that in the plains of Rosea in the ager Reatinus a pole left lying on the ground one day was overgrown by the next. 'Longis diebus' and 'exigua nocte' are of course opposed. For 'reponet' Med. and two or three other MSS. have 'reponit.' Plaut. Pers. 1. 1. 37, "Ut mihi des nummos. . . . Quos continuo tibi reponam hoc triduo."

203—225.] 'For corn-crops a dark, rich, crumbling soil is the best, or ground lately cleared of trees. Gravelly soils yield but scantily; tufa and marl are infested by snakes. But a grassy soil which imbibes and exudes moisture readily will be good for everything, whether vines, olives, pasture, or corn.'

208.] 'Nigra,' called "pulla" by Cato 151 and Col. 2. 10, § 18, &c. "This is the colour of the land in Campania, and indicates the presence of decayed animal and vegetable matter" (Keightley). 'Presso,' &c., which shows itself fat when the ploughshare is driven into it. "Depresso aratro," 1. 44. 'Fere' goes with 'optima frumentis.'

204.] It may seem hard to see how the same soil can be both 'pinguis' and 'putris;' Mr. Blackburn however remarks that this may be the case with what is technically termed a free as opposed to a stiff loam, which has a certain amount of unctuousness when pressed, yet is friable. 'Namque hoc imitatur arando;' Col. (5. 4. 2) quotes this line as meaning that the natural character of the soil actually saves the manual labour of artificially loosening the earth ("pastinatio"). Med. originally had 'imitatur,' which was probably introduced by some one who thought the form a passive one.

206.] 'Tardis,' from the load they are drawing. 'Tardis iuvenis' might perhaps be taken as an abl. of the agent, construing 'decedere' as a neuter passive.

But it is better to take it as a modal abl., or abl. of circumstance.

207.] The meaning is that ground lately cleared is another kind of soil which is good for corn. 'Aut' then refers grammatically either to the sentence 'nigra fere,' &c., or to 'non ullo ex aequore,' &c., the sense being the same either way. In the one case we supply "optima frumentis," in the other "quam ex illo aequore, unde," &c. Pliny (17. 25 foll.) denies the universal truth of this and most of the following signs. 'Iratus,' at the wood cumbering the ground, a thought developed by 'ignava' in the next line. 'Devexit,' carted away.

208.] 'Unde' governs 'devexit' only, 'evertit' and 'eruit' being in material, but not in formal connexion with the previous clause. Comp. A. 4. 263, "dives quae munera Dido Fecerat et tenui telas disreperat auro." Pal. has 'nemora vertit,' which is worth mentioning, as showing that in other places where MSS. substitute a simple verb for a compound without injuring the metre it may be a mere transcriptional error.

209.] "Frondiferasque domos avium," Lucr. 1. 18.

210.] 'Petiere;' the tense does not denote rapidity, like "fugere feras," 1. 330, and 'exiit' above, v. 81, but is determined by that of the preceding verbs.

211.] Pliny (17. 37) uses the words "illa post vomerem nitescens," and quotes Il. 18. 547 for an actual shining appearance of the earth after the plough, though he mistakes that passage, the point of which is the supernatural appearance of blackness in gold, not the natural appearance of brightness in the earth. But it is safer to refer 'enituit' to the trim appearance of the newly reclaimed land, or perhaps of the rising crops, a sense supported by Accius inc. fr. 18, "Probac etsi in sege-

Nam ieiuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris
 Vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat;
 Et tofus scaber, et nigris exesa chelydri
 Creta negant alios aequae serpentibus agros 215
 Dulcem ferre cibum et curvas praebere latebras.
 Quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucris,
 Et bibit umorem, et, cum volt, ex se ipsa remittit,
 Quaeque suo semper viridis se gramine vestit,
 Nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum, 220
 Illa tibi laetis intextet vitibus ulmos,
 Illa ferax oleae est, illam experire colendo

tem sunt deteriorem datae Fruges, tamen ipsae suapte natura enitent," and by l. 153 above, "nitentia culta." 'Enituit,' like the preceding perfects, is aoristic. 'At' is ὁ δὲ, as 'illae' is αἱ μὲν. The birds fly, and the field on which they lived so long brightens under cultivation.

212.] He gives the reason why he recommends ground such as he has been mentioning—because soil of a contrary character is far less productive. 'Quidem' is nearly γὰρ.

213.] 'Casias': see E. 2. 49. 'Rorem,' rosemary, as in Pliny 24. 101. He mentions the bees as being part of a husbandman's care, anticipating, as it were, Book 4.

214.] 'Tofus' is a sort of volcanic sandstone, 'tufa.' Pliny 17. 29 and Col. 3. 11 say that soil where 'tufa' is found is not necessarily to be condemned. 'Chelydri,' venomous snakes of amphibious nature, mentioned in Lucan 9. 711, where they are described as "tracti via fumante chelydri." The name water-tortoise (χέλυς ὄδωπ) referred to the hardness of the skin.

215.] 'Creta' is generally rendered chalk; but Col. in a passage referred to on v. 180 identifies it with "argilla, qua utuntur figuli." For the notion that it was eaten by certain creatures Keightley refers to Front. in Geop. 7. 12. The old commentators put a stop after 'creta,' connecting 'tofus' and 'creta,' like 'glarea,' with 'ministrat,' and understanding 'negant' 'men deny,' or as Serv. [and the Berne scholia] give it more specifically, "negant: Nicander et Solinus, qui de his rebus scripserunt." Virg. means that the presence of tufa and marl is a sign that snakes haunt the place.

216.] 'Dulcem' is to be taken strictly;

ἔστι γὰρ γλυκεία, Geop. l. c. 'Aequae' goes with 'ferre' and 'praebere.' 'Curvas' relates to the shape of the snake.

217.] 'Fumos' is the same thing as 'nebulam,' steam, which rises in a thin cloud. 'Volucris' is equivalent to 'tenuis,' as "lentus" or "tardus" applied to vapour (A. 5. 682) is to "spissus." Virg. may have thought of Lucr. 5. 463, "Exhalantque lacus nebulam fluviiue perennes: Ipsa quoque interdum tellus fumare videtur." ['Exhalant' Pal.—H. N.]

218.] 'Ex se ipsa remittit' may refer to exhalations, like the preceding verse, or to exudations.

219.] All Ribbeck's MSS. but one curative place 'semper' before the adjective. 'Viridis' is the reading of only one MS. But where one word ended and the next began with 's,' a transcriber might naturally join the words, and write one 's' instead of two, as is frequently the case in Med., so that 'viridis' may have stood for either 'viridis se' or 'viridi se.' 'Viridis' then will be taken closely with 'vestit,' as if it had been "viridem." Wagn. compares A. l. 314, "mater sese tulit obvia," and other passages. [Ribbeck reads 'viridi.'—H. N.]

220.] The 'scabies' is the effect of the 'robigo' on the surface of the iron; "scabra robigine," l. 495. ['Aut' Med. corrected.—H. N.] 'Salsa,' because the same saltiness which would rust iron would be unfavourable to produce: see vv. 237 foll. It is opposed to "dulci uligine laeta," v. 184. Pliny, 17. 27 says "ferro omnis [terra] robiginem obducit."

221.] The emphatic words are 'laetis vitibus.' In prose it would be "illa feret lactas vites quae ulmis intextantur." Pal., Gud. &c. have 'intexit.'

222.] 'Oleae' is the reading of Med.

Et facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.
 Talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesevo
 Ora iugo et vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris. 225
 Nunc, quo quamque modo possis cognoscere, dicam.
 Rara sit an supra morem si densa requires,
 Altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho,
 Densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo:
 Ante locum capies oculis, alteque iubebis 230
 In solido puteum demitti, omnemque repones

and two of Ribbeck's cursives, and of the old editions. Heins. from Pal., Rom., and the majority of MSS., supported by Nottius, p. 500, and Arusianus Messius, restored 'oleo' [and so Ribbeck.] If this is the true reading it should be construed as the abl., on the analogy of "fertilis" and "fecundus."

223.] 'Facilem pecori': 'facilis' seems here to be a metaphor from personal character, and nearly equivalent to "commodus," which is joined with 'patiens' in Hor. A. P. 257. 'Well-natured to cattle.' See on 4. 272, "facilis quaerentibus herba."

224.] 'Vesevus' is properly an adjective. Where used as a substantive it is "Vesevus mons."

225.] Gellius (6. 20) [quotes from a commentary a story also repeated by Philarg. here] that Virg. first wrote 'Nola iugo,' and changed it because the people of Nola would not allow him to bring water to his land. We can scarcely argue in support of 'Nola' from the topographical character of the passage, because that is satisfied by 'Vesevo.' 'Non aequus,' because it overflowed Acerrae. 'Clanius' is of course put for the country through which it runs, like "Hydaspes," 4. 212. 'Vacuis' does not seem to mean unpeopled by inundations, as Serv. takes it, but simply thinly peopled, like "vacuis Cumis," Juv. 3. 2; "vacuis Ulubris," Id. 10. 102.

226-258.] 'To tell close soil from loose, sink a pit, throw the earth in again, stamp it down, and see whether it exceeds or falls short. To tell bitter soil, put some in a basket, mix it with fresh water, and taste what trickles through. To tell rich soil, handle it and see whether it crumbles or sticks to the fingers. Moist soil shows itself by the luxuriance of its herbage. Heavy and light soils tell their own tale. Black

and other colours speak to the eyes. Cold soils are hard to detect, except by the presence of firs, yews, and ivy.' In the preceding account of the soils Virg. has to a certain extent anticipated the question how to ascertain them e.g. vv. 180, 185, 212 foll., while in the present paragraph he has still something to add about the aptitudes of each (vv. 228, 229, 239, 240, &c.); but the awkwardness of this want of arrangement can hardly be said to be felt in poetry.

226.] For 'quo quamque' Rom. and others of Pierius' MSS. read 'quocumque,' which Jahn adopts, understanding an acc. from the context. [Rom. has 'posses' for 'possis.'—H. N.]

227.] 'Requires' Med. (first reading), Pal., restored by Wagn., who rightly remarks that it agrees with 'capies,' 'iubebis,' &c.; 'requiras' Med. (second reading), Rom. 'Si' might conceivably go with 'sit,' in the sense of 'an,' like "quasisse si incolumis Lycortas evasisset" Livy 39, 50; but this would leave 'requires' very bare. The confusion of the order must be set down as poetical, as in Hor. l. S. 5. 72, "Paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni." 'Supra morem' is not to be pressed, as if it meant excessively. The meaning evidently is whether the earth in question is looser or stiffer than the average. Serv. [and the Berne scholia] say of these lines, "Illi autem versus incomparabiles sunt: tantam habent sine aliqua perissologia repetitionem."

229.] 'Magis' seems to belong to 'densa.' This answers best to 'rarissima quaeque.'

230.] 'Ante locum capies oculis' is explained by 'in solido,' which gives the reason for the choice.

231.] 'In solido,' where the experiment may be fairly tried, which it could not be if the ground was hollow.

Rursus humum, et pedibus summas aequabis harenas.

Si derunt, rarum, pecorique et vitibus almis

Aptius uber erit; sin in sua posse negabunt

Ire loca et scrobibus superabit terra repletis,

235

Spissus ager; glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga

Expecta, et validis terram proscinde iuvencis.

Salsa autem tellus et quae perhibetur amara—

Frugibus infelix ea, nec mansuescit arando,

Nec Baccho genus, aut pomis sua nomina servat— 240

232.] 'Pedibus summas aequabis harenas' = "recalcabis," Col. 2. 2.

233.] ['Derunt,' originally Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

234.] 'Uber' is a laudatory synonym for 'solum.'

235.] 'Scrobibus;' 'scrobes' is here used as a synonym for 'puteus;' rather loosely, for 'scrobes' as a general rule were excavations longer than they were broad, such as a trench for vines, or a grave. Col. 5. 5 allows, as an exception, the 'scrobes' for vines to be as broad as it is long. 'Scrobibus' is the plural for the singular. 'Superabit' = "supererit." The word as used intransitively seems first to mean 'to be superior,' hence 'to be in excess,' and lastly 'to remain over,' without the notion of excess, as in E. 9. 27, "superet modo Mantua nobis," &c. Possibly here there may be the further notion of elevation in the soil, which would fall under the first of the meanings given, as in Stat. Theb. 4. 458, "Quamquam infossus humo superat tamen agger in auras." In v. 314 below the third meaning seems to be chiefly intended; in v. 330 the first or second, though the distinction of shades is not always easy. A further doubt about the sense of the word will meet us A. 1. 537., 2. 311. Pliny throws doubt on the practicability of this test (17. 27), "Scrobes quidem regesta in eos nulla complet, ut densa atque rara ad hunc modum deprehendi possit."

236, 237.] The epithets 'cunctantis,' 'crassa,' 'validis,' should be brought out in translation, being such as would be expressed in Greek by the position of the adjective either before the article or after the substantive. 'Prepare yourself for resistance in the clods, and stiffness in the ridges, and let the oxen with which you break up the ground be strong.' For 'expecta' 'exerce' was read originally in one of Ribbeck's cursives, and is sup-

ported by Rom. 'Proscinde,' 1. 97.

238.] Pliny 17. 29 gives a more favourable view of this kind of soil: "Salsae terrae multo melius creduntur, tutiores a vitiis innascentium animalium." 'Perhibetur' seems to denote that 'amara' is a common epithet of soils. Diophanes in Geopon. 5. 7, recommending a similar test of soil to Virg.'s, speaks of τῇ γαῖσιν πικρὰν ἢ ἀλμυράν.

239.] On the whole I have preferred (with Jahn and Keightley) Wakef.'s punctuation to that commonly adopted, which makes the parenthesis begin after 'infelix.' The metrical harshness introduced by the former is not displeasing as a variety, and is compensated by the improvement in the sense, 'ea' being thus made the subject of a bona fide parenthesis, giving the reason why a salt soil is to be avoided, not of one which is a mere expansion of what has been said before. In any case 'frugibus' seems to be used generally of the fruits of the earth, as in v. 173, not specially of corn. 'Infelix' = "infecunda." 'Frugibus' is the dat. Sall. Jug. 17, "ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus." Had it been "felix" instead of 'infelix,' we might more properly have taken 'frugibus' as the abl. 'Arando' = "aratone;" see on E. 8. 71. With 'mansuescit arando' comp. Lucr. 5. 1368, "fructusque ferus mansuescere terra Cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo."

240.] 'Genus' is best illustrated by the adj. "generosus." In such a soil the vine 'degenerates.' So we apply the words 'race,' 'racy,' to wine. 'Nomina,' name for character. Both this and 'genus' are metaphors from nobility. Cato 25, "Sicque facito studeat bene percoctum siccumque legere, ne vinum nomen perdat." 'The grape is not kept true to its race, nor the apple to its name.'

Tale dabit specimen : Tu spisso vimine qualos,
 Colaue prelorum fumosis deripe tectis ;
 Huc ager ille malus dulcesque a fontibus undae
 Ad plenum calcentur ; aqua eluctabitur omnis
 Scilicet, et grandes ibunt per vimina guttae ;
 At sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora
 Tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaro.
 Pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto

245

241.] 'Specimen,' a sample, instance, or, as here, a proof, in which sense it occurs Lucr. 4. 209, "Hoc etiam in primis specimen verum esse videtur, Quam celeri motu rerum simulacra ferantur." The 'qualos' appear to be the same thing as 'cola.' They were made 'spisso vimine' that they might strain the wine from the grapes. ['Quallos' Pal. and Rom., 'qualos' Med.—H. N.]

242.] Comp. 1. 175 note.

243.] 'Ager' the whole 'ager' is virtually the subject of the experiment. 'Malus' he assumes the bitterness, which he calls malignity (comp. 'sceleratum frigus,' v. 256), of the soil both in making the experiment and in its result, where a prose writer would of course have expressed himself hypothetically. 'Dulces' is important. 'Huc ad plenum calcentur' = "huc ad plenum ingerantur et calcentur."

244.] 'Calcare' seems to be used technically of other kinds of pressure than treading. Cato (117) says of olives "in orculam calcato." 'Ad plenum' is undoubtedly a phrase (Hor. 1 Od. 17. 15, &c.), but that is no reason for giving it, as Forb. suggests, the vague sense 'copiously,' instead of taking it 'to the full [of the strainer],' till the strainer is full. 'Eluctabitur,' ooze out.

245.] 'Scilicet' denotes the consequence of the process, 'You will see.'

246.] Virg. is expressing himself poetically, not with logical precision, so he marks the progress of the narrative by 'at,' distinguishing the water from the taste of the water, and, as it were, following the fortunes of both, though of course the meaning is only 'as the water oozes out, the taste will show you,' &c. Comp. vv. 211, 212. 'Manifestus' seems plainly to go with 'faciet,' not with the following clause, whichever reading be adopted: 'The taste will clearly betray the truth.' 'Indicium facere' is a phrase for playing

the tell-tale. "Id anus mihi indicium fecit," Ter. Adelph. 4. 4. 7.

247.] I have restored 'amaro' from Pal., Rom., and (according to Foggini) Med. originally. Editors since Heyne have generally preferred 'amaror,' the corrected reading of Med., found also in one or two of Ribbeck's cursives, on the strength of a statement in Gell. 1. 21, that Hyginus professed to have found 'amaror' in a MS. belonging to the poet's family. Gellius says that 'amaro' in his time was almost universally read, though Hyginus' discovery was approved by several critical authorities. [In support of his view Hyginus quoted 'amaror' from Lucr. 4. 224. Serv., in a note probably directly or indirectly taken from Hyginus, advocates 'amaror,' and supports it by the same quotation.—H. N.] Internal evidence, however, is strongly in favour of the adjective against the substantive. The introduction of another nominative similar in meaning to 'sapor' would be unnecessary, and therefore ungraceful, while 'sensu,' which is not, as Gell. objects, necessarily synonymous with 'sapor,' would be improved by an epithet. A further confirmation of 'sensu amaro' is supplied by Lucr. 2. 398 foll., a passage partially cited by Macrobian Sat. 6. 1 :

"Huc accedit, uti mellis lactisque liquores
 Iucundo sensu linguae tractentur in ore ;
 At contra tacta absinthii natura ferique
 Centauri fœdo pertorquent ora sapore."

This also illustrates 'ora torquentur,' and the whole passage seems to have been in Virg.'s mind. From it we may see that Ladewig is wrong in connecting 'temptantum sensu' (reading of course 'amaror'). 'Tristia' is proleptic. 'Will warp the mouths of the triers into disgust by the sense of bitterness.'

248.] 'Denique' belongs to 'hoc pacto,' and means 'to be brief.' The remaining instances are despatched concisely.

Discimus: haut umquam manibus iactata fatiscit,
 Sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo. 250
 Umida maiores herbas alit, ipsaque iusto
 Laetior. A nimium ne sit mihi fertilis illa,
 Nec se praevalidam primis ostendat aristis!
 Quae gravis est, ipso tacitam se pondere prodit,
 Quaeque levis. Promptum est oculis praediscere nigram,
 Et quis cui color. At sceleratum exquirere frigus 256

249.] 'Fatiscit,' cracks, breaks in pieces, 1. 180. Wakef. conjectured 'tractata,' which the poet seems purposely to have rejected in favour of a more poetical word. There is the same liveliness in the Lucretian expression "iacere indu manus." "Manibus tractata" occurs Lucr. 4. 230, singularly enough, within a few lines of 'amaror,' mentioned in the note just above; so that it is conceivable that the whole passage may have happened to be in Virg.'s mind at the time of writing, especially if it be supposed that 'amaror' was the word he used. Similar instances, where, as here, there is no connexion in the original between the two things supposed to be imitated, are not unfrequently to be found, though the coincidence is generally too shadowy to be pronounced intentional.

250.] 'Ad digitos' is explained by the notion of "adhaeret" contained in 'lentescit.' 'Habendo:' see on E. 8. 71, and comp. Lucr. 1. 313, "Anulus in digito subternatur habendo," where, however, the sense of 'habere,' to wear, is not quite parallel. Here it seems to mean to handle, so that we may compare "male habere aliquem." The test is mentioned by Col. 2. 2, § 18, with a slight variety.

251.] 'Maiores,' higher than usual. 'Ipsa,' in itself, altogether, as distinguished from the particular luxuriance of the grass.

253.] ['Neu' Med. corrected for 'nec.'—H. N.] 'Primis aristis,' when the ears first appear, just before earing, over-luxuriance before earing being adverse to productiveness, as is observed by Mr. Blackburn, who adds, "On my remarking once to a country squire, what excellent corn crops his land ought to produce, he said that from its richness the corn was apt to go to straw instead of ear." Heyne, followed by Wagn. and Forb., understanding the passage similarly, paraphrases 'primis aristis' by "herbis surgentibus," and refers to Serv. But the words of Serv.

are "Herbis surgentibus, quarum luxuries futuris frugibus nocet, quas culmi tenues ferre non possunt," in which "futuris frugibus" and "culmi tenues," not "herbis surgentibus," answer to 'primis aristis.' Their mistake seems to lie in misunderstanding Serv. as if he meant by 'herbis' the blades of corn, as in 1. 112, a passage which Serv. rightly compares as generally apposite.

254.] 'Tacitam' is for "tacite," perhaps meant to be opposed to 'indiciū faciet' 'Without farther experiment.' ['Prodet' Med.—H. N.]

255.] It may be questioned whether 'oculis' is to be constructed as dat. with 'promptum' or as abl. with 'praediscere.' With the former interpretation comp. Ov. M. 13. 10, "Sed nec mihi dicere promptum, Nec facere isti." 'Praediscere,' either to learn before you cultivate the field, or to learn at once, before experiment or investigation, opp. to 'exquirere.' [Rom. has 'praediscere.'—H. N.]

256.] 'Cui' is taken by Heyne as = "cuicumque," and by Wagn. and Forb. as = "cuique." Both are unnecessary. It is a double question. See Key's Lat. Gr., 1136. So also Ladewig takes it. The misunderstanding of the construction seems to have led at an early period to a corruption of the text. Serv. mentions two readings, 'quisquis,' which he declares to be the right one, and 'quis cuique,' which it was sought to make metrical either by omitting 'at' or by changing 'color' into 'colos,' as if the final 's' could be elided. The oldest MSS. are similarly divided, Pal. having 'quisquis,' Med. 'quis cuique' altered into 'quisquis,' while Rom. strangely gives 'quis cui cive.' One of Ribbeck's cursives gives 'quis cui' from a correction, and it is also the original reading of the first Mentelian. Ribbeck reads 'quisquis,' which he remarks may also stand for 'quis queis;' but critical considerations point decidedly to 'quis cui.' 'Sceleratum:'

Difficile est : piceae tantum taxique nocentes
Interdum aut hederæ pandunt vestigia nigrae.

His animadversis, terram multo ante memento
Excoquere et magnos scrobibus concidere montes, 260
Ante supinatas aquiloni ostendere glaebas,
Quam laetum infodias vitis genus. Optima putri
Arva solo : id venti curant gelidaeque pruinæ
Et labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor.
At, si quos haut ulla viros vigilantia fugit, 265

Pliny 24. 117, "Adversantur serpentium sceleratissimis haemorrhoidi et presteri." The word is however probably half playful, and as such may be compared with Hor. 2 S. 3. 71, "Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus;" Plaut. Pseud. 3. 2. 28, "Senapis scelera . . . oculi ut stillent facit."

257.] Comp. above v. 113, "Aquilonem et frigora taxi." Pliny 17. 33, "Terram amaram probaverim; demonstrant eam atrae degeneresque herbae, frigidam autem retorride nata." Professor Ramsay (Dict. A. 'agricultura') says that the ancients were in the habit of forming an estimate of untrodden ground not only from the qualities which could be detected by sight and touch, but also from the character of the trees, shrubs, and herbage growing upon it spontaneously, a test of more practical value than any of the others enumerated in the Second Georgic (177—258).

258.] Pliny 16. 144 foll. after Theophrastus, divides ivy into "candida," "nigra," and "helix." The "hedera alba" is an emblem of beauty, E. 7. 38. 'Pandunt vestigia,' reveal the traces of the cold. Wakef.'s interpretation, 'extend their roots,' though ingenious, is far from probable.

259—272.] 'Having ascertained the soil you want, let it be well trenched and thoroughly exposed to sun and air before you plant your vine. The object is to make the soil crumbling. A careful gardener will make his nursery-ground like his vineyard, and transplant his trees into precisely the same position which they have occupied hitherto.'

259.] 'His animadversis' = "agri qualitate deprehensa," Serv.

260.] Lucr. 6. 962, "terram sol excoquit et facit are." 'Scrobibus:' see above, v. 235. 'Concidere:' Justin 2. 1, "Concisam fossis Aegyptum." Rom. has 'circumdare.' 'Magnos montes' (imitated

from Lucr. 1. 201, "magnos manibus divellere montes") is a strong, perhaps an exaggerated expression, as if the husbandman was to dig up ('concidere') whole mountains. The lesson to be enforced is that of hard and thorough work. See v. 37 note. There is the same feeling in 'excoquere,' indicated not merely by the preposition, but by the attribution of the process not to the sun but to the husbandmen. With this word, and with the next line, comp. 1. 65, 66, a passage which is animated by the same enthusiasm.

261.] The repetition of 'ante' is emphatic, showing that no labour is to be spared, and no vigilance omitted. 'Supinatas,' upturned. 'Aquiloni ostendere:' Varro 1. 24, "Ager soli ostentus." Hesiod Works 611, Δεῖξαι δ' ἑλίκας (βότρους).

263.] 'Id curant,' bring this about. 'Id' = "ut putri solo sint." The connexion is 'The great object is to have a crumbling soil; that is the work of wind, and frost, and hard spade labour.' He recurs to the precepts he had just given vv. 259—261, and shows the reason for them. The passage then is parallel to v. 204, "Et cui putre solum, namque hoc imitatur arando," which Philarg. compares. With the mention of the wind comp. 1. 44, "Zephyro putris se glæba resolvit," though here perhaps Virg. is thinking chiefly of sharper winds.

264.] i.e. the process of stirring the ground called "pasticatio." 'Robustus,' as in E. 4. 41, paints vigorous exertion. 'Labefacta,' loosened. Seneca, N. Q. 4. 5, "Nix tenera et labefacta;" Lucr. 1. 492, "Tum labefactatus rigor auri solvitur aestu." It would be also possible to interpret 'labefacta movens' = "movens et labefaciens:" see below, v. 267.

265.] Med. has 'ac,' which Ribbeck adopts. 'Si quos haut ulla viros vigilantia fugit' is a poetical variety for "si quos prae vigilantia nihil fugit."

Ante locum similem exquirunt, ubi prima paretur
 Arboribus seges, et quo mox digesta feratur,
 Mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem.

266.] 'Ante' seems best explained by 'ante' above, vv. 259, 261. Wishing to impress on the husbandman the necessity of thorough work, he has mentioned various indispensable preliminaries to the planting of the vine: he now adds one which, he says, a perfect workman will adopt, that of providing the same kind of ground for the nursery and for the vineyard. 'Locum similem' then will be in apposition alternately, as it were, with each of the two clauses that follow, 'ubi . . . seges' and 'quo . . . feratur,' a like spot for the nursery, and a like spot for the vineyard, the two being reciprocally compared, just as in the expression 'alius . . . alius,' which we translate 'one thing . . . another,' there is, so to speak, a reciprocal contrast. Or we might explain the construction somewhat differently, by saying that the poet used 'similem' with a view to only one of the two spots, the vineyard, which was to be like the nursery, or the nursery, which was to be like the future vineyard, and that then in explaining the comparison he expressed himself as if the two things compared were co-ordinate in his conception; as if he had said, 'Ante exquirunt duos locos, alterum alteri similem, scilicet, ubi &c., et quo' &c. This change of view is the same which we have had occasion to remark in l. 421 (note), and it is well illustrated by Aesch. Prom. 555, τὸ διαμψίδιον δέ μοι μέλος προσέπτα τὸδ' ἐκεῖνό εἶ, ὅτε κτλ. "Similis ac," "atque," are found elsewhere, like "alius ac," "idem ac," sometimes with "si" following. Both 'ubi paretur' and 'quo feratur' depend equally on 'exquirunt;' each alike is to be the object of the husbandman's search.

267.] Kightley now supposes 'similem' to mean 'a soil like that in which the parent vine stands,' explaining vv. 269 foll. similarly of transplanting into, not from, the nursery; but this seems far less likely. The 'seminarium' for vines is described by Col. Arb. 1. The commentators, supposing Virg. to be speaking of the nursery for vines in connexion with the vineyard (which in the note on the preceding line I have assumed to be the case), seem universally to understand 'arboribus' of the vines. The question

has been treated on v. 89, and it need only be added here that such a use of words is peculiarly unlikely in the present context, as in vv. 289, 290 'vitis' and 'arbos' are expressly distinguished. We might evade the difficulty by supposing the reference here to be not to vines at all, but simply to their supporters, which had a "seminarium" of their own, from which they were transplanted into the "arbustum," as appears from Pliny 17. 69, 78, Col. 5. 6, who expressly apply precepts like these of Virg. to their case. We should then conclude that Virg. being anxious, as elsewhere, to combine brevity with variety, had passed from the vines to their supporters, leaving the treatment of the former to be inferred, as it were, à fortiori. Such an explanation would be certainly confirmed by Col. 1. c., whose language is founded on Virg.'s: "Ne aliter arbores constituamus quam quemadmodum in seminario steterint: plurimum enim refert ut eam partem caeli spectent cui ab tenero consueverunt." But such a transition would create an almost inexcusable ambiguity, though we must not estimate the impression received by those who were familiar with the distinction between 'vitis' and 'arbos' by the impression produced on those who have overlooked it. I would suggest then that the sense of 'ubi prima paretur arboribus seges' is, 'where at first ('prima' = "primum," opposed to 'mox') the vine-crop may be got ready for its supporters,' in other words, may be prepared for afterwards standing in the "arbustum," a description of a nursery for vines, in which the poet may have been thinking of a maiden being trained for a husband. This would further avoid the necessity of changing the sense of 'seges' in the two clauses, and referring it in the first to the soil of the nursery, in the second to its contents. 'Digesta feratur' = "digeratur et feratur," or rather "feratur et digeratur." Comp. v. 318, "Concretam radicem adfigere terrae." [Pal. originally had ferantur.—H. N.]

268.] 'That the sudden change may not make the plants feel strangely to their mother.' 'Subito' goes with 'mu-

Quin etiam caeli regionem in cortice signant,
 Ut, quo quaeque modo steterit, qua parte calores 270
 Austrinos tulerit, quae terga obverterit axi,
 Restituant: adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.
 Collibus an plano melius sit ponere vitem,
 Quaere prius. Si pinguis agros metabere campi,
 Densa sere; in denso non segnior ubere Bacchus; 275

tatam.' 'Semina' here are the young vines; see below, v. 354, "Seminibus positus." The application of the word to young trees is common in the agricultural writers, and is embodied in the word "seminarium." 'Matrem' is the earth. Comp. A. 11. 71, "Non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat." Pliny 17. 69 ingeniously distinguishes the "seminarium" and the vineyard as "nutrix" and "mater." Gud. has 'mutata.'

270.] Pliny 17. 83 says that as Cato has made no mention of this practice, it is probably valueless; and adds that some intentionally changed the position of vines and figs when they were transplanted. If we take the construction to be 'restituant modum quo quae steterit,' &c., we shall not have to suppose a change of construction at 'quae terga obverterit,' which is necessary if we follow the commentators in understanding 'arbores' as the object of 'restituant.' The manner of the repetition also seems to indicate that the several clauses are objects of the verb. The words of Col. quoted on v. 267 might be pleaded for the ordinary view, but he follows Virg. so closely that his use of language cannot be considered independent. 'Qua parte calores austrinos tulerit,' 'the part on which it bore the brunt of the southern heat.' [Med. has 'steterint' and 'tulerint.'—H. N.]

271.] 'Axi,' the north pole. Comp. 3. 351, "Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem." 'Quae terga,' that side which, as a back, it turned to the cold wind of the north.

272.] 'Adeo in teneris consuescere multum est,' 'so powerful are habits formed in tender age.' The connexion requires this rather than 'so powerful is habit in the case of things of tender age,' as the poet is speaking of habits formed in the nursery, and in their effects extending to the 'arbutum.' 'In teneris' then will have the force of 'in teneris annis,' though we need not suppose an

ellipse. The line is quoted by Quint. 1. 8 with 'a teneris,' which would mean 'habits which have lasted from infancy.'

273—287.] 'Plant your vines closely on the plain; on slopes more widely, yet still in regular lines and at equal distances, so as to present the appearance of a Roman legion, and that not merely for appearance's sake, but to give each plant as much growing room as its neighbours.'

273.] Some vines were better suited for the hill, some for the plain. See Col. 3. 1. § 5.

274.] 'Prius:' this is another preliminary, which of course ought in strictness to have preceded that mentioned in the last paragraph, 'terram multo ante memento,' &c. 'Campi' is the same as 'plano' and the emphatic word. 'If you measure out, or set apart for a vineyard, fields in a rich plain.' 'Pinguis,' opp. to the light soil of the hills. With the language comp. the oracle in Hdt. 1. 66, *καλὸν πεδὶον σχοίνῃ διαμετρήσασθαι*. There seems to have been another reading, 'agri—campos,' which is supported by Gud. and partially by Pal.

275.] It would be harsh to take 'densa' as strictly adverbial. It is rather an adjective agreeing with an indefinite substantive. 'Non segnior ubere,' not less prolific. Comp. 'segnes terrae,' v. 37, 'segnis carduus.' 1. 151, and for 'segnis' with abl. A. 7. 383 (note). 'In denso' = "in loco denso consito:" comp. "in sicco." 'In denso ubere' could scarcely mean any thing but a close or stiff soil, and such is really the sense of 'densus' in Ov. M. 2. 576, "densumque relinquo Litus, et in molli nequiquam lasor harena," expressing the crowding of the parts of the soil, not, as Wund., followed by Forb., explains it, the crowding of things upon it. 'Uber' is specially used of the fruitfulness of the vine; Col. 4. 27, "ut ubere suo gravatam vitem levet;" Claud. B. G. 504, "palmitis uber Etrusci." 'Not less prolific than when planted wide, because in the rich plain there is abundance of nutriment.'

Sin tumulis adclive solum collesque supinos,
 Indulge ordinibus, nec setius omnis "in unguem" *to a hair*
 Arboribus positis secto via limite quadret.
 Ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortes
 Explicuit legio, et campo stetit agmen aperto, 280
 Derectaeque acies, ac late fluctuat omnis
 Aere renidenti tellus, necdum horrida miscent

276.] 'Colles supinos,' gently sloping, so as to present a broad surface, which seems to be the general notion of the word as applied not only to hills but to plains and to the sea. See Bentr. on Hor. Epod. 1. 29.

277.] 'Indulge ordinibus,' give your rows room, set them wide. 'Nec setius,' as much as if they were set close. The order of the passage is probably 'nec setius [quam si densa seras] omnis secto limite via arboribus positis in unguem quadret.' 'Yet still [as much as when you plant close] let each avenue with drawn line as you set your trees exactly tally,' = 'Yet still so set your trees that the line of each avenue that you draw may exactly tally with the rest.' 'Secto via limite' then will = "via secta." Comp. 1. 238, "Via secta per ambas," where Virg. calls the ecliptic "via," while Ov. M. 2. 130, speaking more precisely, calls it "limes." Nothing more than regularity is prescribed in these two lines so understood; it is the simile of the legion, which follows, that shows that the 'quincuncialis ordo' is intended. If with Martyn and Donaldson (Dict. A. ed. 1, 'Agrimensores') we press the distinction between 'via' and "limes," making the latter mean the transverse path, which is to cut the former at right angles, the construction must be 'omnis via secto limite (i.e. cum limes sectus fuerit), quadret [cum eo limite]'—a use of the abl. abs. in the place of some other construction, with which we may comp. Juv. 1. 70, "viro miscet sitiente rubetam." But there would be some awkwardness in this abl. abs. following 'arboribus positis,' and the language would still not be quite precise, as a quincunx would not be represented by a number of parallel lines with cross lines at right angles. 'Via' and 'limes' are used in the same context again A. 2. 697, apparently without any intended contrast. 'In unguem' goes with 'quadret,' as in Coll. 11. 2, § 13, "abies atque populus singulis operis ad unguem quadrantur." So far as the precept of regu-

larly is concerned, it would be the same thing whether 'arboribus' meant the vines or their supporters. But the young vines could scarcely be compared to the cohorts of a legion, and the general considerations urged on v. 89 seem decisive. ['Septo' Med. originally for 'secto'—H. N.]

279.] There is no ground for taking 'saepe' after 'cum' with Wagn. A. 1. 148 merely proves that Virg. might have so expressed himself. 'Ingens bellum,' mighty war, a perpetual epithet. So "Bellum ingens geret Italia," A. 1. 267; "magnum populo portendere bellum," ib. 7. 80. It matters little whether 'bello' be taken as dat. or as abl. The "quincuncialis ordo" would be accurately represented by the position of the manipuli of the "Hastati," "Principes," and "Triarii," in the old Roman army.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hastati | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ |
| Principes | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ |
| Triarii | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ |

Before Virg.'s time, however, the practice had changed, the legion being divided into ten cohorts, which could not be arranged in a quincuncial form, though when disposed in three lines they bear a superficial resemblance to it. This vague similarity may be what Virg. intends, or he may be adopting a comparison made while the old disposition of the army prevailed. 'Cohortes' too would point to the later arrangement.

280.] 'Agmen' is the column in order of march, which deploys into 'acies,' or line of battle.

281.] 'Derigere aciem' is a military phrase, Livy 31. 27, "Coniectisque in medium sarcinis aciem derexisset," ['derigere' meaning properly to make straight.—H. N.]

282.] 'Renidenti' this verb means properly to smile, and is thence to glitter, like γελᾶν: Il. 20. 362, γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν Χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς. Coupled with 'fluctuat,' it may be intended to remind us of the Aeschylean ἀντήριθμον

Proelia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis :
 Omnia sint paribus numeris dimensa viarum ;
 Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem, 285
 Sed quia non aliter viris dabit omnibus aequas
 Terra, neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami. -
 Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras.
 Ausim vel tenui vitem committere sulco.

γέλασμα. 'Aere renidenti tellus' is from the "aere renidescit tellus" of Luor. 2. 326, and the whole passage appears to be a study after the splendid picture drawn in that and the surrounding lines rather than a natural and appropriate illustration of the vineyard. 'Necdum,' &c.: while the regularity of their order is still undisturbed. 'The grim mêlée of the fight has not yet begun.' ['Nedum' Verona fragm. for 'necdum.'—H. N.]

283.] 'Dubius' means generally in suspense. It is not necessary to limit it either to the uncertainty which side will begin, or to the uncertainty of the issue. Mars is not yet called into action, and therefore he is said to hover between the two armies. 'Mediis in armis' = ἐν μεταξὺν, the space between the two armies. Possibly the image before Virg.'s mind was that of two Roman armies facing each other in civil war.

284.] On the whole it seems best to make this the apodosis of the simile, though Virg. seems occasionally to introduce a simile without one regularly expressed; and in the present passage it matters nothing, so far as the sense is concerned, whether we take one from the preceding or following lines. 'Viarum' may be taken either with 'omnia' or with 'paribus numeris.' The order of the words points to the latter. 'Paribus numeris viarum' is somewhat difficult to explain, though the difficulty has not been noticed by the commentators. It probably = "parae et numerosae viae," and means equal and regular avenues. Comp. "numeroso horto," Col. 10. 6. If the order is that of the 'quincunx' all the avenues cannot be equal, but the corresponding ones may. Varro 1. 7, "Si sata sunt in quincuncem propter ordines atque intervalla modica." "Quid enim illo quincunces speciosius, qui, in quamcunque partem spectaveris, rectus est? Sed protinus in id quoque prodest, ut terrae sucum aequaliter trahant," Quint. 8. 3, § 9. Pliny 17. 78, "In disponendis arboribus arbutusque ac vinetis quincuncialis ordinum

ratio vulgata et necessaria, non perflata modo utilis, verum et aspectu grata, quoquo modo intueare in ordinem se porrigente versu." ['Demensa' Med.—H. N.]

285.] 'Animum inanem:' the epithet seems to be transferred from 'prospectus' to 'animus.' Comp. "animum pictura pascit inani," A. 1. 463. We may then take 'inanem' closely with 'pascat,' as Mr. Blackburn suggests, feed unsubstantially, i.e. without a view to utility, not unlike "pinguis pascere oves" E. 6. 4. Comp. the phrase "animi causa."

287.] 'Because otherwise the boughs will have no empty space wherein to spread themselves.' Ribbeck reads 'poterunt extendere' from Rom. and Pal.; but 'se' is found in Med., Verona fragm., Gud., and two other cursives.

288—297.] 'The trench for the vine may be shallow; that for its supporter must be deeper.'

288.] 'Fastigium' is used of the slope of a trench, Caesar, B. G. 7. 73, "Ante hos obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur, paulatim angustiores ad infimum fastigio." Comp. Id. ib. 4. 17, where "fastigate" is used of a slope as opposed to a perpendicular. Virg. evidently intends us to think of depth, which would of course depend on the length and inclination of the slope. [Non. p. 302, 463, Serv., Philarg., and the Berne scholia take it simply as = 'depth.'—H. N.] In Varro 1. 14, "fossa ita idonea si . . . fastigium habet ut [aqua?] exeat e fundo," it appears to mean the fall of a drain: Id. ib. 20, "agricolae hoc spectandum quo fastigio sit fundus," it seems to be for the level of the ground. It would be easy to classify these meanings and connect them with those which contain the parallel notion of height; but we seem not to have the starting-point of a plausible etymology. ['Forsitam' Rom., which Ribbeck adopts.—H. N.]

289.] 'Sulcus' is clearly distinguished

Altior ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos, 290
 Aesculus in primis, quae, quantum vertice ad auras
 Aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.
 Ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra, neque imbres
 Convellunt; immota manet, multosque nepotes,
 Multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit. 295
 Tum fortis late ramos et brachia tendens
 Huc illuc, media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.
 Neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem;

from 'scrobs' in the agricultural writers; and from Pallad. 2. 10, Pliny 17. 139, and Col. Arb. 4, it would appear that the 'sulous' is characterized by length. Virg., however, obviously intends no such distinction. As to the exact depth of the 'scrobes' or 'sulci' the writers seem to vary. Pliny 17. 80 foll., Col. 4. 1., 5, 6, &c. Much must have depended, as the last-mentioned writer, 7. 13, remarks, on the particular soil. It would seem however from a comparison of Col. 5. 5 and 5. 6, that the vines were planted less deeply in an 'arbusum' than in another vineyard, though the language of these passages is scarcely consistent with Id. Arb. 16.

290.] 'Arbos' here is evidently distinguished from the vine. The old view was, that Virg. meant merely to contrast the vine with other trees generally. But Heyne rightly regards it as a contrast between the vine and its supporter. Comp. notes on vv. 2, 89, 267, 278. 'Terrae defigitur:' "defigere aliquem cruci" is quoted from Varro ap. Non. The construction is 'arbos altior (for 'altius,' which was the reading before Heins.) defigitur ac penitus terrae defigitur.' It appears from the passages just cited from Columella and Pliny, that other trees were never planted at so slight a depth as the vine sometimes was, but the difference is not so great as this passage would denote.

291.] 'Aesculus:' Pliny 17. 201 says "Transpadana Italia . . . quercu arbustat agros," i.e. plants them in "arbusa" to support the vine. Part of the following description, which appears simply ornamental, is repeated by Virg. speaking of the "quercus" A. 4. 445 foll.

292.] ['Radice' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

293.] 'Wagn. needlessly explains 'imbres' of torrents swollen by rain.

294.] 'Multos nepotes,' many successive generations. Comp. v. 58. Many MSS., including Verona fragm. and Gud., supported by a quotation in Nonius p. 525, read 'multosque per annos,' an interpolation, as Wagn. plausibly conjectures, derived from 4. 208.

295.] Imitated from Lucr. 1. 202, "Multaque vivendo vitalia vincero saecula;" Id. 3. 948, "Omnia si pergas vivendo vincere saecula." 'Volvens,' rolling, and so going through. Comp. "tot volvere casus," A. 1. 9. A parallel use of 'condere' has been noticed E. 9. 52. The notion implied in 'volvens' would be more naturally coupled with 'saecula,' as in "volvenda dies," A. 9. 6. But such inversions are not rare. 'Many are the posterities, many the generations of men that it rolls along, and lives down victoriously, while stretching out its sinewy branching arms on all sides, it supports with its central bulk the vast weight of their shade.'

296.] 'Tum,' in this and other passages, appears to indicate a point in a narration or description, not necessarily a point of time, and generally the last point, so as to be nearly = "denique." Comp. E. 2. 49, A. 1. 164., 4. 250., 6. 577., 7. 76. It seems hardly necessary with Heyne to divide the poetical picture logically, and say, that the depth of the roots is the cause, first, of the firmness (v. 293) and long life (vv. 294, 295) of the tree; secondly, of its power to bear the weight of its boughs (vv. 296, 297). Ribbeck adopts 'pandens' [a variant mentioned in the Berne scholia] from Gud.

298.] 'A vineyard should not face the west: a hazel should not be planted to support the vine: cuttings should not be taken from the top, either of the vine or of its supporter: a blunt knife should not be applied to the young plant: a wild olive should not be used as a supporter,

Neve inter vites corylum sere; neve flagella
 Summa pete, aut summa defringe ex arbore plantas; 300
 Tantus amor terrae; neu ferro laede retunso
 Semina; neve oleae silvestris insere truncos:
 Nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,
 Qui, furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus,
 Robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas 305
 Ingentem caelo sonitum dedit; inde secutus
 Per ramos victor perque alta cacumina regnat,

as it is apt to catch fire, and the whole plantation may be burnt down.' Virg. despatches in a few lines a number of miscellaneous precepts relative to vines, ending with an ornamental description. The precept 'Neve tibi ad solem,' &c. is noticed by Col. (3. 12), and Pliny (17. 19), but with an intimation that it was not generally received. Their own view, as well as that of Palladius (6. 6), is that the aspect of a vineyard should vary with the climate.

299.] Pliny (17. 240) says of the vine "odit et corylum." 'Flagellum' is the tender shoot at the end of the branches of the vine. Varro 1. 31, "Quam vocant minorem flagellum, maiorem etiam unde uvae nascuntur palman." Catull. 62. 61, "vitis . . . Iamiam contingit summum radice flagellum." 'Summa flagella' does not mean the end of the shoot, but the shoot at the top of the vine. For the precept that cuttings are not to be made from the topmost shoots, comp. Col. 3. 10. Pliny 17. 105 recommends the contrary. ['Corylum' Rom.—H. N.]

300.] 'Destringe,' Heyne; but all Ribbeck's MSS. give 'defringe,' a word used by Varro (1. 40.), who opposes it to "deplantare," the latter being the less violent mode of separation. The word here is not to be pressed, as it is not the manner of removing the branch, but the part from which the branch is removed, that forms the point of the precept. 'Arbore,' the tree which supports the vine. 'Plantas,' cuttings for the "seminarium" (see note on v. 267). Pliny 17. 105 refers to this passage, which he seems to understand of trees in general, while he supposes Virg. to be speaking of cuttings for grafting.

301.] 'Tantus amor terrae:' so great is their love for the earth that when they are far from it they are less vigorous. 'Ferro retunso:' for this precept compare Col. 4. 24. 'Semina,' the young vines or

trees; see note on v. 268.

302.] Wagn., from the reading of Med. 'oleas,' has introduced 'olea,' giving 'insere' the technical meaning of grafting, and understanding the caution to be against grafting the olive on the 'oleaster,' a view apparently supported by Palladius (5. 2), who gives directions for safely grafting the olive on the oleaster without the risk of this bad result from a fire. But this involves an extremely awkward insertion of an isolated precept about the olive in the midst of precepts about the vine, which are apparently continued down to v. 420, where there is a distinct transition to the olive; nor does Columella seem to be aware of any danger to the olive from the oleaster (5. 9). It seems better then to retain 'oleae' and understand 'insere' of planting in the "arbustum," as in Col. 5. 7, "Arboribus rumpotinis si frumentum non inseritur." 'Insere' will thus = 'intersere,' v. 299. It appears from Pliny 17. 200, that the olive, if not too leafy, was frequently used as a supporter, though Theophr. Caus. Plant. 3. 15 condemns it as drawing too much nourishment from the vine. There was an inducement to plant the 'oleaster' and 'corylus' among other trees, as affording foliage for the food of cattle, Col. 5. 9. Hence perhaps the present caution.

304.] The tree is called πυκνὸν καὶ λιπαρόν, Theophr. H. P. 5. 10, and said to be good for burning.

305.] ['Elabsus' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

306.] 'Secutus,' running along the wood. Comp. A. 8. 432, "flamisque sequacibus iras." The word, as Maclean remarks on Pers. Prol. 5, is used where, strictly speaking, there is no notion of following a lead; but the image seems always to be that of following, whether or no there is actually any thing to follow.

307.] 'Dominates victoriously among

Et totum involvit flammis nemus, et ruit atram
 Ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem,
 Praesertim si tempestas a vertice silvis 310
 Incubuit, glomeratque ferens incendia ventus.
 Hoc ubi, non a stirpe valent caesaeque reverti
 Possunt atque ima similes revirescere terra;
 Infelix superat foliis oleaster amaris.

Nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor 315
 Tellurem Borea rigidam spirante movere.
 Rura gelu tum claudit hiemps; nec semine iacto

the branches and the summits that tower so high.'

308.] 'Nemus,' the "arbustum." 'Ruit' of an impulse from below: see on l. 105.

311.] 'Glomerat,' thickens or masses; and so makes more intense, fiercer. 'Ferens ventus,' a fair wind, *φορὸς* or *ἐπιφορὸς ἀνεμος*: "fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti," A. 3. 473; "Expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis," A. 4. 430. So our sailors speak of 'a carrying wind.'

312.] "Hoc ubi: subaudi contigerit," Serv., an expression to which no parallel has been adduced. Wakef. connects 'hoc' with v. 314, taking 'ubi' with 'valent' and 'possunt,' 'thus, when the vines are irreparably injured, you have only the wild olive left,' there being various passages in Luor. where 'hoc' is used similarly, with 'ubi' following, e.g. 4. 360, "Hoc, ubi suffugit sensum simul angulus omnis, Fit quasi ut ad tornum saxorum structa tuamur." The authority for this punctuation as compared with the other makes it plausible; but it does not seem so well suited to express the sense required. Virg. would hardly say 'the wild olive survives in the case where the vines cannot recover,' as his meaning evidently is that the vines never recover. 'Non a stirpe valent' is a condensed expression for "stirpe valent et a stirpe repullulant;" their stock no more shows life. 'Que' is disjunctive. 'Valent,' sc. "vites." 'Caesae,' when the burnt stock has been cut (to make it grow again).

313.] 'Ima terra,' from the earth at their roots.

314.] 'Infelix,' barren. 'Superat' = "solus superest." See on v. 235. In translating we might say 'is left master of the field.' 'Foliis amaris' seems to be an implied opposition to the "dulces

uvae" that have been lost. The bitterness would not hinder their being good for fodder; comp. "salices carpetis amaras," E. 1. 79.

315—345.] "Do not plant vines in winter, but in spring or towards the end of autumn. Spring is the season when all nature is procreant and prolific, and when the weather favours infant growth. It must have been in spring that the world itself was created. Were there no spring, young life would perish between the two extremes of cold and heat."

315.] 'Nec,' &c. = "nec quisquam tam prudens habeatur ut tibi persuadeat." 'Let no adviser have such credit for foresight as to persuade you.' [For 'persuadeat auctor' Pal. has an extraordinary error, 'persuadit acantho.'—H. N.]

316.] Virg. is dissuading the vine-grower from planting in winter, when there are north winds and frost. Comp. 1. 299. Heyne, with Pal., Rom., and another MS., and Nonius s. v. 'Rigidus,' reads 'moveri,' which would seem rather to mean 'let no one persuade you of the fact.' Wagn. restores 'movere' on the authority of the bulk of MSS. Ribbeck prefers the passive, on rhythmical grounds. 'Movere,' in order to make 'scrobes.' The passages quoted by the commentators from Cato, Pliny, Columella, &c., have reference rather to the weather than to the season, though one may be taken as implying the other.

317.] I have replaced 'tum,' the common reading, for 'tunc' (Med. Rom.), which I had formerly adopted. See on A. 4. 408. The divergence of the best MSS. here and elsewhere may make us pause; but their agreement in the great majority of instances renders it probable on the whole that Virg. would not have used 'tunc' before a consonant. 'Semine iacto,' a phrase properly relating to the

Concretam patitur radicem adfigere terrae.
 Optima vinetis satio, cum vere rubenti
 Candida venit avis longis invisâ colubris, 320
 Prima vel autumnî sub frigora, cum rapidus Sol
 Nondum hiemem contingit equis, iam praeterit aestas.
 Ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile silvis,
 Vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.
 Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether 325
 Coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnis
 Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus.

sowing of corn (l. 104) or other seed, is used of the planting of trees. Comp. vv. 268, 302.

318.] 'Concretam' may be taken as 'concretam gelu,' the epithet which would naturally belong to 'terrae' being joined with 'radicem;' but perhaps it is better to take it as equivalent to "ita ut concreseat," sc. "terrae." Comp. Claudian, 6 Cons. Hon. 77, "Hinc tibi concreta radice tenacius haesit." "Id cuius semen est," understood from what precedes, is the subject of 'adfigere,' or perhaps 'semen' itself, the young shoot. [Ribbeck adopts 'concretum,' the first reading of Med., and takes 'concretum terrae' together as = 'the congealed state of the soil.'—H. N.]

319.] The old reading before Heins. inserted 'est' after 'satio'; but all Ribbeck's MSS. omit it. 'Rubenti,' with flowers. "Ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus," 4. 306. Col. 3. 14 says that vines should be planted in spring or autumn, according to the climate and the character of the soil, the time in the former case being from the middle of Feb. to the vernal equinox, in the latter from the middle of Oct. to Dec. 1.

320.] 'Avis,' i.e. "ciconia," the stork. Juv. 14. 74, "Serpente ciconia pullos Nutrit." Isidorus, Origines 12. 7, "Ciconiae veris nuntiae, societatis comites, serpentium hostes." The stork seems to be mentioned here only ornamentally, as the harbinger of spring.

321. 'Prima autumnî frigora:' the first cold days of autumn, i.e. the latter part of the season. See above on v. 319. 'Rapidus' is a perpetual epithet of the sun, to be understood like "rapido aestu" (E. 2. 10), &c.

323.] 'Adeo' can only be rendered in English by laying a stress on 'ver.' 'Ne-

morum' and 'silvis' probably both mean the trees in the "arbusum." 'Frondi' may be specified on account of its use as food for cattle. [Med. has traces of a reading 'frondi est.'—H. N.]

324.] 'Tument.' Theophr. C. P. 3. 3, ὄργῃ δὲ [ἢ γῇ] δταν ἐνικμος ᾗ καὶ θερμὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔχρ' ἐύμμετρα, τότε γὰρ εὐδιαχυτός τε καὶ εὐβλαστής καὶ ὁλῶς εὐτρεπής ἐστι. The language of the following passage is metaphorical, and borrowed from physical generation.

325.] Comp. Eur. fr. inc. 890, 9, 10, ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ στυμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος Ὀμβροῦ πεσεῖν ἐς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο: Aesch. Danaides, fr. 43. Some identify 'Aether' and 'Tellus' with Jupiter and Juno, and Virg. may have thought of the description Il. 14. 346 foll; but the passage contains rather a poetico-physical than a theological view of the subject, and is evidently suggested by Lucr. 1.250, "pereunt imbres ubi eos pater Aether In gremium matris Terrae praecipitavit," Id. 2. 992, "Omnibus ille idem (caelum) pater est unde alma liquentes (caelum) guttas mater quum terra recepit," on both which passages see Munro. Comp. also E. 7. 60.

326.] 'Gremium' is an instance of the metaphorical language of the passage. Comp. Terence, Eunuch. 3. 5. 37. 'Laetae,' fruitful.

327.] 'Alit fetus' is a departure from the figure of the marriage of heaven and earth to the common and natural idea of the fertilizing effect of showers. 'Magnus . . . magno:' Virg. is fond of such combinations. Comp. 1. 190, "Magnaque cum magno veniet tritura calore." Perhaps he learnt them from Lucretius, e.g. 1. 741, "Et gravior magni magno cecidere ibi casu." But μέγας μεγαλωστί is as old as Homer.

Avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris,
 Et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus;
 Parturit almus ager, Zephyrique tepentibus auris 330
 Laxant arva sinus; superat tener omnibus umor;
 Inque novos soles audent se gramina tuto
 Credere; nec metuit surgentis pampinus austros
 Aut actum caelo magnis aquilonibus imbrem,
 Sed trudit gemmas et frondes explicat omnis. 335
 Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
 Inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
 Crediderim: ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
 Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri:
 Cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque 340
 Ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis,

328.] This relates to the loves of the birds. Lucr. 1. 10,

"Nam simul ac species patefacta est verna
 diu
 Et reserata viget genitabilis aura Fa-
 voni,
 Aëriæ primum volucres te, Diva, tuum-
 que
 Significant initum, percussæ corda tua
 vi."

'Avia virgulta' = "virgulta in aviis silvis."

330, 331.] Comp. "Zephyro putris se
 glaeba resolvit," 1. 44. Here, owing to
 the long metaphor which has preceded,
 'sinus,' which is also metaphorical, is
 substituted for "glaebam." "Laxo" is
 much the same as "solvō." Pal., Rom.,
 Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives
 have 'tremetibus,' which cannot be
 right. 'Superat,' abounds. Comp. Lucr.
 5. 806, "Multus enim calor atque umor
 superabat in arvis," and see on v. 235.
 'Tener umor,' Lucr. 1. 809. [For 'Zeph-
 yry' Med. has 'Zephyris.'—H. N.]

332.] 'Gramina' is the reading of the
 vast majority of MSS. 'Germina' how-
 ever is found in one or two copies, and
 has been read by most of the later editors
 on the authority of Celsus apud Philarg.
 The latter reading would create a tau-
 tology with what follows; and 'grami-
 na' is supported by Horace, 4 Od. 7. 1,
 "redeunt iam gramina campis Arboribus-
 que comae." But the question is very
 difficult, as Virg. in what he says of the
 fruitfulness of the soil may have been
 thinking mainly of the vine. 'Credunt
 se in novos soles' is probably a condensa-

tion of "credunt se solibus" and
 "trudunt se in soles," possibly with a
 further reference to the expression "in
 dies." 'Soles' are the suns of each day.
 'Novi,' because they are the beginning
 of the warm season. Virg. probably here
 had in his eye Lucr. 5. 780 foll. 'As the
 new suns dawn, the herbage ventures to
 encounter them with safety: and the
 young vine-branch has no fear that the
 south wind will get up, or that the
 mighty north will send a burst of rain
 from the sky, but puts out its buds, and
 unfolds all its leaves.'

336.] 'Crescentis' = "nascentis," which
 Bentley on Manil. 2. 428 wished to read.
 Doederlein, Lat. Syn. 6. 86, considers
 "cresco" to be a neuter inchoative from
 "creo." This and the following lines
 mean that the world was born in spring;
 not that the first ages of the world were
 perpetual spring. ['Alias' Pal.—H. N.]

338.] 'Ver illud erat:' comp. A. 3. 173,
 "Nec sopor illud erat." 'It was spring-
 tide that the great globe was keeping.'
 Cerda comp. Catull. 68. 16, "Ineundum
 cum aetas florida ver ageret."

339.] 'Hibernis,' &c.: there was no
 sign of winter. 'Parcebant flatibus,' like
 the common phrase "parcere alicui,"
 spared them, that is, forbore to put them
 forth. [Med. has 'hiberni.'—H. N.]

340.] 'Haurio' is used for drinking
 through the eyes and ears as well as
 through the mouth, A. 4. 359, 10. 899.
 But light and air are not unfrequently
 confounded, pure ether being supposed
 to be liquid flame.

341.] 'Ferrea' is the reading of nearly

Immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo.
 Nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem,
 Si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque

all the MSS. [and of the Berne scholia]. But the second reading of Med., found also in one other copy, is 'terrea,' which is found in most of the MSS. of Lactantius, Inst. 2. 11 (Paris ed. 1748), approved by Bentley on Hor. Epod. 2. 18, and has been adopted by Wagn. and the later editors in general. It is however by no means certain that Lact. really read 'terrea,' as, though he quotes the passage to show that some ancient thinkers held "homines ceteraque animalia sine ullo artifice orta esse de terra," he might feel that 'duris caput extulit arvis' warranted his assertion; and the same may perhaps be said of the gloss in Philargyrius ["quia creditum est primo homines e terra natos, a qua humo homines existimabant dictos."] 'Terrea' in the sense of 'made of earth' ("terreus ager" Varro R. R. 1. 14) might possibly have been intended, as Mr. Munro (Journ. Phil.) thinks, to express compendiously the strange theory of generation from earth maintained by Lucr. 5. 408; in that case however Virg. would hardly have used 'duris,' as there Lucr. rather dwells on the softness of the earth ("mollia terrae arva" v. 780), which he supposes (vv. 811 foll.) to have been full of juices like a mother's milk. 'Ferrea,' on the other hand, is supported by 'Unde homines nati, durum genus,' 1. 63 (note), as Serv. says, as well as by Lucr. 5. 925, "Et genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis Durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset," and is in complete keeping with Virg.'s dominant feeling, the glorification of labour. Serv. aptly expresses the meaning, "procreata ex lapidibus ad laborem." Bentley's objection that 'ferrea' would introduce an unseasonable reference to the iron age will not have weight with those who have observed the fluctuating character of Virg.'s language about cosmogony. He does not ignore the story of the four ages; but he attempts to combine it with a more scientific view of creation and early history (comp. E. G. 31 foll. with ib. 41, and see also A. 8. 314 foll.); and as here he is writing philosophically, it is no wonder that he should not have guarded against employing a term which might be understood in a mythological sense.

342.] The stars are looked upon as the living inhabitants of heaven, as the men of earth, and the beasts of the woods; Ov. M. 1. 73,

"Neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba,
 Astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque deorum,
 Cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus undae,
 Terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis aer."

See also G. 4. 227 (note).

343.] This verse, with the two following, refers to the beneficence of spring generally. 'Res tenerae' are the young plants, buds, &c., not like "ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis" in E. 6. 34. Comp. Lucr. 1. 179, "et vivida tellus Tuto res teneras effert in luminis oras." Comp. Lucr. 5. 1213, "quoad moenia mundi Et taciti ('solliciti' Lachm. after Bentley) motus hunc possent ferre laborem." ['Possint' Med.—H. N.] 'Hunc laborem,' all the trials to which plants are exposed. So the word is applied to things inanimate 1. 79. 150, and below, v. 372. 'Sufferre,' the first reading of Med., is perhaps not improbable, as the less common word; but it would be hazardous to substitute it for the reading of all the other copies, only one having a variety, 'proferre,' while in another the first syllable of 'perferre' is in an erasure.

344.] 'Tanta quies' is explained by 'hunc laborem'—'so great a respite.' Pal. has 'calorque,' which Philarg. maintains to have been the original reading, supporting the form from Plautus (Mero. 5. 2. 19), "Nec calor nec frigus metuo neque ventum neque grandinem," where some MSS. unmetrically read "calorem." There however the later editors get rid of the difficulty by punctuating before "metuo," and making "calor" and "frigus" subjects of "opsistet" in the preceding line. Hero of course it is merely a grammarian's expedient for obviating the hypermeter (comp. notes on v. 69 above, A. 4. 629, G. 33, &c.), which other MSS. (including Gud. corrected) dispose of more simply, if less learnedly, by omitting the final 'que.'

Inter, et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras.

345

Quod superest, quaecumque premes virgulta per agros,
Sparge fimo pingui, et multa memor occule terra,

[It should be observed that the passage in Plautus is quoted by Nonius p. 200 in support of *calor* neuter: but the same note in Nonius quotes this line of Virg. with 'caloremque,' which it gives as an instance of *calor* masc.—H. N.]

345.] 'Excipere' in its most general sense seems to imply receiving from or after some one or something else; comp. Lucr. 5. 829 "ex alioque alius status excipere omnia debet," which Virg. may have had in his mind. Thus "excipere hospitio" denotes that the guest is received from or after a journey, Hor. 1 S. 5. 1. "Excipere infantem" is said of the nurse who receives a new-born child from its mother, Juv. 7. 195. Here the milder skies receive the earth after the severer weather. Possibly the poet may be thinking of the earth as annually born into a state of infancy in spring, which is Voss's view. In any case this and the two previous lines seem to refer to the general effect of spring on the earth, resuming the subject from v. 335, not, as Mr. Munro, following an earlier opinion, thinks, to the time of the creation. Virg. doubtless had Lucr. 5. 818 foll. before him; but, as he often does, he has taken the thought and given it a new application.

346—353.] 'Young sets should be matured and well covered up with earth, and have porous stones or shells buried with them, that water and air may get to them better. It is well, too, to place a large stone or piece of earthenware by them, to shield them from rain and heat.'

346.] 'Quod superest,' a Lucretian transition, which occurs several times in Virg. also. Here it indicates a return from the praises of spring to matters more properly didactic. 'Virgulta:' Theophr. C. P. 3. 5. 7, from whom Virg. took this precept, applies it to trees in general. It is, therefore, probably not to be taken here of the vines alone, but also of the trees in the "arbutum," like "silvestria virgulta," v. 2, in spite of Col. 3. 15, who quotes this passage with reference to vines. There seems to be no sufficient authority for saying that 'premere' must mean propagating by layers, though no doubt the word might appropriately be so used, as in v. 26. It

cannot mean propagation by layers in 4. 131, "Lilia, verbenasque premens vescu-cumque papaver." Here then, as there, we may interpret it 'to plant,' the notion being that of burying in the earth, as in Hor. Epod. 1. 33, "terra premam." 'Quaecumque' too is perhaps against our supposing that the vine alone is meant.

347.] 'Memor occule' = "memento occultere." Virg. in these precepts has evidently borrowed from Theophr. l. c., who lays down a number of different rules with different objects, and adapted to different soils. From these Virg. has to all appearance selected very indiscriminately. Thus, the stones in Theophr. answer different purposes, being used both to collect the water about the roots and to draw it off from them, according to the temperature of the soil. Nothing is said about the porousness of the stones, and the word which seemed to answer to 'bibulum,' *ποτιμός*, occurs as an epithet of *ἄμμος*, sand. The 'conchae' are not mentioned, unless we suppose this to be a mistranslation of *δοτράκων*. The *δοτράκων* in Theophr. is to be used to keep together the earth which is to be laid round the root of the shoot. The word would be naturally translated in Latin by 'testa,' but the use to which the 'testa' is here put, v. 351, does not correspond; and mention is made by Theophr. of a practice of burying a *κέραμος* full of water by the side of the root. Col. l. c. supposes Virg. to mean that stones were to be placed about the root to keep off heat and cold; though he himself recommends the practice as preventing the roots of one tree from becoming entangled with those of another. 'Aut:' Keightley remarks that the alternative is singular. But it seems to come from Theophr. l. c., who mentions stones, not the 'lapis bibulus,' as performing something of the same office as manure. 'Lapis bibulus' is "lapis harenarius," sandstone, according to Serv. 'Squalentis,' rough; the primary meaning of the word. Comp. Lucr. 2. 422—425, where "squalor" is the opposite of "laevis." Rough shells would leave interstices for the water. ['Sibulum' Pal. for 'bibulum.'—H. N.]

Aut lapidem bibulum, aut squalentis infode conchas,
 Inter enim labentur aquae, tenuisque subibit
 Halitus, atque animos tollent sata; iamque reperti, 350
 Qui saxo super atque ingentis pondere testae
 Urgerent; hoc effusos munimen ad imbres,
 Hoc, ubi hiulca siti findit canis aestifer arva.
 Seminibus positis, superest diducere terram
 Saepius ad capita, et duros iactare bidentis, 355

349.] 'Tenuis halitus:' comp. "tenuis pluviae" 1. 92.

350.] 'Halitus,' probably from the evaporation of the water. 'Animos tollent:' "Postquam filiolum peperit, animos sustulit," Plaut. Truc. 2. 8. 10. In A. 9. 127 it is used of raising the spirits of another. 'Iamque,' and before now. 'Iam' = ἤδη. "Vidi iam iuvenem, premeret cum senior aetas, Maerentem stultos praeteriisse dies," Tibull. 1. 4. 33. 'Reperti,' like "quid dicam," 1. 104, &c., a merely rhetorical climax.

351.] 'Super' goes with 'urgerent.' It can hardly be meant that the stone or potsherd is to be laid on the plant, which would then be likely to be crushed, so that we must suppose that they are intended to overhang it. Theophr. means them to be put at the side of it. Mr. Long says, "The 'testa' will prevent the earth from being washed away, a necessary precaution when the vines are on a slope: and it also prevents the ground round the roots from being parched and made hard." 'Atque' is disjunctive. For 'ingentis' Med. a m. pr. and another MS. give 'ingenti,' and so Nonius p. 418 a. v. 'Urgere.'

352.] 'Hoc . . . hoc' is a repetition, not a distinction. 'Ad,' πρὸς, with a view to, and in the case of things to be avoided, against.

353.] 'Hiulca siti:' proleptic. "When the sultry dog-star splits the thirsty jaws of the soil." Catull. 68. 62. "Cum gravis exustus aestus hiulcat agros." ['Scindit' Pal. for 'findit.' 'Aestifer' Pal. (aestus-pario) and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

354—361.] 'When the sets are planted, dig and plough the ground thoroughly, and make poles and rods to assist the vines in climbing.'

354.] 'Seminibus positis:' he seems now to be speaking exclusively of the vines. 'Deducere' is the reading of most of the MSS., including Med. Rom. has 'diducere,' which seems alone

suited to the sense, meaning 'to break' and 'loosen.' "Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto." Juv. 10. 153. The question, as has been remarked before, was really one of orthography to the copyists. Mr. Blackburn however prefers 'deducere,' supposing the precept to be that the earth is to be constantly hoed up to the stems, the rains washing it away and exposing the roots. For the precept see Col. 4. 3, § 2, Arb. 13.

355.] 'Caput' is clearly used for the root of the tree, a sense which it has repeatedly in Cato, e. g. c. 33, "capita vitium per sementim ablaqueato; . . . circum capita addito sterous; . . . circum capita sarrito." Comp. Aristot. de Long. et Brev. Vitae 6. 7, τὸ γὰρ ἄνω τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ κεφαλὴ ὀλεῖται. He has before used κεφαλοβαρῆ of trees with heavy roots. In Col. 3. 10, &c., and in Cic. De Sen. 15, 'caput' bears a totally different sense, the upper branches of the vine. So the word has opposite senses as applied to rivers: see on 4. 319. The 'bidentis' is a two-pronged hoe, with a head weighing about ten pounds, and used more like a pickaxe than a hoe, whence 'iactare' (Keightley). The weight is denoted by "valido consueta bidenti Ingemere," Lucr. 5. 208. 'Duros,' massive; but used in this connexion the word denotes that the work is to be severe and the work done thoroughly, like the epithets in vv. 237, 264. Col. 3. 13 mentions digging and ploughing as alternatives, the distance between the rows being regulated according to the employment of one or the other, from five to seven feet where there is digging, from seven to ten where there is ploughing. 'Iactare:' the verb seems to imply difficulty in wielding the implement, the workman being glad, as it were, to dismiss it from his hand, as the frequentative denotes that it is to be done constantly nevertheless, so that both point to thorough unremitting work.

Aut presso exercere solum sub vomere, et ipsa
 Flectere luctantes inter vineta iuvencos ;
 Tum levis calamos et rasae hastilia virgae
 Fraxineasque aptare sudes, furcasque valentis,
 Viribus eniti quarum et contemnere ventos
 Adsuescant, summasque sequi tabulata per ulmos.

360

Ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas,
 Parcendum teneris, et, dum se laetus ad auras
 Palmes agit laxis per purum immissus habenis,

356.] How little confidence can be placed in a single copyist, even of a first-rate MS., is shown by the fact that the original reading of the end of this line in Med. is 'submoveret ipsa.'

357.] 'Flectere,' i.e. to plough across as well as up and down the lines of vines; "Transversis adversisque sulcis." Col. 1. c. This was made possible by the regular intersecting avenues. Comp. vv. 277 foll. notes. In that case, according to Col., ten feet every way were left in planting; but he adds that this only answers where the soil is unusually productive. 'Vineta': the word is used in its proper sense, the plural being natural in a precept,—'Up and down your vineyards.' 'Luctantis,' like 'saepius,' 'duros,' and 'presso,' denotes the pains that are to be bestowed.

358.] This would almost correspond to the training of espalier vines ("pedatio," "iugatio"), described by Col. 4. 12, &c. But it is clear from v. 361 that the "arbusta" are still referred to. The 'calami' seem to be the "harundines" of Varro 1. 8, which were used for the "iuga," or cross pieces, the 'rasae hastilia virgae,' spear-like wands made of peeled rods, the "hastilia de vepribus" of Columella. Pal. has 'rassa' ('rasa').

359.] The 'sudes' and 'furcae,' as Mr. Blackburn says, are probably the upright pieces, which are forked at the top, the other being inserted in them horizontally. 'Valentis' is the reading of Med., Rom., and others. Heyne has 'bicornis' (so Verona fragm. and Canon. a m. pr.), which, as Wagn. remarks, is a mistaken repetition from 1. 264.

360.] 'Quarum viribus,' abl. instrum., like "quarum auxilio." 'Eniti,' climb. Comp. v. 427, "ad sidera raptim Vi propria nituntur." 'Inniti,' the reading of Canon. (a m. pr.), would be less forcible.

361.] 'Tabulata,' stories, were the successive branches of the elm to which the vines were trained, the intermediate boughs being removed; they were to be at least three feet apart, and were not to be in the same perpendicular line, lest the cluster hanging from the 'tabulatum' above should be injured by that below. Col. 5. 6.

362—370.] 'When the vine is quite young, leave it alone: when it begins to shoot out its branches, pluck off the superfluous leaves with the hand; when it has come to its strength, then, and not till then, use the knife.'

362.] The pruning of the vine, "putatio" or "pampinatio." 'Novis frondibus' is probably the ablative. Comp. Lucr. 3. 449, "Inde ubi robustis adolevit viribus aetas." 'Parcendum teneris:' the same precept is given by Theophr. (C. P. 3. 9) and Cato (33), but Col. (4. 11) condemns it. With the structure of the passage Forb. comp. A. 7. 354 foll.

363.] There are three periods, 1. when you must leave the young vine entirely alone, 2. when you may pluck off the leaves but not use the knife, 3. when you may use the knife. 'Laetus' seems to qualify 'agit,' as if it had been "laetum." Comp. A. 1. 314, 439., 2. 388. 'While the vine-branch is pushing its way exultingly into the sky, launched into the void in full career.'

364.] 'Agit' is here used of growing upwards, as of growing downwards in the phrase "radices agere." Comp. the language about the "aesculus," vv. 291, 292. 'Laxis,' &c.: comp. Lucr. 5. 786, "Arboribusque datum est variis exinde per auras Crescendi magnum immissis certamen habenis." 'Per purum' occurs Hor. 1 Od. 34. 7, for a cloudless sky, like "pura sub nocte." E. 9. 44. Used in this sense here, the word would be a rather unmeaning piece of picturesque,

Ipsa acie nondum falcis temptanda, sed uncis 365
 Carpendae manibus frondes, interque legendae.
 Inde ubi iam validis amplexae stirpibus ulmos
 Exierint, tum stringe comas, tum braccia tonde;
 Ante reformidant ferrum; tum denique dura
 Exerce imperia, et ramos compesce fluentes. 370
 Texendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum,
 Praecipue dum frons tenera imprudensque laborum;
 Cui super indignas hiemes solemque potentem

so that if we make it any thing more than a synonyme for "aether," we must suppose the reference to be to the freedom of the empty sky, like "pura terra" of a cleared soil, "purus locus" of ground not built on, "purae plateae" of unobstructed streets, especially as Virg. has already stated it to be an object that the branches should be allowed to expatiate, 5. 287, "in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami." Comp. "aëra per vacuum," 3. 109 note. 'Immissus,' launched freely into the air; though the word is evidently taken from "immissis habenis" in Lucr., which is represented by 'laxis,' according to Virg.'s habit of hinting at one mode of expression while actually using another.

365.] 'Ipsa,' sc. "vitis," as distinguished from the leaves. For the ellipse, comp. "quaeque," v. 270. 'Acie' is the reading of Med. a. m. pr., Rom., Verona fragm. corrected, and Gud.; Pal. and Med. a. m. s. have 'acies.' The origin of the correction, which is older than the time of Serv., is obvious. 'Temptanda' may perhaps imply a dangerous experiment.

366.] 'Interlegendae,' picked out.

367.] Med. (second reading) and some other MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) have 'viribus' for 'stirpibus.'

368.] 'Exierint,' shot up. Comp. v. 81, "Exiit ad caelum . . . arbos." Med. and Rom. have 'tunc' twice in this verse, and Rom. 'tunc' in the next: see however on v. 317 above.

369.] 'Tum denique' here = "tum deumum": 'denique' answering to 'ante' here as to "antea" in Cic. ad. Fam. 9. 14, "Tantum accessit ad eum amorem, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse."

370.] 'Then is the time to set up a strong government, and keep down the luxuriance of the boughs.' With the

metaphor in 'imperia,' comp. 1. 99. There is the same feeling in Shakspeare. Richard II. Act. 3. Sc. 4, Go thou, and like an executioner, Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,

That look too lofty in our commonwealth: All must be equal in our government. For 'fluentes' Rom. has 'valentis.'

371—397.] 'The cattle should be kept from the vines when young. Buffaloes and roes are worse enemies to them than scorching heat or killing cold. Hence the goat has been from time immemorial sacrificed to Bacchus, both in Attica, at the Dionysia, and in our Italian vintage rejoicings.'

371.] Serv. mentions another reading, 'Texendae saepes et iam pecus omne tenendum,' which accounts for the omission of 'et' before 'pecus' in Med. a. m. p. and some other copies. 'Tenendum,' here not 'shut in,' but 'shut out.' Comp. the double meaning of *εἰργεν* and "arcere." Rom. and another MSS. have 'tuendum,' which has a different sense: see on v. 195. Some MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) add 'est,' which was the reading before Heins.

372.] ['Praeterea' Nonius p. 486, for 'praecipue.'—H. N.] 'Laborum,' trials. Comp. v. 343 above, note.

373.] 'Super,' besides, not more than. The comparison comes in v. 376. 'Indignas': Serv. on E. 10. 10, quotes "indignas turris" from Ennius in the sense of "magnas." If this is true, which without the context it may be unsafe to assume on the authority of Serv., the idea must be that of immoderateness, already noticed in the case of "improbis." It may here however be very well explained with reference to the tenderness of the young vine, and rendered 'cruel.' The plural 'hiemes' may mean either winters or winter weather, just as "soles" may mean either summers or sunny days.

Silvestres uri adsidue capreaeque sequaces
 Inludunt, pascuntur oves avidaeque iuvencae. 375
 Frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina,
 Aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas,
 Quantum illi nocuere greges, durique venenum
 Dentis, et admorso signata in stirpe cicatrix.
 Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris 380

There is the same doubt in Hor. 3 Od. 1. 32. 'Solemque potentem:' comp. 1. 92, "rapidae potentia solis." We may render 'oppressive' or 'tyrannous.'

374.] 'Uri:' the 'urus' was properly a wild animal mentioned by Caesar (B. G. 6. 28) and Pliny (8. 38.) as a native of the Hercynian forest in Germany. Here and in S. 532 the name is applied to the buffaloes of Italy. 'Capreae' Pal., Verona fragm., Gud., and doubtless Rom., which has 'capraeae;' 'caprae' Med., which Wagn. prefers, partly from a mistaken notion of its superior authority. It seems more like the manner of Virg. to keep the arch-offender, the goat, to the last (v. 380), and then to indicate his crime rather than mention it plainly, at the same time that the description of his punishment and the attendant circumstances keeps him prominently before the reader's mind. See notes on S. 237., E. 6. 29. For the fondness of roes for vines, comp. Hor. 2 S. 4. 43, "Vinea summittit capreas non semper edulis." 'Sequaces' means persecuting, at the same time that it seems to give a picture of the deer climbing the rock, as it were, after the vine, which cannot escape even there. With the reading 'caprae' Wagn. well comp. E. 2. 64, "Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella."

375.] 'Inludunt,' disport themselves with it. 'Pascuntur,' &c.: the commentators repeat "quam" from 'cui;' but the passage is probably parallel to vv. 207, 208 (note), the only difference being the absence of the conjunction here which is found there.

376.] Comp. Lucr. 3. 20, "nix acri concreta pruina." Virg. in borrowing the expression has rather awkwardly changed "nix" into 'frigora,' which can hardly be said to be congealed by frost. 'No cold that hoar frost ever congealed, no summer that ever smote heavily on the parching rocks, has been so fatal to it as the herds, and the venom of their sharp tooth, and the wound impressed on the stem that they have gnawed to the

quick.'

377.] 'Scopulis;' referring to the vineyards on the terraced rocks. So v. 522, "Mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis."

378.] The commentators do not say whether 'illi' is to be taken as nominative with 'greges,' or as dative after 'nocuere.' The latter seems neater. 'Venenum dentis:' comp. v. 196, "urentis culta capellas."

379.] The MSS. present a variety of readings, Pal. having 'admorsum,' Rom. 'admorsu,' Med. 'a morso' altered into 'a morsu,' while Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives (one corrected) give 'admorso.' This seems to show that in early times there were four rival readings, 'ad morsum,' 'a morsu,' 'amorso,' 'admorso.' The third, though obviously a "vox nihili," and probably arising from the spelling 'ammorso,' may perhaps have been read by Serv., whose comment is "participium est, ac si diceret abroso," though the last word may be an error for 'adroso.' Ribbeck restores the first. But there can be no question that the fourth, which is the common text, is right, the termination, as Heyne suggests, having probably been altered by copyists who found a difficulty in the gender. 'Stirps,' as used by Virg., is masc. in its literal, fem. in its transferred sense. [See Fest. p. 313, and Non. p. 226, who shew that the ancient writers were not so strict.—H. N.] It seems doubtful whether 'ad' in 'admordeo' intensifies, as in "adamo," or weakens, as apparently in "accido," in which latter case the preposition might either denote near completion, or have a local force, 'bitten about,' not 'bitten through.'

380.] For the custom, see Varro, R. R. 1. 2, and Ovid's translation of the well-known lines of Evenus, F. 1. 353. The reason assigned is probably fictitious, as appears from the fact that the goat, though it gnawed the olive, was especially forbidden to be offered to Pallas. 'Omnibus aris,' as we should say, universally.

Caeditur, et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi,
 Praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum
 Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti
 Mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.
 Nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni
 Versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto,
 Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis,

385

381.] 'Et' couples its clause with the verbal only, not with the adverbial part of the clause preceding. 'Proascaenia,' *προσκήνιον*, is the same as *λογεῖον*, or the stage; *σκηνή* being the scene. Dict. A. 'Theatrum.'

382.] Heyne, to carry 'non aliam ob culpam' through the sentence and preserve the continuity, takes 'praemia' to be in apposition to "caprum" understood. But this is too artificial; the words 'veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi' intervene, and a digression is inevitable at v. 385. At the same time we may say that in 'praemia,' as in 'utres,' the goat, though neither expressed nor understood grammatically, is alluded to. 'Ingeniis' Rom., 'ingentis' Med., Pal., Gud., and another of Ribbeck's cursives. Philarg. mentions both. The latter was the reading before Burm., 'ingentes' being connected with 'Thesidae.' But the fact that 'ingentis,' not 'ingentes,' is the form given by Ribbeck's MSS. which support the reading, with one exception, is itself a strong argument for 'ingeniis,' unless we adopt an ingenious conjecture of Ribbeck's own, 'in gentis.' 'Ingenia' may mean simply 'genius,' 'men of genius,' or 'works of genius;' and where three shades of meaning are so close and so equally applicable, it seems impossible to say positively which was uppermost in the writer's mind. 'Pagos et compita,' the scene of the Paganalia and Compitalia, appear to be the Roman equivalent of *κατ' ἀγρούς*. Comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 1. 49, "Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax Magna coronari contemnat Olympia?" But it would be hazardous to presume that Virg. accurately distinguished between the various Dionysiac festivals. 'Caper' seems to point to *τραγῆδια*, and 'pagos' to the common derivation of *κωμῆδια* from *κῶμη*. It is possible, too, that the poet may confuse the two ancient accounts of the origin of *τραγῆδια*, that from the sacrifice of the goat and that from the custom of giving

the goat as a prize.

383.] 'Thesidae:' the Athenians are called *Θησεῖδαι* by Soph. Oed. Col. 1067, and *Θήσεως τόκοι* by Aesch. Eum. 462. Comp. also Eum. 1026. 'Inter pocula laeti,' in their drunken jollity. We need not press 'inter' so as to mean in the intervals of drinking. Persius has "inter pocula" 1, 30, "inter vina" 3. 100. "In poculis" occurs Cic. de Sen. 14.

384.] 'Unctos saluere per utres,' the *ἀσκαλιασμός*, or game of dancing on the oiled skin of the he-goat which had been sacrificed. Dict. A. *ἀσκάλια*. ['Saliers' Rom. and Med. corrected for 'saluere.'—H. N.]

385.] This and the following lines appear to refer to the "Fescennina licentia" (Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 140) after the vintage, and not to the Liberalia at Rome on the 13th of March, for which see Ov. F. 3. 713 foll.; but it is not easy to speak positively. 'Troia gens missa' is a foreshadowing of the Aeneid, at the same that it intimates here that the Italian festivities are not borrowed from Greece. With the construction comp. "Curibus parvis et paupere terra missus," A. 6. 811.

386.] 'Versibus incomptis,' perhaps the "horridus ille Saturnius numerus" of Horace, 2 Ep. 1. 157, which, whatever may have been its precise nature, a question about which there is a very great variety of opinion, too great to be even glanced at here, appears to have been the national metre of Italy before the introduction of the metres of Greece; though even this is disputed by some, who maintain that no one kind of metre was designated by the epithet, which they consider to have been a term of as vague and general application as 'incomptus' here, as we should say 'old world.'

387.] 'Corticibus cavatis' abl. of the material. The bark, being naturally curved, forms a hollow when stripped from the tree. 'Os' for the mask, like *πρόσωπον*.

Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibi que
Oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.

Hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu, 390

Complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundi,
Et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.

Ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem

Carminibus patriis, lancesque et liba feremus, 395

Et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram,
Pinguiaque in veribus torrebimus exta columnis.

Est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,

388.] 'Per carmina laeta' may be either 'in the course of,' 'as they sing,' 'glad hymns,' or 'invoke you by glad hymns.'

389.] 'Oscilla' (dim. of "os" through "osculum") were faces of Bacchus which were hung on trees that they might turn every way with the wind in order to spread fertility every way. See Dict. A. 'oscillum,' where a representation of the 'oscilla' is given from an ancient gem. Serv. [comp. Fest. p. 194 M.], mentions various opinions, one of them connecting 'oscilla' with the Attic *ἀλφα* (Dict. A.), a festival which seems to have been *ὀδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*, another of a more mystic nature, which supposes the rites of Bacchus to symbolize the purification of the soul, the swinging of the 'oscilla' representing the third and highest of the three modes of physical purification, by water, by fire, and by air. 'Mollia' is explained by Heyne and others as = "mobilia," 'easily swayed by the wind,' 'waving:' but it may be doubted whether any parallel instance can be adduced, though a similar sense is given by some to "pilentis mollibus" A. 8. 666. The word is doubtless a derivative of "moveo:" but its physical sense appears to be restricted to things the parts of which yield to the touch. Perhaps then we shall do better to understand the word with Mr. Yates in Dict. A., 'oscillum' of the beautiful, mild, and propitious expression of the god's face, like 'caput honestum.' Ladewig assumes that the 'oscilla' were of wax: but the one mentioned in Dict. A. is of white marble, though in a rustic festival we may suppose that some commoner material would be used.

390.] 'Pubescit:' comp. Theocr. 5. 109, *Μὴ μὲν λαβάνῃσθε τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐντὶ γὰρ ἄβαι*. This and the two following lines may seem to point to a festival before the

vintage: but they may naturally mean that the honours paid to Bacchus in a thanksgiving festival ensure a large yield for the ensuing year.

391.] 'Complentur,' teem. Lucretius uses the word of the conception of women. There seems no sufficient reason to restrict the description in this line to vineyards, though such a restriction would accord with vv. 4 foll., which are somewhat parallel.

392.] 'Honestum,' comely. On the beauty attributed to the Greek Bacchus, see Dict. B. 'Dionysus.' The look of Bacchus fertilizes the country, as that of Jupiter (A. 1. 255) calms the sky.

393.] 'Honorem,' for a hymn, as for a sacrifice A. 1. 53, "aris imponit honorem."

394.] 'Patriis,' to show that the Roman worship of Bacchus was time-honoured as well as the Greek: comp. v. 385, "Troia gens missa." It may also imply the use of the national measure; see on v. 386. 'Lances' probably for the 'exta,' as in v. 194. Others suppose a hendiadys, "liba in lancibus." 'Liba:' Ov. F. 3. 761, "Melle pater (Bacchus) fruitur: liboque infusa calenti Iure repertori candida mella damus." This however is said of the Liberalia.

395.] 'Ductus,' implying that the animal was led, not dragged, which was unlucky, and 'stabit' (comp. "statuo," "constituo") are words appropriate to sacrifice, though we need not suppose with the commentators that their use here necessarily denotes that the offering would be propitious. 'Sacer,' devoted.

396.] 'Columnis:' Serv. says that hazel spits were used because the hazel was injurious to the vine. Comp. v. 299.

397—419.] 'The dressing of the vine is an interminable labour: the ground has constantly to be broken up: when

Cui numquam exhausti satis est : namque omne quot annis
 Terque quaterque solum scindendum, glæbaque versis
 Aeternum frangenda bidentibus ; omne levandum 400
 Fronde nemus. Redit agricolis labor actus in orbem,
 Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.
 Ac iam olim seras posuit cum vinea frondes,

the leaves are shed the work of pruning begins: fastenings have to be provided: and when pruning and tying up are over, you have still to use the hoe, and still live in dread of storms.

397.] 'Curandis,' dressing. The word is used by Cato, R. R. 33, for all the operations subsequent to planting. 'Alter' must refer to what has just gone before, 'Texendae saepes etiam,' &c. With the first words of the line comp. 3. 425.

398.] 'Exhausti:' the participle is construed like a substantive. As Serv. says, 'exhausti' = "exhaustiois." Comp. such usages as "Prius quam incipias consulto; et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est," Sall. Cat. 1. In prose we might have had "cuius numquam satis exhaustum est." But here, apparently for the sake of poetic variation, the participle instead of being the predicate is made the genitive, while the labour is in a manner personified and made the exacting power. "Which is never satisfied by exhaustion." Comp. A. 9, 356, "Poenarum exhaustum satis est," where however the resemblance is merely external. 'Namque' has here much of the force of "nempe," resembling, as Wund. remarks, the use of γάρ in such passages as Thuc. 1. 3, δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸδε . . . πρὸ γὰρ κ.τ.λ., but it also justifies 'cui numquam exhausti satis est.' ['Exhaustis' Med., 'Quodannis' Pal. and Rom. and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

399.] It seems doubtful whether both these clauses are to be understood of the 'bidens,' the prongs of which are used to loosen the ground, the back, 'versis,' to break the clods so turned up, or whether a distinction is intended between ploughing and hoeing, the former of which processes is to be frequently repeated, the latter never intermitted. Supposing the distinction to be meant, Virg. will be speaking of the two kinds of vineyards, calculated respectively for ploughing and digging: see on v. 355. 'Scindere' is commonly used of the plough, 1. 50, 3. 160. Col. 4. 4 says that the number of times the soil ought to be loosened can-

not be defined—the more the better.

401.] 'Nemus' like 'silvis,' v. 404, and perhaps 'umbra,' v. 410, seem to be used of the supporting trees in the "arbustum," as in v. 308 above. It may be doubted whether 'labor actus' is to be taken with Heyne and others of past labour, the same tasks recurring yearly, or 'actus' connected with 'in orbem,' moving in a ring. In vv. 516 foll. we have the other side of the picture, the constant succession of the fruits of the husbandman's toil.

402.] 'Atque:' this is one of those instances where the copulative is employed in the place of a conjunction denoting a more special connexion. Perhaps the largest number of these instances is where the relation intended is that of time, "et" or "atque" standing in the place of "cum." Here it is that of accordance, 'atque' having the force of 'even as.' Comp. the use of "atque" in comparisons, and in such expressions as "simul atque." The usage is one which belongs to the ante-logical period of language, whence it is naturally adopted by the poets. Here we may say that the sense is as though the clauses had been inverted,—'The year rolls on, and the husbandman's labours come round again with it.' Comp. the Greek ἐνιαυτός, as explained by Plato (Crat. p. 410 d), and the less questionable explanation of 'annus' as originally meaning a ring. Varius had said of the world "sua se volvens in vestigia" (fab. inc. 1, Ribbeck).

403.] 'Iam olim:' the choice seems to lie between taking 'iam olim' together as equivalent to 'iamdudum' and to 'iam tum' below (comp. πάλα), and connecting 'olim' with 'cum,' in the sense of "illo tempore cum," as in Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 122, "Primum omnium, olim terra quom proscinditur In quinto quocue sulco moriuntur boves," and like "olim ubi," A. 5. 125. Each way seems open to some objection. 'Olim' for "dudum" is apparently post-Augustan; while 'olim cum' appears commonly to be used for indefinite, not for definite occurrences.

Frigidus et silvis aquilo decussit honorem,
 Iam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum 405
 Rusticus, et curvo Saturni dente relictam
 Persequitur vitem attondens fingitque putando.
 Primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato
 Sarmenta, et vallos primus sub tecta referto;
 Postremus metito. Bis vitibus ingruit umbra; 410
 Bis segetem deusis obducunt sentibus herbae;
 Durus uterque labor: laudato ingentia rura,

Comp. however "cum olim," 3. 303. 'Posuit,' has shed. Comp. 3. 437, "positis novus exuviis."

404.] This line is borrowed from Varro Atacinus, according to Serv. Horace has the same phrase, perhaps from the same source, Epod. 11. 6, "December silvis honorem decutit."

405.] Med. has 'extendet.'

406.] For 'rusticus' Rom. has 'agricola.' 'Curvo Saturni dente:' Saturn was regularly represented with a pruning-knife in his hand. Juv. 13. 39 represents him as assuming it after his expulsion from his throne. 'Dens' is used of any curved implement. See Forc. 'Relictam' may be either 'stripped of its foliage' (for which however it is difficult to find an exact parallel), or, as Serv. takes it, the vine which he has left, in other words 'he returns to the vine.'

407.] 'Persequitur' like "insectabere" of exterminating weeds, l. 155, "insequitur" of following up sowing by levelling the soil, ib. 105. It is conceivable however that Virg. may have wished to imitate the Greek use of διατελεῖν with a participle. 'Fingitque putando:' comp. A. 6. 80, "fingitque premendo," moulds it to his will. The word is specially used of clay moulded by the potter. Comp. Pers. 3. 24, "Nunc, nunc properandus et acri Fingendus sine fine rota," and the word "figulus." 'Putando:' Col. (4. 4) includes under this term the "ablaqueatio," which consisted in laying open the roots and cutting away all suckers springing from them within a foot and a half of the surface. Cerdà however understands 'attondens' here of "ablaqueatio."

408.] Digging was constantly to go on, so that he that began first would do best: carting away and burning the branches is an occupation which suits no one time more than another, and so the sooner it is

done the better; the vine-poles, if allowed to remain out, would suffer from the weather. Taubm. quotes Cato 5, who lays down as a general rule "Opera omnia mature conficias face: nam res rustica sic est: si unam rem sero feceris, opera omnia sero feceris." On the other hand, the more thoroughly ripe the grapes, as Keightley says, the better the wine.

409.] 'Sarmenta,' the prunings of the vine. Festus derives the word from an ancient verb "sarpo," to prune, probably connected with ἀρῶν. In a secondary sense it is used simply for the branches of the vine. 'Devecta,' as in v. 207. 'Vallos,' the vine-poles. Varro, R. R. 1. 8, "Ibi dominus simul ac vidit occipitium vindemiatoris furcillas reducit hibernatum in tecta, ut sine sumptu earum opera altero anno uti possit." It would seem at first sight that 'vallos' must refer to espalier vines. But comp. vv. 358-361, where "sudes" is convertible with 'vallos.'

410.] 'Metito,' of vines, like "segēs," "serere," "semina," Heyne. Comp. 4. 231, where "messis" is used of collecting honey. 'Bis:' in spring and autumn. 'Umbra' may refer to the shade of the elm or other supporting tree. Col. 4. 27 however uses "umbras compescere," speaking of the foliage of the vine.

411.] 'Segetem,' the vineyard, or perhaps the vines. 'Obducunt' is rather for the former. 'Sentibus,' briars. 'Herbae' must be used in a wide sense, as in Cic. De Div. 1. 34, "Herbae asperae et agrestes." The weeding ("runcatio") appears to have taken place at the same time as the pruning. Pal. has 'inducunt.'

412.] 'Uterque labor:' not the double labour in spring and autumn, but the double labour of "pampinatio" and "runcatio." 'Laudato . . . colito:' the form of the expression is evidently taken from Hes. Works 643, Νῆ' ἀλγῆν ἀνείν, μετὰ δ' ἐν φάρια θέσθαι, where it is not easy to

Exiguum colito. Nec non etiam aspera rusci
 Vimina per silvam, et ripis fluvialis harundo
 Caeditur, incultique exercet cura salicti.
 Iam vinctae vites, iam falcem arbusta reponunt,
 Iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes :
 Sollicitanda tamen tellus, pulvisque movendus,

415

see the point of the epigram. Here the point is obvious, the larger estate being *prima facie* the best, and large estates being the fashion in Italy, as we learn from Pliny 18. 35, who complains that in his time the "latifundia" had ruined Italy. 'Laudato' does not itself mean "reicito;" if it did there would be no force in the antithesis. Still the same feeling is at the root of this use of the word and that of *ἐλαφύς* in Greek for to decline, the feeling, namely, which appears in our use of the word 'compliment.' The connexion here is that as the work is so exacting, a small estate is better than a large one. [Serv. says the same precept was given by Cato to his son.—H. N.] Col. 1. 3, §§ 8 foll., after quoting these words of Virg., says, "Quippe acutissimam gentem Poenos dixisse convenit, imbecilliores agrum quam agricolam esse debere, quoniam, cum sit collectandum cum eo, si fundus praevaleat, adlidi dominum. Nec dubium quin minus reddat latus ager non recte cultus, quam angustus eximie." He speaks of the old Roman feeling against dividing conquered lands among a few, "nec magis quia superbum videbatur tantum loci detinere, quam quia flagitiosum, quos hostis profugiendo desolasset agros, novo more civem Romanum supra vires patrimonii possidendo deserere;" and contrasts the modern practice, "prae-potentium, qui possident finis gentium, quos ne circumire equis quidem valent, sed proculcandos pecudibus, et vastandos ac populandos feris derelinquunt, aut occupatos nexu civium et ergastulis tenent."

413.] 'Rusci,' butchers' broom. Butchers' broom, reeds, and willows are to be cut for tying up the vine.

415.] 'Salicti:' comp. 1. 265, "Aut Amerina parat lentae retinacula viti." 'Inculti' would seem to show that the 'cura' can be only that of cutting them: but they also required pruning, Pliny 17. 142.

416.] 'Reponunt' = "reponi sinunt."

The language passes from precept to the liveliness of narrative. ['Victae' Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.]

417.] This is the reading of Med. (first reading), Rom., Pal., and Gud., restored by Wagn. Heyne, with all the odd. after the Aldine, gives 'extremos effectus,' whether on any external authority is not ascertained. The MSS. exhibit great variety, ringing changes on the order of the words, on 'effectus' and 'effectus,' and on the terminations 'os' and 'us.' What Serv. read is doubtful. ['Antes' is explained by Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 16 M.) as = "extremi ordines vinearum," the last or furthest rows of the vines; Serv. gives this explanation, as well as another, which is found also in Nonius, p. 25 and Philarg. here, according to which 'antes' means the walls of the vineyard, or more properly the stones projecting at the corners of the walls. The Berne scholia mention all these views. Here probably the meaning is 'extremi ordines,' Philarg. quotes from Cato De Re Militari "pedites quattuor agminibus, equites duobus antibus duces"; in two lines.—H. N.] 'Effectos,' completed. So Quint. 10. 5 opposes "materia effecta" to "inco-hata." The rows are said to be completed because the vine-dresser has been through all and done what is necessary for each. 'Extremus,' the last. Comp. v. 410, "Postremus metito." The vine-dresser sings like the "frondator," E. 1. 56.

418.] 'Tamen:' 'after all this work is done you will still have to stir the ground,' &c. The "pulveratio" appears to have been a distinct process founded on the belief that dust was beneficial to vines. Palladius (3. 7) says that the process requires repeating at the beginning of every month from March till October. Pliny (17. 189) says, "Fossione pulverem excitatum contra soles nebulasque prodesset." Comp. also Col. Arb. 82. This notion may be referred to in the next line, as 'metuendus' of course implies that precautions must be taken.

Et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis.

Contra non ulla est oleis cultura; neque illae 420

Procurvam expectant falcem rastrosque tenaces,

Cum semel haeserunt arvis aurasque tulerunt;

Ipsa satis tellus, cum dente recluditur unco,

Sufficit umorem et gravidas cum vomere fruges.

Hoc pinguem et placitam Paci nutritor olivam. 425

Poma quoque, ut primum truncos sensere valentis

Et vires habuere suas, ad sidera raptim

Vi propria nituntur opisque haut indiga nostrae.

Nec minus interea fetu nemus omne gravescit,

419.] It may be doubted whether 'metuendus uvis' here, like "apibus metuenda" 4. 37, means 'an object of terror to the grapes,' or 'an object of terror [to the vine-dresser] for the grapes.'

420—425.] 'Olives on the contrary want no tending, when once fairly started. Plough the ground, and it will do all for them.'

420.] 'Non ulla' is a rhetorical exaggeration. They do not need the same constant attention as the vine. Rom. and some others have 'nonnulla,' an obvious error, though mentioned by Serv.

421.] 'Tenacis,' tearing up the ground, like the "bidens."

422.] 'Haeserunt arvis:' when they have once taken hold of the ground: i.e. after having been transplanted from the "seminarium," Heyne. 'Aurasque tulerunt:' so "contemnere ventos," v. 360. Comp. also vv. 332—335. The meaning here is, when they are strong enough to weather the breezes.

423.] 'Satis,' the dat. of 'sata,' put for olives, as for vines above, v. 350. There seems no ground for making a distinction between 'dente unco' and 'vomere.' 'Dens' may stand for 'vomere,' as we have "vomereis dentem," l. 262. Comp. "dentale."

424.] 'Cum vomere:' 'cum' seems here to express close connexion not so much of time as of causation, a sense which may be illustrated by the opposite "sine." We might say, 'as sure as the ploughshare is put in the ground.' [So Urbanus ap. Serv. "statim post arationem."—H. N.] Vooss and Ribbeck read 'quum vomere,' sc. 'recluditur,' making an antithesis between 'dente unco,' which they interpret "bidens," and 'vomere.' But this is very flat, and no opposition can be

imagined between 'umorem' and 'gravidas fruges.' Col. (5. 9, § 12) however recommends the use of the plough and of the "bidens." In the same chapter he gives a precept (§ 15), "Nam veteris proverbii meminisse convenit; eum, qui aret olivetum, rogare fructum; qui stercoret, exorare; qui caedat (putet) cogere."

425.] 'Hoc' is generally taken 'on this account,' like τῷ in Hom., a usage found in Lucr. and Hor.; but I prefer understanding it with Benson and Martyn, 'by this,' sc. "arando," 'with this and this only,' 'this will be enough,' especially as "pinguem et placitam Paci" seem to express the effect of 'nutritor' ("nutritor ut pinguis sit," &c. E. 6. 4 note). 'Do this, and rear the olive to the fatness which makes it Pease's darling.' 'Nutritor:' [the deponent form is quoted by Nonius, p. 478, from Lucilius: comp. Priscian 8. p. 798. P. Med. and Pal. have 'nutritur,' a variant recognized by the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

426—428.] 'Fruit trees too, when they have got their strength, take care of themselves.'

426.] The metaphor seems to be from an adult man feeling his limbs strong under him. It is carried on through the rest of the sentence.

427.] Raptim = "rapide." See on l. 409. With the sense comp. vv. 80 foll.

428.] 'Que' couples the adverbial substantive with the adverbial adjective. Comp. A. 6. 640, "Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit Purpureo." 'Que' is however omitted by some MSS., including Rom.

429—457.] 'The forest trees have their uses too, the small as well as the great, so that men may well take heart and cultivate them; nay, they are even worthier

Sanguineisque inculta rubent aviaria baxis. 430
 Tondentur cytisi, taedas silva alta ministrat,
 Pascunturque ignes nocturni et lumina fundunt.
 Et dubitant homines serere atque inpendere curam?
 Quid maiora sequar? salices humilesque genistae,
 Aut illae pecori frondem aut pastoribus umbras 435
 Sufficiunt, saepemque satis et pabula melli.
 Et iuvat undantem buxo spectare Cytorum
 Naryciaeque picis lucos, iuvat arva videre

than the vine, which may be a curse as well as a blessing."

429.] 'Nec minus:' equally with the trees that have been named. "Interea," while man is occupied with other things; so in the next line 'inculta' is emphatic. There seems to be no reference to the "arbustum" in 'nemus,' as we might be tempted to suppose from vv. 308, 323, 401. The word appears to be used generally of the trees of the forest in their natural uncultivated state, as man is afterwards recommended to give them the benefit of culture. 'Fetu . . . gravescit:' imitated from Lucr. 1. 253, "crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur."

430.] 'Aviaria,' properly an artificial place for tame birds, here the woods. Comp. Lucr. 1. 18, "Frondiferasque domos avium" for "silvas." 'Sanguineis:' such as the elder, E. 10. 27, &c.

431.] 'Tondentur,' form food for cattle. "Tondent dumeta iuvenei," 1. 15. For the fact comp. E. 1. 79. 'Taedas,' torches of pine-wood, so that 'alta' is appropriate.

432.] 'Pascunturque ignes nocturni et lumina fundunt' is a poetical amplification of 'taedas ministrat.' It may be questioned whether 'ignes' means torch-lights or fires. 'Nocturni' and 'lumina' may seem to point to the former; but the parallel words, "Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum," A. 7. 13, apparently refer to fires, as is shown by their original Od. 5. 53. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the custom of kindling fires for the sake of light by night (see Il. 9. 467 foll.) belongs rather to the heroic age than to Virg.'s day. Comp. note on 1. 291.

433.] This line is wanting in Med. Its meaning seems to be, when nature offers so much to the planter and cultivator, can man hesitate to plant and cultivate? Heyne justly says, "Sententia versum absolvens facile excidere potuit. Versus per

se est praeclarus." Ribbeck however omits it. With the structure of it comp. A. 1. 48., 6. 807.

434.] 'Quid maiora sequar:' Wagn. contends that the conjunctive in direct interrogations cannot refer to a thing which the speaker has already begun to do; in such cases he says the indicative is used, as in A. 2. 101, "Sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolve?" If this be true, we must either understand by 'maiora' greater things than have been mentioned already, or suppose that 'sequar' denotes a more detailed enumeration than has been given in vv. 431, 432, 'maiora' being used in contradistinction to the smaller trees which follow.

435.] 'Aut illae:' Serv. says that many in his time read 'Et tiliae.' For the pleonastic use of the pronoun comp. among other passages A. 6. 593, Hor. 4 Od. 9. 51. 'Pastoribus umbras,' E. 2. 8 note. Med., Pal., and others have 'umbram.'

436.] 'Satis,' probably including plantations. 'Saepemque satis et pabula melli:' comp. E. 1. 53, 54, "Hinc tibi quae semper vicino ab limite saepes Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti." 'Pabula melli' not for "pabula apibus," but a poetic confusion of "pabula apibus" and "materiam melli."

437.] Virg continues his enumeration of the uses of the various forest trees, but is led to adopt a different mode of expression, as if he were not thinking of the products yielded by box or pitch trees, but of the mere pleasure of looking at them as they flourish in their most congenial spots, and reflecting that nature does all this unaided, so that art may help to do more. Cerda quotes from Eustathius a saying πύξον εἰς Κύττορον ἤγαγες, one of the many equivalents of our 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' So Catull. 4. 13, "Cytore buxifer."

438.] 'Naryciae' for Locrian, Narycus, Naryx, or Narycium, being a town of

Non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curae.
 Ipsae Caucasio steriles in vertice silvae, 440
 Quas animosi Euri adsidue franguntque feruntque,
 Dant alios aliae fetus, dant utile lignum
 Navigiis pinos, domibus cedrumque cupressosque;
 Hinc radios trivere rotis, hinc tympana plaustris
 Agricolae, et pandas ratibus posuere carinas; 445
 Viminibus salices fecundae, frondibus ulmi,
 At myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello
 Cornus; Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus;

Opuntian Locris, the mother country of the Italian Locri. Comp. A. 3. 399, "Illio Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri." Brutian pitch is mentioned by Pliny 14. 127, as also by a Schol. on this passage quoted by Heins. on Ov. Rem. 264. 'Pici', i.e. "piceae." The tree is identified by Keightley with the fir from the description of Pliny 16. 40.

440.] 'Steriles' opp. to "frugiferae." Comp. v. 79. 'Caucasio in vertice' gives the picture of wildness. Strabo (11, p. 497) speaks of Caucasus as covered with woods. ['Caucaseo' Pal. Gud., 'Caucasio' Med. Rom.—H. N.]

441.] 'The wildest woods in the region of storms.' 'Animosi Euri:' it is not easy to say how far this use of 'animosus' is metaphorical. Comp. Ov. Amor. 1. 6. 51, "impulsa est animoso ianua vento;" Stat. Theb. 9. 459, "animosaque surgit Tempestas;" 7. 87, "pontumque iacentem Exanimis iam volvit hiemps." 'Franguntque feruntque:' an analogous expression to "agere et ferre." For "ferre" in the same sense without "agere" comp. A. 2. 374, "Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama."

442.] 'Fetus,' products. The word is probably antithetic to 'steriles.' Connect 'utile navigia.' Vitruvius recommends the cedar and cypress for their durability, saying that the bitterness of their sap is antiseptic, 2. 9. 7. 3.

443.] 'Cedrosque' was the reading before Heins., while on the other hand some MSS. give 'cupressumque.' Neither variant is found in any of Ribbeck's MSS. [Rom. has 'cyparissos.'—H. N.]

444.] 'Trivere' = "tornavere." Serv. comp. Pliny 36. 193, "[Vitrum] aliud flatu figuratur, aliud torno teritur." The tense gives something of an historical character to the passage, which consequently rises in poetical dignity. So in vv. 454 foll. the

effects of the vine are spoken of in the past tense, and a tale of legendary antiquity glanced at. 'Tympana:' wheels either of solid wood or boards shaped like a drum. See Dict. A. 'Plaustrum.' 'Hinc' in both places refers to 'silvae' generally, not to different kinds of wood, 'from this tree—from that.'

445.] ['Pandas' is explained by Serv. as = 'incurvas': by the Berne scholia as = 'longas, extensas.' The latter is probably right.—H. N.] 'Posuere,' ἔθηκαν. Virg. expresses himself as if the farmer built ships, meaning no more than that the trees which the farmer is encouraged to plant and cultivate are turned to that use.

446.] 'Viminibus,' 'frondibus,' the abl., not the dat. Each are actual products of the trees, not things made from their products. So, in the next line, 'hastilibus' are not the actual spear-shafts, but the shoots as they grow on the tree. Comp. A. 3. 23, "quo cornea summo Virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus." 'Frondibus:' comp. Cato 6, "Ulmos serito . . . uti frondem ovibus et bubus habeas." [The punctuation adopted in the text is that of Med.]; Serv. speaks of another, 'Viminibus salices, fecundae frondibus ulmi,' which Heyne prefers and Ribbeck adopts; but the present pointing is simpler, and not less rhythmical. Comp. 1. 453, "Caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros," where the same doubt might be raised.

447.] The construction is 'myrtus et bona bello cornus fecundae validis hastilibus.' So in 1. 58 the verb is carried on from one part of a sentence to the other, though they are separated by 'at.' 'Bona bello' occurs at the end of a line in Lucilius [ap. Non. p. 462, who also quotes this verse of Virg.]

448.] 'Ituraeos:' Cic. Phil. 2. 44, "Cur

Nec tiliae leves aut torno rasile buxum
 Non formam accipiunt ferroque cavantur acuto; 450
 Nec non et torrentem undam levis innatat alnus,
 Missa Pado; nec non et apes examina conduunt
 Corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo.
 Quid memorandum aequae Baccheia dona tulerunt?
 Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit: ille furentis 455
 Centauros leto domuit, Rhoetumque Pholumque

homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros Ituraeos cum sagittis deducis in forum?" Flavius Vopiscus, quoted by Pierius, "Habes sagittarios Ituraeos trecentos" (Valerian to Aurelian). The epithet here is a literary one, the geographical or historical association being simply intended to add to the poetry.

449.] 'Tiliae leves:' in l. 173 it is "Caeditur et tilia ante iugo lēvis." 'Torno rasile' to be combined as one epithet, like 'bona bello.' The epithets seem proleptic.

450.] 'Ferro acuto,' sc. 'torno,' Keightley.

451.] 'Innatat' with an accus. as 'natat' 3. 259. 'Torrentem undam,' sc. 'Padi.' Pliny (3. 117) says of the Po that it is "agris quam navigiis torrentior." 'Alnus,' l. 136, note.

452.] 'Missa Pado:' sped down the Po. The expression is appropriate to a swift river, such as Virg., rightly or wrongly (see on 4. 373), supposed the Po to be. 'Pado,' abl., as in the common phrase, "flumine subvehere."

453.] The context shows that Virg. is really thinking of the availability of certain trees for artificial beehives: but he has chosen to speak as if he were referring to natural hives, doubtless intimating that nature suggested the thought to man. There is still a question whether he means 'the bees hive naturally in hollow trees [and thus suggest the formation of beehives],' or understands by 'conduunt' 'are hived by the bee-master;' but the latter is more likely, as two kinds of hives appear to be spoken of, those of bark (see 4. 33) and those made from hollow trees, and of these only the second can well be natural. The 'ilex' and the 'suber' are classed together by Pliny, 16. 34, who says that the latter was called by some 'ilex femina,' and was generally used in default of the former. 'Corticibus' seems to point more particularly to the "suber," the bark of which was called 'cortex,' *par excellence*, as in Greek *φελλός*, *φλοιός*.

And so Col. 9. 6 recommends bark, after Varro, for beehives, if the country is "ferax suberia." Construing 'corticibus' with 'ilicis,' we may suppose the 'ilex' to include the "suber." For beehives made from hollow trees, see Col. l. c. 'Alvo:' 'alveus,' or 'alvus,' is used both by Col. and Varro, 3. 16, for "alveare." All the MSS. but Rom. seem to have 'alvo,' though in one of Ribbeck's cursives 'o' is in an erasure. Serv. makes it a matter of pronunciation. [But it is surely most probable that 'alvo' here comes from 'alvus,' not 'alveus.' The Berne scholia explain it as = 'antro.' H.N.]

454.] Virg. sets out to show that the wild trees have their merits as well as the vine, and at last is carried away into showing that they are better than the vine. 'Baccheia,' *Βακχία*. [For 'aeque' Serv. mentions a variant 'et quae,' i.e. "quid memorandum est quae Bacchi dona tulerunt." This reading is not quoted by Ribbeck from any MS.—H.N.]

455.] Comp. Od. 21. 295, *Οἶκος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγλαυτὸν Εὐρύτωνα*, "Aas' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγαθύμον Πειριθόου." 'Furentis' seems to express the agency of Bacchus as well as 'domuit,' the drunken passions of the Centaurs having led them to give the provocation which was so fiercely resented.

456.] 'Leto domuit:' comp. *κρηὶ δαμείς*. 'Leto' is no doubt the abl. instrum., though in Hom. the dat. after *δαμῶς* appears to be rather the dat. of reference than of the instrument, being, with one exception, used convertibly with *ὅπῳ τινι*, not with *ὅπῳ τινος*. For the Centaurs and Lapithae see Ov. M. 12. 210, &c., where Rhoetus and Pholus are not killed but put to flight. 'Rhoetus' is said to be the usual spelling, at least in the MSS. of Latin authors, not 'Rhoecus,' if indeed Rhoecus is not the name of the giant as distinguished from the centaur. See Bentley on Hor. 2 Od. 19. 23, who

Et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
Agricolas, quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
Fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus ! 460
Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
Mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
Nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis,
Inlusasque auro vestes, Ephyreiaque aera,

inclines to 'Rhoetus' as the name of both.

457.] 'Cratere' keeps up the notion of a Bacchanalian fray. For the size of the 'crater' comp. A. 9. 346, where another Rhoetus lurks behind one. The vivid image in this line may have been suggested by sculpture.

458-474.] 'How happy the husbandman's life of ease and plenty! he has not power or luxury, but he has peace, simplicity, and the charms of nature all about him; he is one of a hardy race which still keep the traditions of ancient piety and justice.'

458.] 'Fortunatos nimium,' like 'nimium felix,' A. 4. 657. 'Happy beyond human happiness.'

459.] 'Discordibus armis' can hardly refer specially to civil war, as Keightley thinks, because the sufferings of the Italian husbandmen from civil wars are elsewhere dwelt on by Virg. 1. 506 foll., E. 1. 67 foll. He is speaking generally, and his own words below, vv. 495 foll., 503 foll., furnish a comment on his meaning.

460.] For 'fundit' we might have expected 'fundat;' but the clause is not intended so much to give a reason for the farmer's happiness, as to describe him, 'quibus—tellus' being part of the subject of the sentence as well as 'agricolae.' Had 'agricolae' been omitted, this would have been evident at once: comp. vv. 490; 493 below. It seems right therefore to include the relative clause in the exclamation, by removing the (l) to the end of this line. 'Tellus' is personified, and 'humo' is 'from her soil.' 'Fundit' and 'facilem' both seem to mark plenty without trouble, husbandry being natural and assisted by nature, as contrasted with the pursuits of artificial life. The tone of the present passage is certainly opposite to that which prevails generally in the Georgics, where the laborious side of a farmer's life is dwelt on, if indeed the

unlikeness does not amount to actual inconsistency. 'Iustissima,' not because she repays labour, but because she gives man all he really needs. Comp. Philem. 406 (Meineke). Δικαιοτάτων κτῆμ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἀγρός, ὃν ἡ φύσις δέεται γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς φέρεϊ.

461.] An imitation of Lucr. 2. 24—36, "Si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes," &c. Connect 'foribus domus alta superbis,' not 'vomit foribus.'

462.] 'Mane:' these levees were held from six o'clock in the morning till eight. Comp. Martial 4. 8. 1, "Prima salutantis atque altera continet hora." Catiline's associates intended to go to Cicero's levee, "ea nocte paullo post," Sall. Cat. 28. The poor client in *Juv.* 5. 22 goes to his patron "sideribus dubiis." 'Totis vomit aedibus' is probably 'pours from the whole palace,' not 'lets in over the whole palace.' This is more picturesque and suits the metaphor better, though the word 'vomitoria,' denoting the entrances to the seats in the amphitheatre from the surrounding gallery, is explained by Macrob. Sat. 6. 4, because "homines glomeratim ingredienti in sedilia se fundunt."

463.] 'Inhiant' is used of a man gloating over his own property by Hor. 1 S. 1. 71, and Sen. H. F. 167, the latter of whom clearly has an eye to this passage. It is possible however to refer 'inhiant' not to the owner but to others: 'nor do men gaze at their inlaid doorposts'—'nor have they inlaid doorposts for men to gaze on.' Connect 'varios pulchra testudine.' 'Postis' might stand for 'foris:' but the author of the art. 'Ianua' in Dict. A. understands it of the posts or jambs.

464.] 'Inlusas,' fancifully wrought. There are imitations of this use of 'inludere' in Prudentius and Avienus, but no independent parallel. 'Ludere' however is used both of works of art and music. 'Inclusas' is given by Rom.,

Alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno, 466
 Nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi :
 At secura quies et nescia fallere vita,
 Dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis,
 Speluncae, vivique lacus, at frigida Tempe,
 Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni 470
 Non absunt ; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
 Et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
 Sacra deum, sanctique patres ; extrema per illos
 Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Pal., perhaps Med. a m. pr. [and the Berne scholia] noticed, though condemned, by Serv., and adopted by Ladowig and Ribbeck, the former of whom understands it of embroidery, and comp. Lucr. 4. 1126, "grandes viridi cum luce zmaragdi Auro includuntur."

465.] 'Assyrio' here used loosely for Phoenician or Tyrian, as in E. 4. 25, for Armenian or Median. Neither 'fucatur' nor 'veneno' necessarily expresses contempt. Comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 10. 27, "Aquinatam potentia vellera fucum," and Gaius, Dig. 50. 16. 236, "qui venenum dicit adicere debet, malum an bonum sit: nam et medicamenta venena sunt, quia eo nomine omne continetur, quod adhibitum eius naturam, cui adhibitum est, mutat; cum id quod nos venenum appellamus, Graeci φάρμακον dicunt." But here the tone of the passage and 'corrumpitur' show that both words are used in a disparaging sense, which may extend to 'inlusas' and 'inhiant,' and perhaps even to 'vomit.' A few MSS., including one of Ribbeck's a m. p., give 'fuscatur.'

466.] 'Casia' is here not the Italian shrub of v. 213, E. 2. 49, but the bark of an eastern aromatic tree which grows to the height of twenty-five feet. Keightley. 'Usus olivi:' the oil in respect to its use. Hor. 3 Od. 1. 42, "Nec purpurarum sidere clarior Delinit usus" is not exactly parallel, as there "usus" would most naturally mean the wearing, which is just the thing that is expected to soothe, whereas it cannot be said properly that the use of the olive oil is corrupted. Perhaps we may render 'Nor is their clear oil's service spoiled by the bark of casia.' [Serv. well says, "oleum generalem usum habet, quod cum in unguentum fuerit corruptum, uni rei tantum aptum esse incipit."—H. N.]

467.] 'Nescia fallere:' it does not seem

possible to separate the thought contained in these words from that of 'dives opum variarum.' But more than one interpretation is compatible with this connexion. We may render either 'free from chance and change' (comp. Hor. Epod. 16. 45, "Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivae"), or 'that needs no knavish arts,' because it gives every thing freely, a thought which would agree with "Fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus." Pal., Rom., and some others give 'vitam.'

468.] 'Latis,' opposed to the confinement of the city. There is no allusion to "latifundia." 'The liberty of broad domains.' [Comp. Lucr. 5. 1389, "per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia."—H. N.]

469.] 'Vivi lacus,' natural or fresh: opposed to artificial reservoirs, of which there were many at Rome. 'Tempe,' for any valley like Tempe. Comp. Cic. Att. 4. 15. "Reatini me ad sua τέμνη duxerunt." For 'at' Med., Gud. originally, and another of Ribbeck's cursives have 'et,' which is adopted by Ribbeck, and is very plausible, 'speluncae—somni' being naturally taken as a development of 'latis otia fundis.'

471.] 'Lustra ferarum,' 'the haunts of game,' i.e. hunting.

472.] 'Exiguo' is the reading of Med. Pal., Rom., &c. Gud. and some others have 'parvo,' which, though supported by some quotations in the grammarians, seems to have come from A. 9. 607, as Burn. remarks.

473.] 'There is religion and there are reverend elders,' that is, 'there is reverence for age.' 'Extrema,' &c.: comp. Arat. Phaen. 127, "Ὡς εἰσοῦσ' (Δίῃ) ὁπείων ἐρεμώτερο. Justice is there said to have fled to the mountains in the days of the silver race, and fled from earth altogether in the days of the brazen race.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
 Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,
 Accipiant, caelique vias et sidera monstrent,
 Defectus solis varios, lunaeque labores;
 Unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant

475

475—489.] 'While my first wish is that the Muses would reveal to me the whole system of nature's laws, my second, should that be denied me, is to lead a country life: my heart leaps up at the thought already.'

475.] We may either take 'ante omnia' with 'primum' or with 'dulces.' The first way most clearly brings out the sense of the whole passage, which is—'Above all things I would be the poet of philosophy—if I cannot be that, I would be the poet of the country.' Besides, there is not such authority for the use of 'ante omnia,' intensively with an adjective as to warrant us in choosing this collocation when the passage may be construed otherwise. See Hand, Tursell. 1. 388. Heyne connects 'accipiant me primum ante omnia,' 'take me as their first favourite,' which seems clearly wrong. With 'dulces Musae' Heyne comp. Arat. Phaen. 16. χαίροιτε δὲ Μοῦσαι Μελίχαια μύλα πᾶσιν.

476.] 'Sacra fero:' it is hard to say whether this phrase properly means to carry the sacred symbols in procession like a *κατηφόρος* (see Hor. 1. S. 3, 11, and Orelli's note there), or to sacrifice as a priest, as apparently in A. 3. 19, 5. 59., 6. 810. Either sense would do equally well here, though the latter is perhaps recommended by Horace's "Musarum sacerdos" (3 Od. 1. 3), and Prop. 4. 1. 3, "Primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos Italia per Graios orgia ferre choros," with which again we may comp. Virg.'s own "sanctos ausus recludere fontis," v. 175. 'Ingenti percussus amore;' imitated from Lucr. 1. 923 foll., "Percussit thyro laudis spes magna meum cor, Et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem Musarum." Cerda refers to the Greek *μουσονδακτος*. 'Percussus,' the reading before Heins., is found in two of Ribbeck's cursives, and in Med. and Gud. as a correction: but it seems less appropriate here, so far as a distinction can be established between its use and that of 'percussus.' See on A. 1. 513.

477.] Virg. probably had in his mind here not only Lucr. and the Greek didactic poets, such as Xenophanes, Emped-

ocles, and Aratus, but the legendary reputation of the poetic teachers of early Greece, such as Orpheus and Musaeus. His own notion of an ancient bard is that of a hierophant of nature, as shown in Iopas A. 1. 740, where he has partly repeated the present passage. The conception belongs not to Augustan Rome, but to primitive Greece, where science was theological and imaginative, and verse the natural vehicle of all knowledge and thought. It had, however, been partially realized by Lucr., whose example exercised a strong influence on Virg.'s imagination, and whose subject is evidently shadowed out by the following lines, as the references will show, while he, his master, and their followers, are as evidently pointed at vv. 490—492. See Introduction to the Georgics, pp. 137, 142. Propertius (4. 5, 23 foll.) sketches out a similar employment for his old age, when he can no longer be the poet of love; but his field is larger than Virg.'s, including not only the laws of the physical world, but the mysteries of the world below, an addition which may have been suggested by Lucretius' third book, as the whole passage seems to have been by Virg.'s aspiration here. Similar epitomes of the subjects of scientific study are given by other poets, Hor. 1 Ep. 12. 16 foll., Ov. M. 15. 69 foll. 'Caelique vias et sidera,' 'the stars in their courses through heaven'—probably to be explained as a hendiadys. In these words he may have been thinking of Aratus, as in the following enumeration of Lucr.

478.] Copied from Lucr. 5. 751, "Solis item quoque defectus lunaeque latebras Pluribus e causis fieri tibi posse putandum est," in which "pluribus e causis" explains 'varios.' That there is no difference between 'defectus' and 'labores' appears from the parallel passage A. 1. 740, where we have "errantem lunam solisque labores." Comp. Prop. 3. 26. 52, "fraternis Luna laboret equis." Heyne, who quotes the lines of Lucr., observes, after giving the first verse, "Vel hoc uno versu Vergiliani carminis quanta suavis sit intelligas."

479.] 'Unde tremor terris:' explained

Obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant, 480
 Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
 Hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
 Sin, has ne possim naturae accedere partis,
 Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis :
 Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes ; 485
 Flumina amem silvasque inglorius. O, ubi campi
 Spercheusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis
 Taygeta ! o, qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi
 Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra !

by Lucr. 6. 577 foll. 'Qua vi maria alta tumescant,' &c.: the commentators take this of the tides; but the expressions seem to denote something more violent and irregular, such as the sudden rise of the sea in connexion with an earthquake, an instance of which occurs Thucyd. 3. 89, *καὶ περὶ τούτους χρόνους τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς εὐβολίας ἐν Ὀροβλαίς ἡ θάλασσα ἐπελθοῦσα* [ἐπαελοῦσα Schol.] ἀπὸ τῆς τότε οὕσης γῆς καὶ κυματοθεΐσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε, τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἐστὶ πρότερον οὕσα γῇ. Or we may take the words of an ordinary storm: comp. Sil. 14. 348, Lucr. 5. 1002. 'Qua vi,' through what force of nature.

482.] It might be doubted whether 'tardis noctibus' meant slow in coming or slow in going; in other words, whether the epithet was equivalent to "aestivis" or to "hibernis." But it seems to be decided in favour of the latter by Lucr. 5. 699, "Propterea noctes hiberno tempore longae Cessant."

483.] Comp. Lucr. 3. 29, "quod sic natura tua vi Tam manifesta patens ex omni parte resecta est."

484.] Comp. the verse of Empedocles in Stobaeus, Ecl. Phys. p. 1026, αἶμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικερδίων ἐστὶ νόημα. See also Plato, Phaedo, p. 96 B, Cic. Tusc. 1. 9, 19, Lucr. 3. 43. A Scholiast on Hor. A. P. 465 explains the epithet 'frigidus,' there given to Empedocles, by saying that according to him slowness of intellect was caused by the coldness of the blood about the heart, which is, at any rate, a natural inference from his doctrine. Virg. gives a philosophic reason for his possible inaptitude for philosophy. See also note on 4. 7, "si quem Numina laeva sinunt."

485.] 'Rura—silvas,' 'amnes—flumina,' 'placeant—amem' correspond. His wish

is, that he may be content with the woods and the waters, and have no thought besides.

486.] 'O, ubi campi,' &c., 'O where are they?' or 'How can I get to them?' = 'Would that I were there!' Comp. Hor. 2 S. 7. 116, "Unde mihi lapidem?" 'Campi' is the "Larissae campus optimae," Hor. 1 Od. 7. 11.

487.] I have given 'Spercheus,' the spelling of Med. corrected and Pal., on the analogy of "Peneus," "Alpheus," though it is not easy to say when Virg. is likely to have used "us," when "os." See Wagn. Q V. 4. [Med. has originally 'Spercheos,' Rom. 'Sperchius.'—H. N.] 'Bacchata,' probably from Lucr. 5. 824, "Omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibus passim." Here however there is a special reference to the temple of Bacchus at the foot of Taletum in the range of Taygetus, to which only women were admitted (Paus. 3. 20). Comp. A. 3. 125, "Bacchatamque iugis Naxon." In these two passages it has been proposed to take 'bacchatus' actively, the mountain or island itself being said to revel (comp. 3. 150, "furit mugitibus aether," and φυλλομανεῖν and similar words in Greek); but the use of a deponent participle passively is common enough, and βακχευθήναι appears to be similarly used.

488.] 'Taygeta,' plural of the Greek Ταῦγετον. The common Latin form is 'Taygetus.' [Pal. has 'Taugeta,' which Ribbeck adopts.—H. N.] 'Convallibus,' the reading of Med., Pal., Canon., and one or two others, is the more natural word for the glens of Haemus. (It has been already received by Paldamus, Ladewig, and Ribbeck.) The common reading 'in vallibus' seems to have arisen from v. 485. 'O' seems to be an invocation of the man who can place him where he would be.

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, 490
 Atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
 Subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari!
 Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis,
 Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores!
 Illum non populi fascēs, non purpura regum 495
 Flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,
 Aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,

490—540.—‘If the sage is blest, so is the countryman: untempted by ambition, and removed from its crimes, its vanities, and its penalties, he moves in the round of yearly labour and yearly plenty, with new fruits constantly pouring in, and ever and anon a day of rustic merry-making, following the example of the grand old times of Italian history and legend.’

490.] It has been questioned (see Munro on *Lucr.* 1. 78) whether these words are more applicable to Epicurus or to Lucretius. It seems better however to say that *Virg.* is here sketching the position of the Epicurean philosopher, whether master, scholar, or poet, as in vv. 493, 494 he is identifying himself with all dwellers in or lovers of the country, whether poets or not. The expression ‘*rerum causae*,’ while accurately describing *Lucr.*’s philosophy, is not found in his poem, though Munro points to *Lucr.* 3. 1072., 5. 1185 as likely to have suggested the present line. The words are copied by *Ov. M.* 15. 68, who couples them with “*primordia mundi*.”

491.] ‘*Metus*,’ &c.: comp. *Lucr.* 3. 37, “*Et metus ille foras praeceps Acherontis agendus, Funditus humanam qui vitam turbatabimo*.” ‘*Fatum*,’ death, regarded as the fiat of nature. ‘*Inexorabile*’ may refer specially to the argument at the end of *Lucr.*’s third book. *Rom.* has ‘*ineluctabile*,’ probably a reminiscence of *A. S.* 334.

492.] ‘*Subiecit pedibus*:’ comp. *Lucr.* 1. 79, “*Quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim Obteritur*.” ‘*Strepitumque Acherontis avari*:’ slightly differing from the image in *Lucr.* 3. 14—30, where the philosopher looking down sees Acheron vanish.

493.] ‘*Fortunatus et ille*:’ the calm, which was the great boon of philosophy, is given also, after its kind, to the lover of the country. ‘*Felix*’ and ‘*fortunatus*’ seem practically synonymous. ‘*Deos qui*

novit agrestis:’ throughout the *Eclogues*, particularly in *E.* 5., 6., 10., the country gods are represented as mixing with the human dwellers in the country.

495.] ‘*Populi fascēs*:’ from *Lucr.* 3. 996. This passage again is somewhat similar to *Lucr.* 3. 59—86, who is speaking of the civil wars of his own time.

496.] ‘*Fratres*’ is generally taken to refer to one of the domestic contests for Eastern thrones, such as that in the family of the *Arsacidae* between *Phraates* and *Tiridates* for the throne of *Parthia*, glanced at in *Hor.* 1 *Od.* 26. 3 foll., which somewhat resembles this passage. *Lucr.* however, l. c., has expressions, e.g. vv. 72, 73, 83—86, which speak distinctly of the disruption of families in the civil war. We may render ‘*Civil feuds that make brothers swerve from brother’s duty*.’ ‘*Non—non—et*,’ connecting three equally distinct subjects, occurs *Prop.* 2. 1. 21.

497.] ‘*Descendens*:’ alluding to their position on the mountains. “*Daci montibus inhaerent*,” *Florus* 4. 12. 18. The wars with the *Daci*, who used to pass into the empire over the *Danube* when it was frozen, lasted from *v.c.* 724—744. *Philarg.* asserts, on the authority of *Aufidius* (?) *Modestus*, that the *Dacians* used to pledge themselves in a draught of the *Ister* not to return from their expeditions unless victorious, which is confirmed by *Claudian*, *De Bel. Get.*, vv. 81, 2. If a special reference be needed, we may more naturally suppose *Virg.* to speak of the frozen *Danube* as conspiring with the barbarians. Comp. *Claudian*, *Cons. Honor.* 3. 98, “*Et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti*.” This however would probably be post-*Virgilian*, and the imitation in *Stat. Theb.* 1. 20, “*Et coniurato descendens vertice Dacus*,” looks as if he, at least, understood “*coniurato Istro*” merely as a poetical variety for “*coniuratus Dacus*.” [‘*Coniurato*’ will bear its full meaning, if we suppose that *Virg.* is alluding to the

Non res Romanae perituraque regna; neque ille
Aut doluit miserans inopem, aut invidit habenti.

Quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura 500

Sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
Insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vedit.

Sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque

In ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;

Hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque Penates, 505

support given by the Dacians to Antony in his final struggle (Dio. 51. 22)—H. N.]

498.] 'Not the great Roman state, and the death-throes of subject kingdoms.' The vicissitudes of these kingdoms were a most important part of the imperial affairs, 'res Romanae.'

499.] In the country, where all have enough, distinctions of poverty and wealth, and the emotions of pity and envy which they cause, are alike unknown. The serenity produced by a rural life is still the uppermost thought. Comp. Tibull. 1. 1. 77, "ego composito securus acervo Despiciam dites despiciamque famem." Serv., seeing apparently that this explanation does not clear the earlier part of the verse from the charge of selfish indifference, suggests that the countryman does not pity poverty because he is philosopher enough to understand that it is not an evil but a blessing. Germanus thinks Virg. means to represent the countryman as free from the two emotions which pervert the sense of justice, which he proves from Aristotle to know no distinction of persons. The feeling again is unlike the general tone of the Georgics. See on v. 460.

500.] Imitated from Lucr. 5. 937, 938.

501.] 'The iron rigour of the law,' though not necessarily a bad quality, may be regarded as one, and therefore the countryman is felicitated on having nothing to do with it. Schirach suggests that Virg. may have intended the bronzes on which laws were written, and Mr. Long supports this by Ov. M. 1. 91, "non verba minacia fixo Aere legebantur" (in the golden age), which makes it plausible. [It would perhaps be simpler to take 'iura' in the sense of 'rules of law,' or 'decisions in the law courts,' which it often bears in good Latin, and 'ferrea' as either 'shameless' or 'ruthless.' For 'ferreus' in the sense of 'shameless' comp. the words of the orator Licinius Crassus ap. Suet. Nero 4, "cui os ferreum,

cor plumbeum esset:" Cic. Pis. § 63, Catullus 42. 17. In Quint (?) Declam. 3. 10. 8, "ferrea iura futorum" means the inexorable decrees of fate. Serv., Philarg., and the Berne scholia all take 'ferrea' here as meaning 'dura,' 'immutabilia.'—H. N.]

502.] Rom. has 'insanumque,' 'Tabularia,' archives. There were 'tabularia' in various temples, especially in that of Saturn, Dict. A. 'Tabularium.'

503.] 'Freta caeca,' like 'ruunt in ferrum,' which follows, seems to denote headlong daring. Comp. Soph. Tereus, fr. 533, τὸ δ' ἐς αἴριον διὰ τοῦ πλάνου ἔρπει, 'the morrow is always unknown.'

504.] 'Penetrant aulas et limina regum.' The choice of the words 'aulas' and 'limina' (comp. Hor. Epod. 2. 7, "Forumque vitat et superba civium Potentiorum limina," and Pers. 1. 108, "ne maiorum tibi forte Limina frigescent") seems to show that the poet speaks of the road to wealth and honour through the favour of the great, 'regum' used as in Hor. 1 Ep. 7. 37., 17. 43. The other interpretation, 'sack the palaces of kings,' would create a prosaic tautology with what follows.

505.] 'Excidiis,' abl.: comp. "bello," "armis," "saxis petere," "Urbem miserosque Penates," 'one brings ruin to a city, and wretchedness to its homes.' It is difficult to say whether the reference is to the sack of foreign cities or to the entrances into Rome of the various conquerors in the civil wars. Professor Seeley has suggested to me that Virg. may be glancing at Caesar, as in v. 507 at Crassus, and in vv. 508 full at Pompey and his admirers (comp. Lucan 1. 133, "plausuque sui gaudere theatri"). [The whole passage may however very well apply to the events of the year 33 B.C. 'Penetrant aulas et limina regum' may allude to intrigues with foreign courts such as Antony had been carrying on with Media and Armenia and Egypt, 'res Romanae perituraque regna' are the fortunes of

Ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro ;
 Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro ;
 Hic stupet attonitus Rostris ; hunc plausus hiantem
 Per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque
 Corripuit ; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum, 510
 Exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant,
 Atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.
 Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro :
 Hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes

Rome and the falling Eastern despotisms opposed to her, 'infidos agitans discordia fratres' may be meant either for Phraates the murderer of his brother, or for the Armenian princes Artaxias and Tigranes, and the lines 'hic petit excidiis'—'ostro' might very well be intended for Antony himself.—H. N.]

506.] 'Gemma bibat:' Serv., whom some of the commentators follow, says "poculo gemmeo, non gemmato." But there seems no reason thus to restrict the sense of the word. "Bibit e gemma" occurs Prop. 4. 5. 4, "gemma ministratur" Sen. Provid. 3. Virg., as Macrob. Sat. 7. 1 says, has imitated a line of Varius, "incubet ut Tyriis atque ex solido bibat auro." For 'dormiat' Med. a m. pr. has 'indormiat,' which Heins. adopted.

507.] 'Defosso auro:' Hor. 1 S. 1. 42, "Quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?" Such a mode of hoarding would be natural in a time of proscriptions and confiscations. Comp. also A. 6. 610, "qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis."

508.] 'Hic,' the aspirant to eloquence, who is struck dumb with admiration of the successful speaker, and the applause which greets him. 'Hunc,' the aspirant ('hiantem') to political greatness, who is caught and carried away ('corripuit') by the applause in the theatre ('per cuneos') which rewarded popular statesmen. For the practice comp. Hor. 1 Od. 20. 3, 2. 17. 26 [and many passages in Cicero's letters.—H. N.]

509.] 'Geminatur,' the old reading, is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS. 'Enim' could have no force here as a connective particle, unless with some editors we were to make 'geminatus enim' a parenthetical clause. It remains then to take it as a particle of asseveration strengthening 'geminatus,' though the other instances of its use in this sense (see on A. 6. 317,

and comp. A. 8. 84) are not quite parallel. Perhaps we may render 'The plaudits of commons and nobles as they roll, aye, again and again, along the benches.'

510.] 'Fratrum;' another imitation of Lucr. 3. 70. Comp. note on v. 496. If proscriptions are alluded to, Virg. would refer to the second triumvirate, as Lucr. to Sulla and Marius.

511.] 'Exilio,' the place of exile. Comp. A. 3. 4, "Diversa exilia et desertas quaerere terras."

512.] Hor. 2 Od. 16. 18, "quid terras alio calentes Sole mutamus?" is probably an imitation of this, though Hor. is speaking of voluntary exile. The order in Pal. is 'quaerunt patriam.'

513.] 'Dimovit:' while war, &c., is going on elsewhere, he has tilled his lands and expects the harvest. The same line has occurred, with the change of one word, 1. 494. Med. actually gives 'molutus' here.

514.] The use of 'labor,' like *πόνος*, for the fruits of labour, is common, but seems hardly applicable here, as it would require us to suppose that Virg. uses the word to designate those fruits as distinguished from the labour whence ('hinc') they come. It seems better to understand the words as meaning that the husbandman finds his annual employment as well as his livelihood in tillage. Ribbeck reads 'hic' for the first 'hinc,' from a conj. of Markland's, confirmed by a variant in Gud. For 'nepotes' I had formerly adopted 'Penates' from Med.; but though this reading was approved by Heins. and Heyne (the latter of whom comp. 4. 155), and is adopted by Ladewig, Haupt, and Ribbeck, its deficiency in external authority seems fatal to it, the transcriber of Med. being liable to error from a recollection of parallel passages, as the preceding line among other instances shows, while the source of the mistake here may have been partly the sight of v. 505, partly

Sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvenços. 515
 Nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus,
 Aut fetu pecorum, aut Cerealis mergite culmi,
 Proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.
 Venit hiemps: teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis,
 Glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae; 520
 Et varios ponit fetus autumnus, et alte
 Mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis.
 Interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
 Casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae
 Lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto 525
 Inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi.

the remembrance of A. 8. 543. Whether any reason beyond poetical variety makes Virg. talk of the grandsons rather than the sons of the countryman is not easy to say; but he may have thought that there was some point in leading us to think of him as a man advancing in years, yet working on. Mr. Munro reminds us that a Roman might well see his son's children born by the time he was forty, and that they were as much under his "patria potestas" as the son was if not emancipated. It is not clear whether 'patriam' means his hamlet, or his country in the larger sense. The language would rather point to the latter, the sense to the former. If the latter is meant, the antithesis may be, as Wagn. thinks, between peaceful patriotism and the unscrupulous ambition just mentioned. Varro R. R. 2. 1 complains that the disuse of agriculture was making Rome dependent on foreign nations for corn. Not unlike is Juv. 14. 70, 71, "patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris," except that there the reference is more general. Donatus ap. Servium renders 'patriam,' "villam." Thence comes sustenance alike for his country and his infant grandsons at home, and for his herds of oxen and the bullocks that have served him so well.

515.] 'Meritos:' so 3. 525, of the dying bullock, "Quid labor aut benefacta iuvant? quid vomere terras Invertisse gravis?"

516.] 'Nec requies,' probably "anno" rather than "agricolae." The expression is from Lucr. 6. 1177.

519.] The narrative style is continued with increased liveliness. 'Sicyonia baca,' the olive for which Sicyon was famous.

Comp. Ov. Ibis 319, ex Pont. 4. 15. 10, Stat. Theb. 4. 50. [Pal. has 'Sicunia,' Rom. 'Siquonia.'—H. N.]

520.] 'Glande laeti' = "saturi et nitidi." Comp. "armentaque laeta," v. 144. "See how fat the swine come off from their meal of acorns." 'Glande' is the important word, as it is of the different fruits of different seasons that Virg. is speaking: the rest is ornamental, though quite in keeping with the picture of rural felicity and abundance.

521.] 'Ponit fetus:' comp. Phaedrus 2. 4. 3, "Sus nemoricultrix fetum ad imam (arborem) posuerat," a sense in which "deponere" is also used. 'Or, for a change, autumn is dropping its various produce at his feet.' The willingness of nature is dwelt on, as in 'dant arbuta silvae.' See on v. 460.

522.] Comp. note on v. 377.

523.] 'Interea' divides the description of fruitfulness without from that of happiness within. 'Pendent circum oscula nati' is from Lucr. 3. 895, "nec dulces occurrent oscula nati Praeripere." In both these passages, as in A. 1. 256, 12. 434, 'osculum' is used in its primary sense as the diminutive of "os," from which the secondary meaning is easily inferred.

524.] 'Domus' = "familia," in this case the wife. 'Servat,' 'keeps,' in the sense of observing. 'His virtuous household keeps the traditions of purity.'

525.] 'Lactea ubera demittunt' = "ubera lacte demissa gerunt." Perhaps vv. 524—526 may have been suggested by Lucr. 1. 257—261. 'Fat kids, on grass luxuriant as they, are engaging together, horn against horn.'

Ipse dies agitat festos, fususque per herbam
 Ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant,
 Te, libans, Lenaeae, vocat, pecorisque magistris
 Velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo,
 Corporaque agresti nudant praedura palaestrae.
 Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
 Hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
 Scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
 Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
 Ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, et ante

530

535

527.] 'Agitare' here, as in 4. 154, A. 10. 237, is equivalent to "agere." The word is used absolutely by prose writers in the sense of "degere," Forcell. sub. v. 'Dies festos:' keeping the old holidays would be a mark at once of the leisure and simplicity of country life. Most of the festivals in the old calendar were rural.

528.] 'Ignis ubi in medio:' this must be a turf-built altar, not the "focus" in the house, on account of 'fusus per herbam:' so that Tibull. 2. 1. 21 and Hor. Epod. 2. 65 are not strictly parallel. The description is quite general. For 'in medio' Med. a m. pr. has 'ingenio,' whence Burn. conjectured 'genio.' 'Cratera coronant' seems to be a mistranslation or alteration of Homer's κρητῆρας ἐπιστέφαντο πότῳ, which means 'filled the bowls high with wine,' whereas Virg. means 'wreath the bowl with flowers,' as appears from A. 3. 525, "magnum cratera corona Induit implevitque mero."

529.] 'Pecoris magistris:' comp. "oviumque magistros," E. 2. 33.

530.] 'Iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo:' a condensed expression for 'makes a match of darting at a mark set up in or scored on an elm.' Comp. A. 5. 66, "Prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis," where it would be unnatural to make 'certamina' = "praemia." 'Certamen ponere,' like ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι.

531.] 'Nudant:' there is a change of subject, a thing not uncommon in Virg. The old reading 'nudat' is however supported by Canon. and one or two of Ribbeck's cursives. 'Palaestrae' is the reading of Med. and one of Ribbeck's cursives, and seems better than 'palaestra,' which Heyne retained. Probably 'palaestra' here means the exercise, not the place, though a locative dat. is just conceivable,

and it appears to mean a place in A. 6. 642. Med. a m. p. has 'perdura.'

532.] 'Vitam coluere:' Lucr. has "colere aevum," 5. 1145, 1150. The 'Sabini' are a type of hardness and simplicity in Roman authors: comp. Hor. Epod. 2. 41. Livy 1. 18 talks of "disciplina tetrior ac tristi veterum Sabinorum." The order in Pal. is 'vitam veteres.'

533.] The mention of 'Etruria' has been thought to be a compliment to Maecenas; but it is quite as likely to be an instance of Virg.'s feeling for antiquity.

534.] 'Scilicet:' comp. note on 1. 282. Here, as in that passage, 'scilicet' is inserted rhetorically, to give importance to the words connected with it. Some place the stop after 'crevit,' taking 'scilicet' with what follows. But comp. the position of 'scilicet' in the passage just referred to. 'Rerum pulcherrima:' looking to such expressions as "nemorum maxima," above, v. 15, Hor. 1. 8. 9. 4, "dulcissime rerum," and Ov. M. 8. 49, "pulcherrime rerum," we may perhaps doubt whether the genitive here is a real partitive, and whether the agreement in gender of 'pulcherrima' with 'rerum' is not merely accidental.

535.] This line seems an anticlimax here, and still more where it recurs in A. 6. 783. For the importance which the Romans attached to the number of the hills which they retained, when by the expansion of the city the hills themselves were changed, see Niebuhr, vol. 1. p. 382 (Eng. Tr.). We must bear in mind how much the Romans thought of the grandeur of the city compared with that of the empire. 'Arces,' of the hills, v. 172.

536.] 'Dictaei regis:' Cicero (N. D. 3. 21) speaks of three Jupiters; "tertium Cretensem, Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur."

Impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenis,
Aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat :
Necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
Inpositos duris crepitare incudibus enses.

540

Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
Et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

537.] Comp. Arat. Phaen. 132,

Χαλκείη γενεή προτέρων δλοότεροι
ἄνδρες,
Οἱ πρῶτοι κακέργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μά-
χαιραν
Εἰνοδίην, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀρο-
τήρων.

For other instances of the supposed impiety of slaying the ox, the fellow-labourer of man, see Cerda's note.

538.] 'Aureus,' the king of the golden age. Comp. Theocr. 12. 15, ἡ βα τὸτ' ἦσαν Χρύσειοι πάλαι ἄνδρες.

539.] 'Etiam' connects 'necdum' with 'ante,' as the former 'etiam' connects 'ante' with what precedes. 'Audierant:' this semi-impersonal use of the third person plural, like the French 'on,' is common in the Aeneid: e.g. 1. 638.

540.] Med. originally had 'inpositis duos.'

541, 542.] "But I must end this long stage of my work."

541.] 'Spatiis:' the plural 'spatia,' as used by Virg., seems to denote sometimes the circles of a racecourse, and sometimes the passage of the racers round them. Comp. A. 5. 584., 7. 380. We may therefore either take 'spatiis' in the former sense, and connect it with 'immensum,' as Heyne does, or take it in the latter, and connect it with 'confecimus.' Heyne refers for a similar metaphor to Tryphiodorus 664, ἐγὼ δ' ἄτερ ἵππον ἐλάσω Τέρματος ἀμφιέλιον ἐπιπαύουσας ἀοιδήν. In Lucr. 6. 92 foll. the metaphor is from a foot-race.

542.] 'Fumantia:' "equos . . . Fumantis sudore quatit," A. 12. 338. Rom., Pal., and some others have 'spumantia,' which might also represent the condition of a horse after a long journey. ['Equom' Pal.—H. N.]

EXCURSUS ON VERSE 81.

LACHMANN on Lucr. 3. 1042 maintains that the last syllable of "iit" and its compounds and of "petiit" is necessarily long, having been originally written, as inscriptions prove, with a diphthong. He quotes a number of passages where "rediit," "subiit" &c. are lengthened by Ovid, and removes various apparent exceptions in other authors by corrections more or less supported by MSS. So far as the text of Virg. is concerned, his case appears a weak one. Here he would read "exit," which is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS., though Gud. and the MSS. of Nonius p. 308 have "exilit," the authority of the latter being weakened by the fact that in another place where that author quotes the line, p. 339, the MSS. have "exiit" or "exiet:" in A. 2. 497 he would read "exit," from one of Ribbeck's cursives (marked 'c'), and the MSS. of Nonius p. 296: in A. 5. 274 "transit" from Rom.; in A. 9. 418 "it" from all Ribbeck's MSS. except Pal. and perhaps Gud. (which Ribbeck quotes for both "it" and "iit"), and from the MSS. of Nonius, p. 408, the Montalban MS. of Virg. and the MSS. of Priscian in three places having a curious variety, "volat:" in A. 10. 785 "transit" from no authority, except that Med. originally had "transiet:" in A. 10. 817 "transit" from Rom., two of Ribbeck's cursives (marked 'c' and 'm') and some other copies having "transilit." Thus the only passage where there is

any preponderance of authority for the form of "it" is A. 9. 418, and there the only extant uncials are Med., Pal., and Rom., the two former of which may pair off with each other: in the other passages the weight, so far as it falls anywhere, falls almost wholly on Rom. Rom., it should be mentioned, is wanting in the two first cited passages, that before us (G. 2. 81), and A. 2. 497, in both of which it may probably have read "exit," though A. 10. 785 shows that the inference is not absolutely certain. But the fact is that Rom. almost invariably turns the perfect "iit" into "it," not merely in compounds of "eo" but in other verbs. Not only is "audiit" constantly written "audit," but in the two passages in Virg. where it occupies the fifth place in the verse, A. 5. 239, 7. 516, the dactyl is made out by reading "audit et." In other passages "it" is introduced in disregard of the metre, as in A. 8. 363, "subit," A. 10. 67, "petit," unless we suppose the scribe to have intended the words either to be pronounced "subyit," "petyit," or to be read as trisyllables, the second "i" being omitted in writing, as it is in the best MSS. in such words as "obicit," "subicit." The case is the same with the double "i" in the perfect infinitive, which Rom. almost always writes single. The same phenomena are occasionally observable in Med., Pal., and other MSS. in Ribbeck's apparatus criticus, but to a far less extent. On the other hand, instances are sometimes found where a transcriber has written the double "i" for the single contrary to the metre. On the whole it would seem that considerable confusion on the subject prevailed among the copyists, not only of Virg., but (as in the instances cited from Nonius) of other authors, but that there is no evidence that it was due to any notion about the quantity of the final syllable of the perfect indicative of "eo" and its compounds. The existence of "ambiit" A. 10. 243 (which even Rom. does not alter) is an argument for supposing that Virg. did not recognize Lachmann's rule, as though "ambio" is not conjugated throughout like "exeo," "transeo," they must be at bottom the same, and "exiet," "transiet," following the analogy of "ambiet," are not absolutely unknown even to classical latinity. Wagner argues against Lachmann's doctrine in his *Lectt. Vergg.* pp. 316 foll., though perhaps his main reason, the inadmissibility of the rhythm produced by "transit" in A. 5. 274, savours rather of the arbitrariness of the precept which he controverts: and I am glad to find that Mr. Munro in his note on Lucr. l. c. is not dismayed by his great predecessor's dictum "*adeo grammatici nostri ea quae quivis puer Romanus sciebat neglegunt, nos autem senes ea operose quaerere cogimur quae nobis magistri nostri olim tradere debebant.*"

P. VERGILI MARONIS
G E O R G I C O N
LIBER TERTIUS.

THE care of the various animals that are bred by the farmer forms the subject of the Third Book. These are divided into two main classes, which are distinguished in Latin as "armenta" and "pecudes," the former including horned cattle and horses, the latter the smaller cattle, sheep and goats, while a word is thrown in (vv. 404—413) about dogs. The former occupies the larger portion of the book, vv. 49—283: the poet however allows himself to digress in the last paragraph of the division, vv. 242 foll., speaking of the effect of sexual passion on the whole animal creation. Even in the earlier portion the subject is not very regularly treated. Virgil commences by saying (vv. 49 foll.) that a breeder of oxen or horses ought to attend particularly to the choice of the dams. A description of a cow follows; but nothing is said of a mare. At last (vv. 72 foll.) he changes the subject to horses, but it is that he may talk, not of the dams, but of the sires. Thus instead of describing the cow and the mare, the bull and the stallion, he consults variety by describing the female of one class, the male of the other. In what follows he treats of both classes indifferently; but true to his preference of poetical ornament to practical accuracy, he does not so much generalize as confuse, using language which is sometimes applicable to oxen, sometimes to horses. At last (vv. 146 foll.) he is led to speak more particularly of the former with respect to their early training; that over, he bestows a similar paragraph on the latter. But this proportion is soon violated. Speaking of the effect of the sexual passion, he lavishes all his powers of minute description on the bull, in the well-known picture of the fight between two bulls for the same heifer (vv. 219 foll.). Horses and mares are indeed mentioned, but not with the same prominence, the former being introduced cursorily in the digression on the sexual fury of the whole animal creation, the latter forming the conclusion of that digression. In the second part of his subject Virgil is perhaps more systematic; but he digresses more. The mention of pasturing the flocks in summer and winter leads to the two celebrated descriptions (vv. 339 foll.) of a Libyan shepherd's summer and a Scythian shepherd's winter, in the latter of which special pastoral details are soon lost in a picture of the general features of the scene. And the narrative of the pestilence in Southern Italy, with which, in imitation of Lucretius, he has chosen to conclude the book, is essentially digressive, following, as it does, the fortunes of other animals besides those which are the subjects of the farmer's care, and in general being so conducted that the reader peruses it as an independent story, and does not feel the patent want of a regular peroration closing this part of the treatise.

The exordium of the book has a biographical interest, as containing the most definite sketch of the project, which Virgil doubtless stood pledged to execute, of a poem in honour of the exploits of Octavianus—a plan, not of the Aeneid, but of that for which the Aeneid was accepted as a compensation. It is in the course of it that, as was mentioned in p. 147, the only passage occurs which seems as if it must have been written at a later date than that assigned to the completion of the poem as a whole. See on vv. 31, 32, 33.

Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
 Pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycæi.
 Cetera, quæ vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
 Omnia iam volgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum,
 Aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras? 5
 Cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos,
 Hippodameque, umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,
 Acer equis? Temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim
 Tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.

1—48.] 'My song shall now embrace the themes of cattle and pasture. The old heroic legends have been worn threadbare by other poets: mine must be a different path to fame. One day I hope to raise a deathless monument to Caesar, a trophy of his victories over the East and West, and of mine over the bards of Greece. Meanwhile Maecenas bids me to the woods again. Away to the chase.'

1.] For Pales and Apollo Nomius, see E. 5. 35.

2.] 'Pastor ab Amphryso:' the pastoral character of Apollo appears in the common legends as a mere episode: it appears however to have been a distinct aspect under which he was regarded by the earlier mythology. 'Ab' here serves for local description. Comp. "Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia," Livy 1. 50. 'Silvæ amnesque Lycæi:' the abode of Pan, l. 16, who is thus indirectly indicated as a third god invoked.

3.] The MSS. vary between 'carmine' and 'carmina,' the latter being the reading of Med. and Rom., the former of Pal. But the change is very slight, and 'carmine' seems less commonplace. Philarg. mentions both, preferring the former. 'Tenuissent,' the potential, not the conjunctive. 'All other themes which might have laid on idle minds the spell of poesy are hackneyed now.'

5.] 'Inlaudati:' much unnecessary ingenuity and learning have been wasted on this word, as may be seen from Forc. s. v. It is a litotes like "inamabilis,"

A. 6. 438. So in Greek οὐκ ἔπαινέ is used for 'I condemn.' ['Arces' Med. originally for 'aras.'—H. N.]

7.] Virg. may have been thinking of Pind. Ol. 1, which dwells equally on the ivory shoulder of Pelops and his victory in the chariot race. There is some trace in the MSS. of an old reading, 'umeri—eburni.'

8.] 'Acer equis,' 'a keen charioteer,' as 'acerrimus armis' (A. 9. 176) is 'a gallant warrior.' 'Temptanda via est,' 'I must explore a path,' taking 'via' in its strict sense. Comp. Hor. 3 Od. 2. 22, "Virtus . . . negata temptat iter via," probably an imitation of Virg., as the following words (see next note) seem to show. ['Possem' Pal.—H. N.]

9.] 'Victor' of intellectual triumph, perhaps from Lucr. 1. 75. The word prepares us for the image developed in the following lines. What is the notion contained in 'virum volitare per ora' is not quite clear. No doubt it is taken from the celebrated lines in Ennius' epitaph on himself (Epigr. 1. 3), "Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu Faxit. Cur? volito vivus per ora virum." Διὰ στόματος εἶναι and similar phrases are common in Greek as expressions for celebrity; and Ennius need have meant no more than this, stating his conviction that he should live in men's speeches and memories. The well-known Ode of Horace however (2 Od. 20) brings out the conception in a somewhat different and more prominent form, the poet

Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit, 10
 Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;
 Primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas;
 Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam

speaking of himself as changed into a bird and flying in the air from country to country. The use of 'per ora' elsewhere in Latin would favour this interpretation both in Ennius and in Virg.; comp. Sall. Jug. 31 "incedunt per ora vestra magnifici," Hor. 2 S. l. 64 "nitidus qua quisque per ora Cederet." On the other hand Sil. 3. 135 says "ire per ora Nomen in aeternum paucis mens ignea donat," he clearly means passing from mouth to mouth in talk: a sense in which "esse in ore," "venire in ora," &c. are frequently used. And this would seem to be Virg.'s meaning in A. 12. 234 foll., "Ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris, Succedet fama vivusque per ora feretur." Yet here 'volitare' as coupled with 'me tollere humo' is in favour of such a flight as Hor. supposes. Comp. another passage in Hor., 3 Od. 2. 23, "udam Spernit humum fugiente penna." On the whole, this would seem to be one of the passages in which Virg. shadows out more meanings than one, probably not discriminating them in his own mind as sharply as they must be distinguished by a modern commentator. For similar fluctuations in the meaning of 'ora' see on A. 2. 1.

10—39.] The nature of the allegory contained in these lines has been much disputed. It seems clearly however to be drawn from a Roman triumph. The poet who has just spoken of himself as a conqueror ('victor') represents himself as returning from a campaign in Greece, and bringing the Muses captive from Helicon; in other words, if the old subjects of song are forestalled, he will be the first to do for Rome what Hesiod and others have done for Greece. Then he will build a votive temple by his native river to his patron god, and celebrate before it games and shews, like Roman conquerors after their triumph. The temple is to be adorned with the sculptured history of Augustus, as other temples were with the legends of their god. Having secured his own fame as the rural poet of his country, he will be able to pass to the grateful celebration of his patron's triumphs. For a different in-

terpretation see Hurd on Horace, vol. ii. pp. 43 foll.

10.] 'Primus,' &c.: imitated from Lucr. 1. 117, where Ennius is spoken of. 'In patriam,' not Mantua, as Serv., Heyne, and others think, but Italy. Virg. has before claimed to be the earliest rural poet of Italy, 2. 175, 176.

11.] 'Aonio vertice:' Helicon, as in Lucr. l. c., but perhaps with a reference to Hesiod (Keightley). 'Rediens,' as from a campaign. 'Deducam,' lead in triumph. Comp. Hor. 1 Od. 37, 31, "Privata deduci superbo Non humilis mulier triumpho." It has been plausibly suggested that this passage is not purely metaphorical, but refers to a literal journey into Greece [made about this time, and not mentioned by Suetonius, but alluded to by Horace in the third ode of the first book.—H. N.].

12.] 'Referam' carries out the notion of victory. "Unde refert nobis victor quid possit oriri, Quid nequeat," Lucr. 1. 75. The epithet 'Idumaeas' is worse than otiose. It would be otiose if applied only to 'palmas:' but it is worse than otiose, as drawing a contrast between 'palmas' and 'Mantua.' For 'Idumaeas palmas' comp. Hor. 2 Ep. 2. 184, "Herodis palmetis pinguibus," and Lucan 3. 216, Stat. Silv. 5. 2. 138. 'Palmas;' in an inscription ap. Marin. Frat. Arv. quoted by the German editor of Forcell. ('palma') it is said "Imp. Caes. ex Sicilia Eid. Nov. Triumphavit Palmam Dedit," which is explained to mean "in gremio Iovis collocavit." From this it appears either that the name 'palma' was given to the branch of bay which was carried by the victor in a triumph, or that the palm itself was sometimes substituted for the bay, agreeably to the custom in the Grecian games, also adopted at Rome (Livy 10. 47) where the conqueror carried a palm branch. Comp. Pausan. 8. 48.

13.] 'Templum ponam:' the custom of vowing temples to the gods in battle and dedicating them after victory is too well known to need illustration: see, however, Livy 1. 11, 12, 2. 20.

Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
 Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas. 15
 In medio mihi Caesar erit, templumque tenebit.
 Illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro
 Centum quadriugos agitabo ad flumina currus,
 Cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,
 Cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu. 20
 Ipse, caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae,
 Dona feram. Iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas
 Ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuvencos;
 Vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus, utque
 Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni. 25

14.] 'Propter aquam,' like the temple of Zeus by the Alpheus; a glance at the Grecian games, which he intends to emulate, though the main idea is that of a Roman triumph. 'Ingens:' the Mincio spreads into a lake close to Mantua.

16.] 'In medio,' in the shrine, which is to contain the image of Caesar as the presiding god. Caesar shall be the principal subject of a great poem.

17.] Imitated by Horace, A. P. 228. The reference is either to the "toga picta," worn in the triumph, or to the "toga praetexta," worn by the magistrates at the celebration of the games. "Conspectus in armis," 8. 588 note. For 'illi' Rom. and some others have 'illie,' not so well. Ribbeck understands 'illi' as an archaism for 'illie:' see on 1. 54.

18.] 'Centum,' as in A. 1. 417., 4. 199., 6. 787. 'Agitabo,' will cause to be driven (by instituting games).

19.] 'Lucus Molorchi,' the forest of Nemea, where Molorchus entertained Hercules. Philarg. seems to have read 'ludos.' For 'linquens' Pal. strangely has 'pubes,' possibly, as Ribbeck suggests, from 1. 343.

20.] 'Crudo,' made of raw hide. Rom. has 'duro,' which is Serv.'s interpretation of 'crudo.' His games will not be merely national, but will attract even the Greeks from Olympia and Nemea. In other words, in his heroic poem, no less than in his Georgics, he will use and improve upon Greek art. Comp. Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 32, "Venimus ad summum fortunae, pingimus atque Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis." ['Decernit' Med. Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

21.] 'Tonsae olivae' probably, as Heyne

thinks, means the stripped leaves of olive woven into a wreath. The reference seems to be not to the Olympic crown, but to the sacrificial wreath of olive. Comp. A. 5. 774., 7. 750, and especially 6. 809, "Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae Sacra ferens?"

23.] 'Iuvat' may refer either to the poet himself or to the fancied spectators of these shows. 'Feram' immediately preceding rather makes for the former. If the latter be preferred, comp. A. 2. 27. But Virg. may well have intended to include both. 'The time is come: what joy to lead the solemn procession to the temple, and see the bullocks slaughtered!'

24.] There shall be stage plays as well as sacrifices and games. Serv. says that Virg. refers to two different kinds of 'scaenae,' called "versilis" and "ductilis," the one turning on a pivot and so exhibiting different faces ('versis frontibus'), the other parting ('discedat') to disclose a new scene within. Schlegel, Dram. Lit. Lect. 4, reconciles the two by supposing that the side scenes were "versiles" and the centre scene was "ductilis." In the Greek scene there were two rotatory prisms (*πελαστροί*) near the side entrances of the 'scaena,' which served for shifting the scene. Dict. A. 'Theatrum.'

25.] The ancient curtain rose instead of falling. This line is illustrated by Ov. M. 3. 111—113, who compares the rising of the warriors from the ground where Cadmus had sown the serpent's teeth to the rise of the figures embroidered on the stage curtain:

"Sic, ubi tolluntur festis aulaea theatri,
 Surgere signa solent, primumque ostendere voltum,

In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
 Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini,
 Atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
 Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas.
 Addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten 30
 Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,
 Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea

Cetera paullatim placidoque educta tenore

Tota patent, imoque pedes in margine ponunt."

'Tollant,' rise with it, and so appear to draw it up with them. The Britanni sued for peace to Augustus u.c. 727, when he was in Gaul preparing to invade them. [Tollent' Pal.—H. N.]

26.] He recurs to the temple, which is to be ornamented with the exploits of its god. See note on v. 10. 'Foribus': temples with their folding doors thus adorned with appropriate figures in gold and ivory are mentioned by Cic. Verr. 2 Act. 4. 56, and Prop. 3. 23. 11. Long, on the passage from Cic., remarks that some of the great works of art, both of ancient and modern times, are doors and gates. The combination of ivory and gold was common in ancient statuary, the ivory being employed to represent the flesh. See Dict. A. 'Statuaria Ars.'

27.] The Gangaridae were an Indian tribe near the Ganges; and the reference probably is, as in 2. 173, to the defeat of the Eastern troops of Antony. 'Quirini' may be referred to Augustus, to whom it was proposed to give the title of Romulus or Quirinus; but, looking to the contrast with 'Gangaridum,' it is more probably the representative of the Roman nation.

28.] ['Huic' Pal. for 'hic.'—H. N.] 'Undantem bello,' swelling or surging with war, that is, with warlike feeling: the meaning is explained by 'magnum fluentem.' In the same way the defeated river is said "ire mollior undis," A. 8. 727, and "minores volvere vertices," Hor. 2 Od. 9. 22. This seems more natural than to understand it of the fleets floating on the Nile, as it was not there that the struggle took place. The representation here is probably one of the river, such as those which were carried in triumphal processions, not, as in A. 8. 711, of the river-god. 'Magnum' is not an adverbial neuter, but agrees with 'fluentem,' like "saxosus sonans" 4. 370: comp. πῶλός

πέων, and Bentl. on Hor. 1 S. 7. 28.

29.] 'Navali surgentis aere columnas,' otherwise called "columnae rostratae," and found on the coins of Augustus. ['Navalis' Rom.—H. N.] [Serv. says "Augustus victor totius Aegypti quam Caesar pro parte superaverat, multa de navali certamine sustulit rostra, quibus confatis quattuor effecit columnas, quae postea in Capitolio sunt locatae, quas hodieque conspicimus." A decree of the Senate of B.C. 30 ordered that some of these *rostra* should go to adorn the chapel of Julius Caesar.—H. N.]

30.] 'Niphates,' according to the geographers, is a mountain in Armenia; though Juv. 6. 409, Lucan 3. 245, and Sil. 13. 775, mention a river of that name, possibly, as the commentators suggest, from a misunderstanding of this passage. See note on 1. 490, and consult Macleane on Hor. 2 Od. 10. 20, where there is the same doubt about Niphates as here. If the figure is to be pressed, 'pulsum' would be more applicable to a river, which may be poetically feigned to be driven backward to its source (Ladewig comp. A. 11. 405), than to a mountain; so that we must suppose Virg. to have thought of the mountaineers rather than of their dwelling. Representations of mountains were carried in the triumphal procession, Dict. A. 'Triumph.'

31.] The Parthian mode of warfare is too well known to need illustration. If these lines do not refer to the triumphal progress of Octavianus in the East after the battle of Actium, we must either regard them, with Heyne, as prophetic, or suppose that they were added after the completion of the Georgica, u.c. 735, the last year of Virg.'s life, when Augustus received the submission of the Armenians and recovered the standards from the Parthians, an event referred to in the same strain by Hor. 2 Od. 9. 18 foll.

32, 33.] These lines refer to the double triumph of Augustus in the East and the West. It is hard to say what this West

Bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes.
 Stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,
 Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis
 Nomina, Trosque parens, et Troiae Cynthus auctor.
 Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
 Cocyti metuet, tortosque Ixionis anguis,
 Immanemque rotam, et non exsuperabile saxum.
 Interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
 Intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.

85

40

tern victory can be, unless it be that gained over the Cantabri, u.c. 729, which would agree with the hypothesis of a subsequent insertion mentioned in the previous note. Britain, of which Serv. speaks, never furnished any triumph to Augustus. The language looks almost too specific for prophecy, which moreover in a case like this is less sublime than actual historical fact. [There seems, however, no reason for assigning these lines to a later year than 29 B.C. The only words which need cause any difficulty are 'bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes.' But they may be explained as referring to the Morini and the Dalmatians. The Morini had been twice conquered, once by Julius Caesar, and again by Gaius Carraenas; the Dalmatians had been subdued first by Vatinius, who received a *supplicatio* on this account in 45 B.C., and again by Octavianus himself in B.C. 34. Both the Morini and the Dalmatians appeared in the triple triumph of 29 B.C. Prop. 4. 8 (9), 53, alludes in similar language to the same events, "prosequar et currus utroque ab litore ovantes."—H. N.]

33.] 'Utroque ab litore' is to be taken with 'gentis.' 'Bis triumphatas,' once over each. Some take it, twice apiece; but this will not agree so well with 'duo tropaea.'

34.] 'Stabunt,' either on separate pedestals, or on the pediment, like the Aeginetan and Selinuntian marbles. When the deeds of Augustus are commemorated, the mythical glories of his ancestors are also to be introduced. For 'stare' of statues, comp. E. 7. 32.

35.] 'Assaracus' was the son of Tros, from whom Aeneas and the Julian house were sprung.

36.] 'Nomina,' the great names. Comp. Sil. 17. 492, "Iamque ardore truci lustrans fortissima quaeque Nomina obit ferro."

'Troiae Cynthus auctor:' comp. Hor. 3 Od. 3. 65, 66, "Ter si resurgat murus aeneus Auctore Phoebo." Apollo is perhaps introduced as the tutelary god, and reputed father of Augustus (Keightley).

37.] 'Invidia' probably refers to political malcontents, not to the rivals of the poet. 'Severum:' 6. 374. Comp. Lucr. 5. 35, "pelageque severa," where "sonora" seems a needless conjecture.

38.] 'Metuet,' 'shall quail at,' that is, shall be represented as quailing at the tortures of the infernal regions, as inflicted, not on others, but on itself. [Pal. has 'metuens.'—H. N.] 'Tortosque Ixionis anguis' is to be taken in close connexion with the next clause. Virg. alone speaks of Ixion as bound to the wheel with snakes; whence some have preferred the reading of Rom. 'orbis.' 'Tortos' would then refer to the whirling of the wheel, in which the torture consisted.

39.] 'Non exsuperabile saxum' is probably on the analogy of "exsuperare laborem." Serv. however understands 'exsuperabile' actively, "quod superare non valet summum montis cacumen." [The Berne scholia explains it as 'excussum,' 'shaken off his neck.'—H. N.] Gell. 17. 2 quotes from the Annals of Q. Claudius the expression "operam fortem atque exsuperabilem."

41.] 'Intactos:' this attribute seems to be dwelt on for two reasons: first, as denoting the untried nature of the subject (comp. Lucr. 1. 927, "integros fountis"), and, secondly, because it is of pasture-land that he now comes to speak. 'Pursue we the Dryads' woods and glades, virgin as they.' 'Iussa' may = "pensa," the thing or subject commanded, in apposition to 'saltus;' or it may be a cognate accus. after 'sequamur,' 'saltus,' being the ordinary accus. of the object. The union of the two in the same instance does not seem usual in Latin, but is

Te sine nil altum mens incohat: en age, segnis
 Rumpe moras; vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron
 Taygetique canes domitrixque Epidaurus equorum,
 Et vox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit. 45
 Mox tamen ardentes accingar dicere pugnas
 Caesaris, et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
 Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.
 Seu quis, Olympiacae miratus praemia palmae,
 Pascit equos, seu quis fortis ad aratra iuencos, 50
 Corpora praecipue matrum legat. Optima torvae

frequent in Greek, e.g. Aesch. Ag. 1419, 1420, οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδραγατεῖν Μαιμακτῶν ἔποινα. It seems unnecessary to suppose that Maecenas actually urged him to undertake this part of the subject. No more need be meant than that it forms a necessary part of the work which Maecenas seems to have prompted.

42.] 'En age' occurs again in Sil. 3. 179, comp. by Forc. These words are evidently addressed to Maecenas, who is called upon to plunge with the poet into the subject, as in 2. 39.

43.] 'Clamore,' is the clamour of the hunt. 'Cithaeron' was a wild mountain, abounding in beasts, as the stories of Oedipus and Pentheus prove.

44.] 'Taygeti' is the gen. of 'Taygetus,' the masc. being the form used in the sing. Spartan dogs are mentioned below, vv. 345, 405. ['Taygeti' Pal.—H. N.] 'Epidaurus' for Argolis, Ἀργὸς ἱππόβοτον, though 'domitrix equorum' seems to be a translation of ἱππόδαμος.

46.] 'Accingar' with the inf. is to be noted. The word is of course metaphorical, but perhaps used with some sense of its special appropriateness in connexion with 'pugnas.' 'I will gird my loins to sing of the battle, as now for the chase.'

48.] 'Tithonus' was not one of the mythical ancestors of the Caesars in the direct line, as he belonged to the other branch of the royal house of Troy; but this may be merely a poetical licence. Hurd thinks these three lines are spurious. His view is grounded partly on alleged difficulties in the expression, such as 'accingar dicere,' 'ardentis pugnas,' and the unauthorized introduction of Tithonus, partly on their matter-of-fact character, which he regards as inconsistent with the previous allegory, and partly on their

position as interrupting the main subject just resumed by a recurrence to the digression. The last objection is of some weight, as the whole passage would be improved by their absence. Virg. however may have felt bound to give his patron a distinct and repeated assurance of his intentions. The lines, if genuine, directly negative Hurd's theory, that the subject of the previous allegory is the Aeneid, which indeed the structure of the allegory itself, if carefully considered, will sufficiently refute. The promise, which seems to have been evaded by most of the Augustan poets, was doubtless fulfilled in the composition of the Aeneid; but the manner of its performance was very different from any thing sketched here; indeed the method proposed was exactly reversed in practice, the mythical ancestors of Rome and the Julian family being made the central figures, and Augustus and his exploits only accessory.

49—59.] 'Whether in breeding horses or oxen, the great thing is to choose the mother well.' Then follow the points of a good breeding cow.

49.] 'Miratus' has in effect the sense of desiring, as in Hor. 1 Ep. 6. 18 (comp. v. 9). Comp. also the use of "stupet," Hor. 1 S. 4. 28, and note on "inhiat," 2. 463.

50.] It is hard to say whether 'ad aratra' should be taken with 'fortis' or 'pascit.' Instances of both are common, e.g. Prop. 2. 10. 3, "Fortis ad proelia turmas," and Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 30, "alere canes ad venandum." But 'fortis aratris' (v. 62) is decidedly in favour of the former. Med., Rom., Gud. &c. have 'pascit.'

51.] 'Corpora matrum:' comp. A. 7. 650, "excepit Laurentis corpore Turni." The requisites for a cow are given at length by Varro, 2. 5, and by Col. 6. 1,

Forma bovis, cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix,
 Et crurum tenuis a mento palearia pendent;
 Tum longo nullus lateri modus; omnia magna,
 Pes etiam; et camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures. 55
 Nec mihi displiceat maculis insignis et albo,
 Aut iuga detrectans interdumque aspera cornu,
 Et faciem tauro propior, quaeque ardua tota,
 Et gradiens ima verrit vestigia cauda.
 Aetas Lucinam iustosque pati hymenaeos 60

and Pallad. 4. 11, who appear to have imitated Varro. 'Torvae,' grim-looking. Col. 6. 20, "Huic (sc. 'tauro') torva facies est."

52.] 'Turpe,' ugly, as in 4. 395, "turpis phocas." See below on v. 247, and comp. αἰσχρός. The word seems to comprise several characteristics given by Varro, l. c. "latis frontibus"—"compressis malis"—"subsimi (-mae?)"—"apertis naribus." 'Plurima cervix' denotes both thickness and length. Comp. Varro, l. c. "cervicibus crassis et longis."

53.] 'Palearia,' dewlaps. Col. l. c. "palearibus amplis et paene ad genua promissis."

54.] The "oblongae et amplae" of Varro l. c. The more length a cow has, the greater room she will have for her calf to grow in.

55.] 'Pes etiam;' Varro l. c. says, "pedibus non latis;" but Col. and Pallad., speaking of oxen, have "magnis ungulis,"—speaking of cows, "ungulis brevibus" or "modicis." 'Pes etiam,' put thus emphatically, may be a special contradiction of the opposite view. 'Hirtae aures;' so Varro, l. c. "pilosus auribus." 'Camuris,' curving inwards. [Fest. p. 43 M "Camara et camuri boves a curvatione ex Graeco κάμυρ dicuntur," Macrob. S. 6. 4. 23. "Camuris peregrinum verbum est, id est in se redeuntibus. Et forte nos cameram hac ratione figuravimus." So Serv. here. Philarg. says "camuri boves sunt qui conversa introrsus cornua habent . . . patuli qui cornua diversa habent;" comp. again Fest. p. 221.—H. N.] Pallad. 4. 11 says, "cornibus robustis ac sine curvaturae pravitate lunatis."

56.] The first reading of Med. is 'nec tibi displiceat,' which is plausible. Virg. however seems here to express a wish about a thing depending on himself, as elsewhere (v. 435, 2. 252) about things

depending on others. 'Maculis et albo' = "albis maculis," as "pateris et auro" 2. 192 = "pateris aureis," though Mr. Blackburn supposes Virg. to mean white with dark spots. Varro, on the other hand, (2. 5) says, "colore potissimum nigro, dein robeo, tertio helvo (i. q. gilvo), quarto albo." Col. again (6. 1), "coloris robei vel fuscii."

57.] 'Detrectans' Med., Gud., 'detractans' Pal., Rom. It is a question of orthography, and MSS. seem to be divided on it elsewhere as here. 'Interdumque aspera cornu' is to be closely connected with 'iuga detrectans' as denoting the temper of the animal, and not, as in most editions, to be separated by a semicolon. 'Aspera cornu,' apt to butt angrily.

58.] 'Faciem tauro propior,' probably = "latis frontibus," Varro 2. 5. The expression has been already specified by 'torvae.' 'Ardua tota;' 'Vaccae quoque probantur altissimae formae longaeque,' Col. 6. 21. ['Proprior' Med.—H. N.]

59.] Comp. Varro l. c. "Caudam profusam usque ad calces ut habeant." 'Vestigia' may be either the footsteps or the feet, as in A. 5. 566, "vestigia primi Alba pedis," and in Catull. 64. 162.

60—71.] 'The age for breeding is between four and ten years. It is best to be early: if the first days are let slip, disease or death may intervene: such is the lot of mortality. Be attentive, and supply fresh breeders as the others fail.'

60.] 'Aetas pati' apparently = "aetas patiendi." See on 1. 213. 'Iustos' may be regular or customary, as in "iustum proelium," "iustus exercitus;" but it may also refer to time, the epithet being virtually transferred from 'aetas.' Comp. Varro l. c. "Non minores oportet inire bimas, ut trimae pariant; eo melius si quadrimae. Pleraeque pariunt

Desinit ante decem, post quattuor incipit annos ;
 Cetera nec feturae habilis, nec fortis aratris.
 Interea, superat gregibus dum laeta iuventas,
 Solve mares ; mitte in Venerem pecuaria primus,
 Atque aliam ex alia generando suffice prolem. 65
 Optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
 Prima fugit ; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus,
 Et labor et durae rapit inclementia mortis.
 Semper erunt, quarum mutari corpora malis :
 Semper enim refice, ac, ne post amissa requiras, 70
 Ante veni, et subolem armento sortire quot annis.
 Nec non et pecori est idem dilectus equino.
 Tu modo, quos in spem statues summittere gentis,
 Praecipuum iam inde a teneris impende laborem.

in decem annos, quaedam etiam in pluribus."

62.] 'Cetera,' sc. 'aetas.' Med. has 'aratris,' which would introduce an unknown construction.

63.] 'Superat' = 'superest.' Wagn. explains it by "abunde est;" but v. 66 clearly points to the former meaning. Comp. note on 2. 235. Med. (first reading) has 'iuventus,' which was read before Heins.

64.] 'Pecuaria' properly means the place where the "pecora" are kept; but here, as in Pers. 3. 9, the animals themselves. [Philarg. remarks that 'aestiva' is used in a similar way v. 472 below.—H. N.] 'Primus:' comp. 2. 408, "Primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato Sarmenta."

65.] 'Suffice:' this word means properly to produce or put from beneath, and so to supply a void or keep up a succession. Comp. the phrase "sufficitur consul, censor," &c. Pal. has 'ex aliis.'

66.] Another touch of the pessimism which Virg. probably caught from Lucr.; comp. 1. 198. 'Miseris mortalibus' is from Lucr. 5. 944.

68.] 'Labor,' suffering, as in A. 6. 277, where "Letumque Labosque" are enumerated among the phantoms at the gates of hell. 'Rapiť, hurries on, as in A. 4. 581, "Idem omnes simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque." So "rapidus."

69.] There will always be some that you will be glad to get rid of. 'Quarum corpora' is merely periphrastic, as above,

v. 51. Med. gives 'mavis.' ['Mallis' Rom., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

70.] 'Enim' seems here to be added for the sake of emphasis. The words are to be connected with what follows. 'Amisiss' probably = "quae amiseris," not "amissa corpora."

71.] 'Subolem,' a supply of young ones. 'Sortire' = "elice," as in A. 12. 919. ['Quodannis' Ribbeck, from Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

72—94.] Directions for the choice of stallions.

72.] I have recalled 'dilectus,' the reading of Heins. and later editors, as it seems to be found in all Ribbeck's MSS. except one a m. p. Kritz condemns it on Sall. Cat. 36, on grounds of analogy and MS. authority alike: but Dietsch adopts it there from two MSS., and the MSS. of Sall. are less ancient than those of Virg. The question is one of those which I do not undertake to determine: but it seems strange to read 'dilectus' here and 'dilectus' as a participle in such passages as E. 4. 35.

73.] 'Summittere,' E. l. 46 note. The antecedent is omitted, because 'quos' is equivalent to "si quos." See Madv. § 321. The prominence given to 'tu' may be expressed in translation, 'Mark me, and let those whom you mean to rear as the propagators of their line have even from their first youth the advantage of your special pains.'

74.] 'A teneris,' from foals, like "a pueris," from boys.

Continuo pecoris generosi pullus in arvis
 Altius ingreditur, et mollia crura reponit;
 Primus et ire viam et fluvios temptare minacis
 Audet et ignoto sese committere ponti,
 Nec vanos horret strepitus. Illi ardua cervix,
 Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, obesaque terga, 80
 Luxuriatque toris animosum pectus. Honesti
 Spadices glaucique, color deterrimus albis
 Et gilvo. Tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere,
 Stare loco nescit, micat auribus et tremit artus,

75.] 'Continuo,' from the first: 1. 169.

76.] 'Altius ingreditur' seems to mean 'steps higher.' Varro (2. 7) says, "cruribus rectis et aequalibus." Col. (6. 29), "aequalibus atque altis rectisque cruribus." 'Mollia crura reponit.' Serv. quotes from Ennius (A. fr. inc. 81), who is speaking of cranes, "Perque fabam reput et mollia crura reponunt." 'Mollia' = flexible: comp. Lucr. 4. 980, "mollia membra moventis." 'Reponit': the meaning of this word is very doubtful. Trapp hints that the 're' means alternation, a sense which we may perhaps parallel by *δπλαῖς ἀμειβόμενοι*, Pind. Pyth. 4. 226. Keightley takes the 're' to mean frequency,—lays fast to the ground. But it is more probably to be explained as correlative to 'altius ingreditur.' 'See how high he steps in the pasture, and with what spring he brings down his legs.'

77, 78.] 'Primus,' &c.: he leads the herd over the ford and bridge. The same proof of a colt's courage is given by Col. 6. 2, and Varro 2. 7. Pal. has 'minantia,' supported by a quotation in Sen. Ep. 95, and Ribbeck adopts it. The bridges meant were probably wooden. Comp. Pliny 8. 169 (speaking of asses) "neo pontes transeunt per raritatem eorum tralucetibus fluvii." Some MSS., including Gud. and the first reading of Med., give 'ponto.'

80.] 'Argutum': this word is the participle of "arguo," which may perhaps have had originally a physical meaning. It seems, when applied to form, to mean 'clearly defined,' 'neat.' Comp. "arguta soles," Catull. 68. 72. 'Argutum caput' is probably the opposite to "turpe caput." Varro and Col. recommend a small head; and this smallness is implied in 'argutus,' as largeness is in "turpis." 'Obesus' is opposed to "gracilis." See Döderlein,

Syn. 5. 200.

81.] 'Animosum,' spirited, because muscular. 'Honesti,' from the context, must mean 'good' rather than 'handsome.'

82.] 'Spadices,' bay; as appears from Gell. 2. 26, who derives it from *σπάδις*, the Doric for a palm, and says that the colour is that of a not too ripe date. ["Nam poeniceus, quem tu Graece *φαίνικα* dixisti, noster est et *rutilus* et *spadix*."] So Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.] A synonym for the word is "badius" or "baidius," *βαΐδιος*, from *Bais*, also a palm branch, whence the Italian 'baio' and our 'bay.' 'Glauci,' blue grey (Keightley). [Gell. 2. 26 says that Virg. might equally well have used 'caerulus'.—H. N.] 'Albis': Keightley says this remark must be confined to stallions. The distinction taken between "albus" and "candidus," as if the praise of white horses in the classics was confined to the latter, is overthrown by Hor. 1 S. 7. 8, "equis praecurreret albis," where see Maclean's note. Serv. mentions a strange notion [found in Philarg. and the Berne scholia, which here are evidently dependent on Philarg.] "Multi ita legunt *albis* et *gilvo*, ut non album vel *gilvum* sed *albigilvum* vituperet; quod falsum est."

83.] 'Gilvo,' dun (Keightley). The word is the same as the German 'gelb' and our 'yellow.' 'Si qua' for "si forte," like "si quem" for "sicubi." A. 1. 181, and the common use of "nullus" for "non." See E. 1. 54.

84.] 'Micat auribus,' he pricks up his ears. Comp. the phrase "micare digitis." The instrum. abl. 'auribus' denotes an action, whereas the accusative 'artus' denotes an affection, though the distinction does not hold universally. 'Tremit artus,' from Lucr. 3. 489.

Collectumque fremens volvit sub naribus ignem. 85
 Densa iuba, et dextro iactata recumbit in armo;
 At duplex agitur per lumbos spina; cavatque
 Tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu.
 Talis Amyclaei domitus Pollucis habenis
 Cyllarus, et, quorum Grai meminere poetae, 90
 Martis equi biuges, et magni currus Achilli.
 Talis et ipse iubam cervice effundit equina
 Coniugis adventu pernix Saturnus, et altum

85.] 'Fremens' Med., 'premens' Pal., Rom., Gud., supported by a quotation in Sen. Ep. 95. The former has been the usual reading since Heyne; but Ribbeck restores the latter. It is difficult to decide; 'fremens' however seems the more natural and appropriate word, and derives some support from Lucr. 5. 1076, "Et fremitum patulis sub naribus edit ad arma," though that support will be diminished if with Lachm. we there turn "sub" into "ubi." 'Ignem,' the hot breath. The steam seems to have suggested the idea of smoke. Comp. the fable of the horses of Diomedes, "spirantes naribus ignem" (Lucr. 5. 29). 'Volvere' is used of breath Lucr. 6. 1227, "vitalis aëris auras Volvere in ore."

86.] 'Iactata,' after being tossed up. Böringer, quoted by Schneider on Varro 2. 7, says that the ancients got up on the right side of the horse, and used the mane to mount with. Comp. Prop. 5. 4. 38, "Cui Tattius dextras collocat ipse iubas."

87.] 'Duplex spina' appears to be a hollow spine, opposed to "extans." Varro l. c., Col. 6. 29.

88.] Varro and Col. l. c. mention "durae ungulae" as a good point. A hard and thick hoof would be especially requisite when horses were not shod with iron. Comp. the Homeric *κρατερώνυχες ἵπποι*. Rom. has 'quatit ungula,' from a recollection of A. 596.

89.] 'Such was the steed that learnt to obey the rein of Amyclaeon Pollux, Cyllarus, and those of that Greek song has preserved the memory, the horses of Mars, and the pair of the mighty Achilles: ay, such was the great god Saturn himself, when quick as lightning he flung his mane over that horse's neck of his, as he heard his wife's step, and, as he ran, thrilled through the height and depth of Pelion with his clear sharp neigh.' These mythological allusions are obviously in-

tended to ennoble the subject; but they tend to injure its genuine character. Propertius has carried the artifice to absurdity. 'Amyclaei,' v. 345.

90.] Castor is generally the rider of Cyllarus, while Pollux is a boxer. Suidas however, s. v. *Κύλλαρως*, quotes Stesichorus as saying that Cyllarus belonged to both. [The Berne scholia, which are here fuller than the notes of Serv. and Philarg., say "Equos autem a Neptuno Iunoni datos Alcan lyricus dicit Cyllarum et Xanthum, quorum Polluci Cyllarum, Xanthum fratri eius concessum esse dictum est." —H. N.]

91.] 'Martis equi:' see Il. 15. 119. The notion of Serv. that *Δεῖμος* and *Φόβος* were the names of the horses rests on a mistranslation. 'Currus Achilli:' Xanthus and Balias, Il. 16. 148. 'Currus' for "equi:" comp. l. 514. The orthography fluctuates between 'Achilli' or 'Achillei' (so Pal., though Wagn. on A. l. 30 rejects it) and 'Achillis.' I have followed Wagn., as a reference to A. l. 30., 2. 476, seems to show that he is right in deciding the question in each case by euphony.

92.] 'Iubam effundit,' in flight, as is shown by 'pernix' and 'fugiens.' ['Effundit' has overwhelming authority as against 'effudit,' which Forb., however, still retains. No doubt the perf. which follows, 'implevit,' is a difficulty in the way of reading 'effundit.' But see Conington on Persius 4. 2, who quotes Hor. 2. S. 3. 277, "Marius cum praecipitat se, Cerritus fuit?" The present resembles that in Pers. l. c. "sorbitio tollit quem dira cicuta," and is apparently intended to express the fact that the story or history continues to be well known. Comp. also A. 8. 294 "tu Cresia mactas Prodigia." —H. N.]

93.] 'Coniugis,' Rhea, or Ops, to hide from whom his amour with the nymph

Pelion hinnitu fugiens implevit acuto.

Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis aut iam segnior annis

Deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignosce senectae : 96

Frigidus in Venerem senior, frustra que laborem

Ingratum trahit ; et, si quando ad proelia ventum est,

Ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,

Incassum furit. Ergo animos aevumque notabis 100

Praecipue ; hinc alias artis, prolemque parentum,

Et quis cuique dolor victo, quae gloria palmae.

Nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum

Philyra Saturn changed himself into a horse and the nymph into a mare. The idea is taken from Apoll. R. 2. 1234, where Saturn is described galloping off on being surprised with the nymph by Rhea.

95—122.] 'The first thing is to see that they are young and vigorous, then to inquire into their peculiar qualities and antecedents, their successes and defeats, and how they have borne them ; for you have only to look at a race to see how thoroughly a spirited horse enters into the contest. Whether for driving or riding, I repeat, youth and vigour are what you have mainly to look to.'

95.] 'Hunc quoque,' even this perfect horse.

96.] ['Defecit,' i.e. 'deficit,' Med. originally, and so Ribbeck. — H. N.] 'Abde domo' has been taken by Heyne and others to mean 'remove him from home,' 'send him off ;' but it more probably means 'take him up,' 'leave him no longer out with the mares.' The Latin will bear either, 'domo' being in the former case the ablative, in the latter probably the dative, and equivalent to "in domum." Nemesianus, Cyneg. 141, has "abdaturque domo" for 'be sent away from home,' but his authority is of less weight than the analogy of Hor.'s "abditus agro," 1 Ep. 1. 5, where, as Keightley remarks, the mention of the horse immediately after looks like a reference to the present passage. There is some doubt about the meaning of 'nec turpi ignosce senectae.' Serv., who has been generally followed, proposes to take 'nec turpi' as "et non turpi." It seems better to take his other way, 'nec ignosce senectae,' 'suffer him not to disgrace himself in his old age.' 'Turpis' seems to be equivalent to ἀσχημον. Ladewig comp. Sil. 15. 651, "turpi finem donate senectae."

98.] 'Ingratum' fruitless. Comp. 1.

83, "nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae." 'Proelia' of course is to be explained from the context, though Ameis takes it literally.

99.] 'Sine viribus,' because the straw is its only fuel. Med. originally and Gud. omit 'in,' and Rom. has 'stipula.'

100.] The emphatic word is 'aevum.' You must first see that he is young and vigorous.

101.] 'Hinc,' afterwards, that is, not till you have looked to the age. 'Artis,' qualities. [Pal. has 'partis.'—H. N.] 'Prolem parentum,' the breed of his sire and dam ; comp. Col. 7. 6. 7, "Parit autem, si generosa est proles, duos."

102.] 'Cuique,' in each case, whenever you choose a horse to breed from. These lines may be taken in a different way, 'prolem parentum' being understood as the other offspring of his sire and dam, and 'cuique' as each member of this offspring, into whose racing qualities the breeder is to inquire. The words 'quis dolor, quae gloria' denote a two-fold inquiry ; what have been his victories and defeats, and what spirit has he shown in each. On the latter the poet proceeds to expatiate.

103.] 'Nonne vides,' see on 1. 56. The description is imitated from Il. 23. 362—372. I would offer the following translation : 'Who has not watched the headlong speed of a race, the chariots swallowing the ground before them as they pour along in a torrent from their flood-gates, when the drivers' youthful hopes are at their height, and the bounding heart is drained by each eager pulsation ? there are they with their ever ready lash circling in the air, bending forward to let the reins go : on flies the wheel, swift and hot as fire : now they ride low, now they seem to tower aloft, shooting through the void air and rising against the sky : no stint, no stay,

Corripuere rountque effusi carcere currus,
 Cum spes arrectae iuvenum, exultantiaque haurit 105
 Corda pavor pulsans? illi instant verberere torto
 Et proni dant lora; volat vi fervidus axis;
 Iamque humiles, iamque elati sublime videntur
 Aëra per vacuum ferri, atque adsurgere in auras;
 Nec mora, nec requies; at fulvae nimbus harenæ 110
 Tollitur; umescunt spumis flatuque sequentum:
 Tantus amor laudum, tantæ est victoria curæ.

while the yellow sand mounts up in a cloud, and each is sprinkled with the foam and breath of those behind him: that is what ambition can do; that is the measure of their zeal for success.'

104.] 'Campum corripuere:' have started. 'Corripo' in this and similar expressions, e.g. "corripere viam, spatia," seems to express the sudden hold laid as it were on that over which the progress is made, and also the annihilation of the space, the "vorare viam" of Catullus. 'Effusi carcere:' see on l. 512.

105.] 'Spes arrectae,' a poetical variety for "animi arrecti spe." So A. 5. 138, which is a partial repetition of this passage, "laudumque arrecta cupido." 'Iuvenum,' the drivers, the word being of course chosen to bring out the enthusiasm of youthful hopes. 'Haurit' seems rightly explained by Heyne, 'exhausts the heart by stopping the breath.' Those who think this too recondite may compare with Serv. A. 10. 314, "latus haurit apertum," the notion in each case being that of rapidly devouring, so that here they may render, 'thrills through and through.' 'Pulsans,' as well as 'haurit,' may go with 'corda,' Virg. borrowed the expression from Il. 23. 370, where however πάσασσε is intrans.

106.] 'Illi instant:' the apodosis seems to begin here. Strictly speaking however the words form the commencement of a new sentence, there being no grammatical connexion with 'nonne vides.' We have had a similar instance in l. 187—189. "Contemplator item . . . sisuperant fetus." 'Instant' seems to include the notion of "insistent rotis" (v. 114) as well as that of keeping up the speed, and being always ready to put in the whip, 'Verberere torto' is best taken as the ablat. instrum. not as dat. for "verberi." Comp. A. 8. 250., 10. 691, the latter of which passage proves the use of the ablat., as the dat. of

the person occurs in the same sentence. 'Verberere' = 'flagello.' 'Torto,' 'circling,' not 'twisted.' Comp. l. 319, "Stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae."

107.] The reins were passed round the body of the driver, so that he naturally leant forward when at full speed. See Dict. A. s. v. 'Circus.' 'Axis:' this was a very conspicuous part of the ancient chariot, because the car was so small and light. 'Vi' is of course to be taken with 'volat;' not, as Wakof. thought, with 'fervidus.'

108, 109.] Hom. (Il. 23. 368, 369) has

Ἀρματα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν χθονὶ πύλαστο
 πούλυβοτείρῃ,
 ἄλλοτε δ' αἰζάσκε μετῆρα τοὶ δ' ἐλα-
 τήρες
 ἔστασαν ἐν δίφροισι,

so that Virg. refers to the bounding of the cars, and the corresponding rising and sinking of the charioteers, not to any motion of the charioteers themselves.

109.] The words 'sublime—auras' are a case of zeugma, being connected grammatically with both 'humiles' and 'elati,' though in sense with 'elati' only. 'Sublime' may be taken with either 'elati' or 'ferri.' 'Vacuum' has nearly the same meaning, denoting a certain height above the ground. Comp. Hor. l. Od. 3. 34, "Expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra," Pind. Ol. l. 10, ἐρήμας δὲ αἰθέρος: also A. 5. 515., 12. 592. [Rom. has 'exsurgere.'—H. N.] 110.] 'At' is continuative, not adversative.

111.] Comp. Il. 23. 380 and Soph. El. 718, which passages show that this of Virg.'s is literal, not rhetorical.

112.] This connects the preceding description, rather inartificially, with v. 102, from which the poet digressed, forming as it were a sort of object-clause for 'nonne vides.' This will show you what ambition can do.' With the language comp. l. 147.

Primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus
 Iungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere victor.
 Frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere
 Impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis
 Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.
 Aequus uterque labor; aequae iuvenemque magistri

115

113.] Pliny 7. 202 has the same legend, "Bigas primum iunxit Phrygum natio, quadrigas Erichthonius." Cic. N. D. 3. 23 says that the Arcadians attributed the invention of the four-horse car to a Minerva, daughter of Jupiter and Coryphe, whom they worshipped under the name of Coria. Erichthonius was turned into the constellation Auriga. See Dict. B. 'Erichthonius.' 'Currus et quattuor iungere equos' = "curruiquattuor iungere equos;" 'he first thought of putting together the two, the car and the four horses,' as if they had before existed separately.

114.] 'Rapidus' is the reading of most of Ribbeck's MSS., including Rom., Pal., Med. a m. p., and Gud., and of Serv., and was restored by Heins. for 'rapidis.' 'Insistere' refers to the practice of standing upright in the car, and is perhaps intended to be contrasted with 'rapidus' (comp. Hom. cited on vv. 108, 109). 'Victor' either of conquest in battle or a race, or merely of success in his invention. 'Erichthonius was the first who rose to the feat of coupling a car and four horses together, standing erect above the wheels that swept him on in triumph.'

115.] 'Pelethronii,' from the Pelethronian wood on Mount Pelion. 'Gyros,' the ring for breaking horses in. Comp. Pseudo-Tibull. 4. 1. 91, "equum . . . Inque vicem modo directo contendere cursu, seu libeat curvo brevius compellere gyro." Hence the frequent use of 'gyrus' metaphorically for a narrow space, as in Prop. 4. 3. 21, "Cur tua praescriptos evecta est pagina gyros?" The Greek name for it was κύκλος, and Pollux has κυκλοτερής ἵππασια for riding in the ring. Virg., as Keightley thinks, instead of rationalizing the fable of the Centaurs, attributes the introduction of riding horses to their rivals the Lapithae. 'Dedere' seems better explained by regarding the inventor as the giver (comp. "vestio munere" 1. 7) than by understanding "dare" as "edere."

116.] 'Sub armis' = "armatum."

117.] It is difficult to fix the exact meaning of 'glomerare;' but from the epithet 'superbos' it seems to denote the

gathering up of the legs in prancing or high action, not, as might otherwise be suggested, wheeling round in the ring. [An old gloss preserved in Non. pp. 106, 295, Gell. 17. 5, Macrob. Sat. 6. 9, Philarg., Serv., and the Berne scholia here] gave 'equitem' the sense of 'equum,' on the strength of a doubtful passage in Ennius (A. 7. fr. 9), an anomaly which, if justified, would only produce a platitude. Here, as in Hor. Epod. 16. 12, "Eques sonante verberabit ungula," the rider is evidently said to do what the horse does. So 'sub armis' points to the weight on the horse.

118.] In v. 102 it was said that, after the age, the racing qualities of the stallion should be looked to; and this led to a digression on racing. We now return to the original point, that youth and vigour are indispensable ('iuvenem calidumque animis' answering to 'animos aevumque'). 'Labor,' the difficulty of providing a good stallion (which is throughout the uppermost notion in the poet's mind), is 'aequus,' in both cases, that is, whether you wish to breed racers or chargers. Comp. 2. 412, "Durus uterque labor;" where, as here, the meaning of 'labor' is implied rather than expressed by the immediate context. 'Aequae' with what follows explains 'aequus.' 'Calidum animis et cursibus acrem' are the signs of youth and undiminished vigour, and therefore it is in point to mention them in the case of a stallion, whereas it would be a truism in the case of a racer. The whole passage may be paraphrased: It is equally difficult to breed chargers and racers, and in either case the breeder requires a young and fresh stallion, and must not take one that is aged and worn out, even though in the one case he may have been a capital charger (v. 120), or in the other may be of the highest racing breed of Greece. But the brevity of Virg.'s language, and his tendency to substitute poetical ornament for regular logical sequence, render the passage obscure, and it is possible that Voss may be right in referring 'labor' to the training for driving and riding, the toil however

Exquirunt calidumque animis et cursibus acrem,
 Quamvis saepe fuga versos ille egerit hostis, 120
 Et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae,
 Neptunique ipsa deducat origine gentem.

His animadversis instant sub tempus, et omnis
 Impendunt curas denso distendere pinguī,
 Quem legere ducem et pecori dixere maritum; 125
 Florentisque secant herbas, fluviosque ministrant
 Farraque, ne blando nequeat superesse labori,
 Invalidique patrum referant ieiunia nati.
 Ipsa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes,
 Atque, ubi concubitus primos iam nota voluptas 130

being that of the horse-breaker, not of the horse. In that case the connexion will be, 'as the two objects are equally important, and equally difficult of attainment, it is of equal moment to attend to breeding for each.' To understand 'uterque labor' with Heyne of breeding and driving or riding seems out of the question: nor can Wagn. be right in referring 'aeque' to 'que—que,' "aeque iuvenem ac calidum et acrem." Vv. 120—122 apparently refer back to v. 102, reminding the reader that such considerations are to be attended to only in the second place. There is some carelessness also in the use of 'ille' v. 120, which is introduced so as to leave it doubtful whether Virg. meant to say 'they look to the youth of a horse first, whatever may have been his past services,' or 'they look for a young horse, though the other candidate for their choice may have been distinguished in past times.' Probably there is a confusion between the two. A friend of Warton's, who observed this, wished to place the lines after v. 96, and so Ribbeck, following a recent tract by Tittler, [and Forb. in his last edition.—H. N.]

121, 122.] 'Epirum,' comp. 1. 59. 'Mycenae' for "Ἀργος Ἰπποβότον. Here as elsewhere 'que' stands where we might expect 've,' the various kinds of breeds being looked upon as following under one head. 'Neptuni origine' refers either to the story of the birth of the horse Arion (Dict. B.) or to that of the production of the horse in the contest of Neptune with Pallas. See on 1. 12. For 'gentem' Rom. has 'nomen,' perhaps, as Wagn. suggests, from A. 10. 618.

123—127.] 'After choosing a stallion,

the next thing is to get him into good condition: mares, on the other hand, sometimes require to be kept thin by denial of food and severe exercise.'

123.] 'His animadversis,' i.e. 'moribus et aetate deprehensis,' Serv. Pal. has 'animadversis,' which Ribbeck adopts, as also in 2. 251, where the testimony of Pal. is less explicit.

124.] 'Densio,' firm, as the flesh of a horse should be when in high condition. Pliny (11. 212) distinguishes 'pingue' from "adepta."

125.] 'Pecori' is to be taken both with 'ducem' and 'maritum.' Pal. has 'pecoris—magistrum,' perhaps from E. 3. 101.

126.] 'Florentis' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. Others have 'pubentis,' which is recognized as a variant in the Dresden Serv., and adopted by Heyne: but, as he himself suggests, it may have been introduced from A. 4. 514, and it does not seem to be exclusively or especially appropriate here. 'Florentis' is not, as Wagn. seems to think, an ornamental epithet, but seems rather to indicate the kind of herbage spoken of, e.g. vetches ("ervum," Col. 6. 27) or clover. 'Secant' and 'ministrant' imply that the stallion or bull is kept up. 'Fluvios' for "aquas fluviales." Comp. A. 2. 686, "sanctos restinguere fontibus ignia."

127.] 'Superease labori' is explained by Gell. 1. 22, who quotes this passage, "supra laborem esse, neque opprimi a labore." Thus we may comp. "superease dolori" Ov. M. 11. 703. ['Nequeant' Pal., 'nequeans' Med. originally.—H. N.]

129.] 'Ipsa armenta,' the herd itself as distinguished from its 'dux' and 'maritus'; that is, the mares.

Sollicitat, frondesque negant et fontibus arcent.
 Saepe etiam cursu quatiunt et sole fatigant,
 Cum graviter tunsis gemit area frugibus, et cum
 Surgentem ad Zephyrum paleae iactantur inanes.
 Hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtunsior usus
 Sit genitali arvo et sulcos oblimet inertis,
 Sed rapiat sitiens Venerem interiusque recondat.

135

Rursus cura patrum cadere, et succedere matrum
 Incipit. Exactis gravidæ cum mensibus errant,
 Non illas gravibus quisquam iuga ducere plaustris,
 Non saltu superare viam sit passus et acri
 Carpere prata fuga fluviosque innare rapacis.
 Saltibus in vacuis pascunt et plena secundum
 Flumina, muscus ubi et viridissima gramine ripa,

140

132.] 'Gallop and sweat them.'

133.] Comp. 1. 298. Col. 2. 21 (22) mentions the west wind as the best for winnowing. It seems hard to disconnect 'sole fatigant' from 'cursu quatiunt,' and refer it to the cows, with Trapp and Keightley, as if the recommendation were to exercise them in threshing. On the other hand, mares are put to horse in spring, long before corn is cut and threshed, so that this description of hot weather as the time for cutting and threshing the corn must be considered as inappropriate. Mr. Blackburn however contends that corn, though cut in summer or autumn, may be threshed at any time, e.g. in the spring. 'Gemit' seems to suggest the notion that the threshing-floor cries out under the "tritura."

138—156.] 'After conception the dams require attention rather than the sires. They should be kept from work and violent exercise, and allowed to graze in the shade near water, and this in the morning and evening, rather than at midday, for fear of the gadfly.' Virg. seems gradually to be sliding from the subject of horses to that of oxen, v. 140 referring rather to cows, vv. 141, 142 to mares. The mention of the gadfly appears to make the final transition, and accordingly in the next paragraph we hear exclusively about calving.

138.] No exact parallel for this use of 'cadere' is given. 'Cadere' and 'succedere' may possibly be a metaphor from the setting and rising of stars.

140.] Varro (2. 7. 10) cautions his breeder against working his mares too

much when they are near foaling. 'Non' for "ne," as in l. 458 (note). 'Plaustris' seems to be the ablative, as if it had been "iuga gravium plaustrorum," not, as Keightley thinks, the dative.

141.] It is hard to fix the exact sense of 'saltu superare viam'; but it is probably to be coupled with what follows, and taken as clearing, i.e. leaping out of, the road, ["quod solet fieri cum pascunt pedibus impeditis," say Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

142.] 'Fluviosque rapacis' is from Lucr. 1. 17; and Virg. seems to have had his eye on the whole of that passage. 'Rapacis' is not without point, because the mares would have to struggle to avoid being carried away by the stream.

143.] For 'pascunt' the second reading of Med., Gud. corrected, and others give 'pascant,' which Heyne retained. Wakef. however seems rightly to deny the Latin-ity of the subj. here, as 'pascant' could hardly be understood except of the herds, and this use of "pascere" for "pasci" appears to rest only on Tibull. 2. 5. 25. The participle "pascens" in such places as E. 3. 96 may be from the deponent. 'Vacuis,' where they will be undisturbed. 'Plena,' says Serv., that they may not have to stoop: rather, to scramble down the steep bank of a torrent. The whole picture is a contrast to that in the preceding line.

144.] Where (there is) moss, and where the bank is greenest with grass; 'viridissima gramine' being the predicate. Med has 'gramina ripae.'

Speluncaeque tegant, et saxea procubet umbra. 145
 Est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem
 Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo
 Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,
 Asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis
 Diffugiunt armenta; furit mugitibus aether 150
 Concussus, silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.
 Hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras
 Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae.
 Hunc quoque, nam mediis fervoribus acrior instat,
 Arcebis gravido pecori, armentaque pascos 155
 Sole recens orto aut noctem ducentibus astris.
 Post partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis;

145.] Philarg. says that 'saxea umbra' and 'procubet' are used "nove." 'Procubo' only occurs again in Claudian, *Consul. Prob. et Olyb.* 119, and there in the sense of lying down. The conjunctives will depend on 'ubi,' if 'pascunt' is read v. 148. [Med. has 'protegit' originally, corrected into 'protegat' and 'procubet.'—H. N.]

147.] 'Volitans,' a participle used substantively, a usage more commonly found in the plural, as in 2. 152, &c., except in the case of a word like "amans," which has come to be fairly naturalized as a noun. Besides 'asilus' the Romans called the gadfly "tabanus," Pliny 11. 100 as the Greeks had another name, *μύμψ*.

148.] Strictly speaking, 'vertere vocantes' would imply that the Greeks translated the Roman name; but Virg. of course means no more than that they gave the thing a name in their own language. [Philarg. and the Berne scholia quote from Nigidius Figulus *De animalibus* "Asilus est musca varia tabanus, bubus maxime nocens. Hic apud Graecos prius myops vocabatur: postea magnitudine incommodi oestrum appellarunt."—H. N.]

149.] "Asper, acerba tuens," Lucr. 5. 34. In what follows Virg. had his eye on Od. 22. 299 foll.

150.] 'Furit mugitibus aether concussus' is probably an imitation of *δριπυκτος αἰθήρ ἐμυλνεται*, Aesch. *Theb.* 155, which Wund. comp. 'The air is stunned and maddened with their bellowings, the air and the woodland and the banks of Tanager which runs dry in the sun.' [The Vatican fragm. has 'fugit'

for 'furit.'—H. N.]

151.] 'Sicci' adds a touch to the picture, heightening as it were the misery of the cattle.

152.] 'Monstro,' 1. 185. 'Exercuit iras' like "viris exerceat," v. 229. In 4. 453 the expression is varied, "Non te nullius exerceat numinis iras." For *Io* and the gadfly comp. Aesch. *Prom.* 567, 674, *Supp.* 307.

154.] 'Quoque' refers back to the other precautions already recommended in the case of the pregnant dams vv. 140 foll. 'Mediis fervoribus,' like "aestibus mediis," v. 331. of the noonday heat, as the context shows.

155.] 'Arcebis pecori' like "pecori defendite," E. 7. 47 (note). The future is virtually equivalent to an imperative. See 1. 167, where it is accompanied by a conditional clause. Some MSS., including Med. a. m. s., thrust in 'que' after 'pecori' to support the verse. ['Pascis' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

156.] The stars are said to usher in the night, because they are seen before the night has closed in.

157—178.] 'After calving, you have to think mainly of the calves. Separate them according to the destination of each, and treat them with a view to it. Those which are not meant for labour may be left to graze; those which are should be trained early and practised to bear the yoke and draw vehicles. Before they are broken in they will want corn as well as ordinary fodder. Young calves should have all their mothers' milk.'

157.] 'Traducitur,' from the mothers, as before from the fathers.

Continuoque notas et nomina gentis inurunt,
 Et quos aut pecori malint summittere habendo, 160
 Aut aris servare sacros, aut scindere terram
 Et campum horrentem fractis invertere glaebis.
 Cetera pascuntur viridis armenta per herbas :
 Tu quos ad studium atque usum formabis agrestem,
 Iam vitulos hortare, viamque insiste domandi,
 Dum faciles animi iuvenum, dum mobilis aetas, 165
 Ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos
 Cervici subnecte ; dehinc, ubi libera colla
 Servitio adsuerint, ipsis e torquibus aptos
 Iunge pares, et coge gradum conferre iuencos ;
 Atque illis iam saepe rotae ducantur inanes 170

158.] 'Notas et nomina,' a hendiadys, recurring A. 3. 444. 'Nomina gentis' would naturally mean that the marks are intended to distinguish the breed; but we may doubt with Keightley whether such was really the practice. Perhaps Virg. confounds the breed with the property of the breeder, meaning no more than that the cattle are branded that it may be known whose they are. For branding see on l. 263.

159.] A verb must be supplied from 'inurunt,' with the sense of distinguishing or setting apart. We need not suppose that they were actually branded according to the purposes for which they were designed. 'Pecori habendo,' l. 3.

160.] The construction is changed, 'quos,' being the object of 'servare,' the subject of 'scindere.' Varro (2. 5) says of the finest cattle "ad victimas farciunt atque ad deorum servant supplicia."

161.] 'Horrentem' doubtless expresses the rough appearance of the upturned ridges, elsewhere called "terga," just as it is applied to a hog's back A. 1. 631.

162.] Martyn appears right in referring this line, [the genuineness of which Ribbeck suspects,] to what follows, not to what precedes. Such cattle as were intended for breeding or for killing would be left to graze, as their only object would be to get fat: but those which were required for labour would have to be taken in hand. Heyne objects that the next line in that case would have been more naturally introduced by some adversative particle: see however A. 9. 224—226. Perhaps it may be said that 'tu' here is quasi-adversative, standing in a sort of illogical opposition to 'cetera.'

'Pascuntur' for which Voss reads 'pascantur' from two MSS., denotes the custom.

163.] Here and in the two following lines he borrows language from the education of youth.

166.] Similar precepts are given by Varro 1. 20, Col. 6. 2. No other instance is quoted of the form 'circulus,' but it is sufficiently supported by the analogy of "vinculum," "saeculum," &c. Wakef. on Lucr. 6. 954 wished to read 'circos,' which has the authority of Pal., fragm. Vat. a m. pr. and the margin of Gud., but Serv. [and Nonius p. 340] read 'circlos.' The gradations of training here specified seem to be 1. accustoming the calf's neck to a collar; 2. teaching it to step together with another; 3. teaching two to draw a light weight; 4. a heavy one.

167.] 'Dehinc' dissyllable as in A. 5. 722, Hor. A. P. 144.

168.] The 'torques' are the same as the 'circuli,' 'ipsis' having virtually the force of "isdem," as Wagn. remarks. Perhaps there may be an implied prohibition of a custom which, as Col. 1. c. tells us, was justly reprobated by most writers on agriculture, of yoking bullocks together by the horns. 'Aptus' = "aptatus," as in A. 4. 482, &c.

169.] The practice of teaching calves to step together is still to be seen in the south of France (Keightley). 'Pares' may mean not only that two were to be yoked together, but that they were to be of equal strength, that being a point insisted on by Varro and Columella in the case of actual draught. ['Iuencis' Med. originally.]

170.] 'Inanes rotae' may be either an

Per terram, et summo vestigia pulvere signent;
 Post valido nitens sub pondere faginus axis
 Instrepat, et iunctos temo trahat aereus orbes.
 Interea pubi indomitae non gramina tantum,
 Nec vascas salicum frondes ulvamque palustrem, 175
 Sed frumenta manu carpes sata; nec tibi fetae,
 More patrum, nivea implebunt mulctraria vaccae,
 Sed tota in dulces consument ubera natos.

empty cart, or, as Mr. Blackburn thinks, wheels without a body. Varro and Col. give the same direction, the latter recommending that they should begin with a branch of a tree, to which a weight should next be attached.

171.] 'Vestigia' seems to be the ruts of the wheels.

172.] Translated from Il. 5. 838, μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγυος ἔξων Βριθοσύρη.

173. 'Iunctos,' to the pole, which was formerly plated with copper ('aereus'), afterwards with iron.

174.] 'Interea': calves were not broken in before they were three years old, so Virg. probably means now to speak of their treatment previously, though the want of precision in his language leaves his intention in some uncertainty. 'Fetae,' v. 176, points to a still earlier stage, before the calves are weaned. Thus the order of time is exactly reversed. It is not clear whether 'gramina' means hay, or perhaps grass cut green, or whether it is to be understood as joined by a zeugma to 'carpes,' the meaning being that besides grazing they are to have corn gathered for them.

175.] [Paulus (Fest. p. 368) gives two meanings to the word 'vescus,' 'fastidiosus,' and 'edax': "*fastidiosus*" (ve enim pro pusillo utebantur). Lucretius *vescum dixit edacem* cum ait "*nec mare quae impendent vesco sale saxa peresa*." Gellius 16. 5 repeats the substance of this note. Nonius (p. 186) quotes Lucilius, Afranius, and the line before us in support of the meaning 'minutus.' Philarg. here takes the same view, that 'vescas' means in this passage 'tenuas et exiles': so too Serv. and the Berne scholia. As Philarg. quotes the same verse of Afranius as Nonius, and the same verse of Lucretius as Paulus, it is probable that a note of Verrius Flaccus is the ultimate source of his remarks.—H. N.] For 'vescus' in the sense of 'small, delicate' comp. Afran. ('Sorores,'

fr. 1), "vescis imbecillus viribus;" Pliny 7. 81, "corpore vesco sed eximiis viribus" (speaking of a gladiator); Ov. F. 3. 446 (where it occurs as an epithet of corn, and is explained by "parva"). Serv. adds that it is applied to the webs of spiders. In Lucr. 1. 326, we may render it 'lean' or 'hungry' (comp. "tenuis argilla," "ieiuna glare," 2. 180, 212). Neither the present passage nor 4. 131, "vescumque papaver," is of much weight for fixing the meaning, though the sense "tenuis" will agree with both. See Munro on Lucr. l. c., who takes it there to mean the small, fine particles of spray, 'Ulvam,' E. 8. 27. Fée (quoted by Keightley) distinguishes the 'ulva palustris' from the ordinary 'ulva,' making the former the "festuca fluitans," the latter the "scirpus lacustris" of Linnaeus. Rom. has 'silvam,' a natural error.

176.] Serv. understands 'frumenta sata' of the "farrago," mentioned v. 205; but it evidently means growing corn. Varro's precept is (2. 5) "Semestribus vitulis obiciunt furfures triticeos, et farinam hordeaceam, et teneram herbam." ['Set' Med., 'Sed' fragm. Vat., Pal., and Rom. In v. 178 Med. and fragm. Vat. have 'set.'—H. N.]

177.] The same advice is given by Varro 2. 2, Col. 7. 4, the former intimating that different customs prevailed. See E. 3. 6. "More patrum" A. 11. 186. [For 'mulctraria' Nonius p. 312 reads 'mulgaria,' and so Philarg., who quotes two lines of Valgius, "Sed nos ante casam tepidi mulgaria lactis, Et sinum vini cessamus ponere."—H. N.]

178.] 'Consument in natos,' as we talk of spending on a person or thing. Forcell. adduces Prop. 5. 6. 55, "pondus pharetræ consumit in arcus;" Auct. ad Herenn. 1. 3, "Inventio in sex partis orationis consumitur." Med. (first reading) and one of Ribbeck's curiares have 'consument.'

Sin ad bella magis studium turmasque feroces,
 Aut Alpheia rotis praelabi flumina Pisae, 180
 Et Iovis in luco currus agitare volantis,
 Primus equi labor est, animos atque arma videre
 Bellantum, lituosque pati, tractuque gementem
 Ferre rotam, et stabulo frenos audire sonantis;
 Tum magis atque magis blandis gaudere magistri 185
 Laudibus et plausae sonitum cervicis amare.
 Atque haec iam primo depulsus ab ubere matris
 Audeat, inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris
 Invalidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aevi.

179—208.] 'Foals intended for chargers or racers should be accustomed from the first to the sights and sounds of their future life. When their third year is past they may be practised in the ring, and afterwards put to full speed. When broken, they should be fed well: before they are apt to be restiff.'

179.] Heyne and others understand 'formare' from v. 163, but Wund. justly complains of the unauthorized ellipse, and connects 'studium ad bella.' This, which seems the only natural construction, is supported by the context, 'praelabi' and 'agitare' both referring to the breeder's aim for himself. Virg., as Wund. remarks, doubtless thought of such phrases as "studium conferre ad aliquid." "Studere in aliquid" is also found: see Forcell.

180.] Virg., writing from the inspiration of his Greek models, talks of the Olympic chariot races rather than of those of the circus.

181.] 'Iovis in luco,' the Altis, where the race-course was. *Πρόκειται δ' ἄλσος ἀγριελαιῶν ἐν δὲ τὸ στάδιον*, Strabo 7, C. 353. Fragm. Vat. has 'volentis.'

182.] 'Primus equi labor,' the first part of a horse's training. Med. has 'equis.'

183.] 'Gementem' is emphatic, as it is the noise of the wheels that a foal is to be taught to bear.

184.] So Varro 2. 7, "eademque causa ibi frenos suspendendum, ut equuli consuescant et videre eorum faciem et e motu audire crepitus." The sound is not merely the jingling of the bridles, but of the bells which were frequently attached to them.

185.] 'Blandis,' caressing, as in v. 496, E. 4. 23. 'Magistri' may refer specially to the trainer (comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 2. 64) as distinct from the breeder, v. 118; but

there is hardly evidence that Virg. meant to discriminate them. 'Tum' seems to come under 'primus labor,' not to be distinguished from it.

186.] "Manibusque lacessunt Pectora plausa cavis," A. 12. 85. Gr. *πομπύειν*.

187.] Philarg., followed by Wakef., makes 'primo' adverbial, but it is evidently an epithet of 'ubere,' though the sense intended is that of "primum."

188.] 'Audiat' was the reading before Heinsius, who restored 'audeat' from the best MSS., including Med. (first reading), Pal., Rom., and fragm. Vat. Ladewig has 'gaudeat,' an ingenious conjecture, but inferior in sense to the text, which implies that natural timidity has to be overcome and courage developed, while 'gaudeat,' besides being a repetition of 'gaudere,' v. 185, would hardly be appropriate to a colt's first experiences. 'Inque vicem' implies that these experiments on his courage are to alternate with, or to be occasionally exchanged for, wearing the halter (Wagn.). So Trapp, 'now and then.' The 'capistra' (Dict. A.) were made of osiers, whence 'mollibus.'

189.] 'Etiam' = "adhuc," as in A. 6. 485 and perhaps A. 2. 291. Heins. read 'et iam,' from a mistaken reading in Charis. p. 239, where the line is quoted. There are two curious varieties in Med., which has 'iam iamque' as a correction for 'etiamque,' and originally had 'atque' for the second 'etiam.' 'Inscius aevi' might be taken as = "inscii aevi" (which seems to be Martyn's view, 'of tender years'), like "integer aevi" A. 2. 638., 9. 253, "aevi maturus" A. 5. 73: but 'venturi inscius aevi,' A. 8. 627, is in favour of making 'aevi' the objective gen. A question still remains whether the sense is 'unconscious of his powers,' as Heyne takes it, or 'ignorant of life,' which would

At tribus exactis ubi quarta accesserit aestas, 190
 Carpere mox gyrum incipiat gradibusque sonare
 Compositis, sinuetque alterna volumina crurum,
 Sitque laboranti similis; tum cursibus auras,
 Tum vocet, ac per aperta volans, ceu liber habenis,
 Aeque vix summa vestigia ponat harena; 195
 Qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris

agree equally well with the context. Virg. however may well have contemplated both senses.

190.] Varro 2. 7 and Col. 6. 29 prescribe that a horse should be broken in for racing when he has completed his third year; and this is evidently what Virg. means. Wagn. however maintains that 'accesserit' would denote that the fourth year was finished, and accordingly reads 'acceperit' from Rom. and Pal., supported by the original reading of fragm. Vat. 'acceperit,' as in E. 8. 39, "iam tum me acceperat annus." [So too Ribbeck. The Berne scholia mention both readings.—H. N.] This however would only be the case if we connected 'tribus exactis' closely with 'accesserit,' whereas it is at least as natural to understand the former words abl. abs., and supply "equo" to 'accesserit.' So Cic. Ep. ad Q. F. 1. 1 says, "annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo," meaning that his brother has just been continued in office for a third year. Perhaps too Martyn may be right in pressing the meaning of 'aestas,' and supposing that the horse, being born in the spring, would only be entering his fourth year when he saw his fourth summer. 'Aestas,' the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. but Med. and (originally) one cursive, and also of fragm. Aug., was restored by Heins. for 'aetas,' the use of which in the sense of "annus" is doubtful. See A. 1. 267, 736, &c.

191.] 'Gyrum:' v. 115. 'Carpere gyrum,' like 'carpere campum.' The horse is to be taught his paces. 'Sonare' is not merely ornamental, as the ring of the hoof was esteemed a mark of its soundness. Germ. quotes Xenophon de Re Equestri, c. 1, καὶ τῇ ψόφῳ δέ φησι Σίμων δῆλous εἶναι τοὺς εὐποδας, καλῶς λέγων. ὥσπερ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ πρὸς τῇ διατέτῳ ἢ κολῇ ὅπλῃ.

192.] 'Sinuet' &c. addresses the eye as 'sonare' the ear.

193.] 'Laboranti similis' implies that

he is not to follow his own bent, but to be trained. So Hor. 2 Od. 3. 11, "obliquo laborat Lympha fugax trepidare rivo," the stream not flowing straight on, but being forced to bend, like the horse here in the ring. 'Anhelanti similis' A. 5. 234; "indignantem similem similemque minanti" 8. 649.

194.] 'Then let him try his full speed.' 'Vocet,' challenge, more usually expressed by "provocare," or by something explanatory in the context, such as "vocare in certamen." Comp. A. 11. 442, "Solum Aeneas vocat: et vocet oro." 'Cursibus' is probably the instrum. abl., as in A. 12. 84, "anteirent cursibus auras," though it might possibly be the dat., as if it had been "ad cursus vocet." 'Provocet' (Pal.) was the reading before Heins., but all Ribbeck's other MSS. and fragm. Aug. have 'tum vocet,' which is much more forcible. 'Ceu liber habenis,' as if he were simply following his own will, contrasted with 'laboranti similis.' Keightley thinks there is a reference to the weight of the rider.

195.] 'Vestigia' may either be understood strictly, or as put for "pedes." See on E. 6. 58.

196.] This is a specimen of Virg.'s similes, which, like those of Hom., when they extend to any length, are generally not constructed with much rhetorical or grammatical regularity, the description passing from the main point of the comparison into collateral details, which are strung together as co-ordinate sentences by particles of transition. Here accordingly the verb of which 'qualis' is the subject has to be supplied from the previous context, and the description then proceeds as if it were independent, even v. 201 not being intended as a grammatical apodosis, though designed to recall the reader to the real object of the simile. Comp. A. 1. 148 foll., where the structure is very similar to that of the present passage, though the comparison there is connected with the sentence that follows,

Incubuit, Scythiaequae hiemes atque arida differt
 Nubila; tum segetes altae campique natantes
 Lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaequae sonorem
 Dant silvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus; 200
 Ille volat, simul arva fuga, simul aequora verrens.
 Hic vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi
 Sudabit spatia, et spumas aget ore cruentas,

not with that which goes before. The fabled Hyperboreans inhabited a sort of Elysium beyond the northern cold (Pind. P. 10. 47, Pliny 4. 89), but here and elsewhere the epithet is used to signify the most northerly countries that were then known. Strabo 1, C. 62, notes the two notions attached to the word, treating one as poetical, the other as matter of fact. 'Densus' with 'incubuit'; 'strong, with all his force as it were condensed and concentrated' (Keightley).

197.] 'The wind scatters the clouds, and drives them before it.' "Venti vis . . . nubila differt," Lucr. 1. 272. 'Arida' because it is a clear, sharp blast without rain (Wagn.). Comp. Sen. N. Q. 3. 28, "fluere adiduos imbres et non esse modum pluviis, suppressis Aquilonibus et flatu siccior;" Lucan 4. 50, "Pigro bruma gelu siccisque Aquilonibus haerens Aethere constricto pluvias in nube tenebat."

198.] Whether 'tum' is correlative to 'cum,' v. 196, or merely a particle of transition, as apparently in other similes (e.g. A. 11. 724., 12. 591), is doubtful. The parallel of A. 1. 148, 151, is in favour of the former; there however the sentence introduced by 'tum' constitutes the point of the comparison, which is not here the case. Perhaps it is safest to say that here 'tum' does not mean definitely either 'at that moment,' or 'next,' but denotes generally that the action which follows belongs to the same time as that which precedes. 'Campi natantes' is from Lucr., where it seems to mean the space overflowed with water (see 5. 488, where the formation of the sea is described, and 6. 267, where he is speaking of a deluge), from which it comes to be a periphrasis for the sea, like "campi liquentes," A. 6. 724. Comp. Lucr. 6. 1141, "Nam penitus veniens Aegypti finibus ortus, Aëra permensus multum camposque natantis, Incubuit tandem populo Pandionis omni" (speaking of the plague), the first line of which and the word 'in-

cubuit' show that the passage was in Virg.'s mind. Here accordingly the water must be meant, as Keightley rightly contends, remarking that Virg. may have had two conjoint similes of Hom. in view, Il. 2. 144 foll.

199.] 'Lenibus flabris' marks the beginning of the gale. "Tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae (undae) Procedunt," Catull. 64. 273, referred to by Keightley. 'Sonor' is a Lucretian word.

200.] "Resonantia longe Litora misceri, et nemorum increbreare murmur" occur among the prognostics of wind 1. 358. 'Longi fluctus,' long waves, which denotes the force of the winds, not, as Heyne renders it, "qui longe, e longinquo, veniunt" (Keightley). ['Urgent' Rom. —H. N.]

201.] Comp. 4. 174. "Illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt In numerum, versantque tenaci forceps ferrum;" A. 1. 153, "Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet," where the simile is concluded similarly by a return to the original subject of it—in this case, the north wind.

202.] 'Hinc,' the reading of Med. a m. sec., Rom. and fragm. Vat., was preferred by Heyne, but Wagn. seems right in explaining 'hic' (which is also the reading of fragm. Aug.) 'a horse like this.' The preceding simile, though its elaboration has but little to do with the horse, is supposed to have impressed the reader with his high qualities. 'Metas et maxima campi spatia' seems to be a kind of hendiadys, as if it had been "metas campi maximis spatiis," or, as it might have been expressed, "ad metas per campum maximis spatiis."

203.] 'Sudabit' contains the notion of "sudans ibi." Forb. comp. Prop. 5. 1. 70, "Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus," evidently an imitation. 'Spatia,' 1. 513. 'Spumas aget,' Lucr. 3. 488. 'Cruentas;' from the bit against which he pulls, showing his spirit (Keightley). So Aesch. Ag. 1067, *ἄπλο αἰματηρὸν*

Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.
 Tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus 205
 Crescere iam domitis sinito : namque ante domandum
 Ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt
 Verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis.
 Sed non ulla magis vires industria firmat,
 Quam Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris, 210
 Sive boum sive est cui gratior usus equorum.
 Atque ideo tauros procul atque in sola relegant

ἑσσεῖσθαι μένος, a metaphor from a horse being broken in.

204.] The 'essedum' was the British war-chariot, mentioned repeatedly by Caesar (B. G. 4. 24, 33., 5. 16). This would be naturally transferred to the Belgae by Virg. (if indeed the name was not, as Mr. Long thinks, originally Gallic), as it is to the Germans by Pers. 6. 47, and the poet may have thought it well to speak of the use of horses in war by the formidable enemies of Rome, instead of recurring to Homeric precedents. As however the 'essedum,' in whatever form, had been introduced into Rome, and was used by the luxurious classes there in Virg.'s time (Cic. Phil. 2. 24, Prop. 2. 1. 86., 3. 24. 5), it is a question whether Keightley is not right in supposing that he is speaking of the employment of high-bred horses to draw the carriages of the rich, *ἑγάλμα τῆς ὑπερλοΐτου χλιδῆς*, as Aeschylus calls them. The previous mention of battle in conjunction with racing as the two chief objects for breeding a horse, is in favour of the former view; the words 'molli melius feret collo,' which seem to indicate a more luxurious alternative, countenance the latter. An imitation by Sil. 3. 337, "Aut molli pacata celer rapit esseda collo," also supports the latter, as he is speaking of the Asturian jennet, "parvus sonipes, nec Marti notus." The national epithet is used similarly in Prop. 2. 1. 86 (speaking of Maecenas), "Si te forte meo duet via proxima busto, Esseda caelatis siste Britanna iugis." 'Bellica,' the reading of Pal., Med. a m. p., and three others, is less likely in any case. 'Feret' seems to refer to the wearing of the yoke on the neck and to drawing the car. If the war-chariot is meant, 'molli' must be taken of the easy management of a well-trained horse, with Serv., who well comp. A. 11. 622. "mollia colla

reflectunt." Fragm. Aug. apparently has 'ferat.'

205.] 'Farrago' is explained by Festus as "id quod ex pluribus satis (spelt, barley, vetches, pulse) pabuli causa datur iumentis," so called because the spelt predominated in the mixture. These crops were sown together, as appears from Varro 1. 31, who gives another orthography and etymology, "quod ferro caesa, ferrago dicta." It is called 'crassa' from its effects, as Pers. 3. 55 talks of "grandi polenta." 'Tum demum' is explained by 'iam domitis,' which Wagn. accordingly marks off by commas.

207.] 'Prensi:' "prensos domitare boves," 1. 285 note.

208.] 'Lenta,' a perpetual epithet. 'Lupatis:' "dicta lupata a lupinis dentibus, qui inaequales sunt," Serv. So *λύκος* is used in Greek, and "lupus" by Ovid and Statius. Both "lupatum" and "lupatus" are found as substantives, and Hor. 1 Od. 8. 6 uses "lupatis" as an epithet of "frenis," which, though perhaps a solitary instance, was doubtless the original function of the word.

209—241.] 'The chief danger to the strength both of bulls and horses is from the excess of the passion of love. Thus bulls have to be kept at a distance from the cows. Rivalries often arise among them; they will fight for the same heifer, and the beaten one will retire, and after a long interval, during which he has been practising and collecting his strength, return and renew the conflict.'

211.] 'Whether you prefer rearing bulls or horses.' 'Cui' belongs to 'si' in 'sive.' [Fragm. Vat. originally had 'bovom,' and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

212.] The political word 'relegant' is in keeping with the language of the paragraph generally, where the bulls are spoken of in terms appropriate to men, and so invested with a kind of heroic

Pascua, post montem oppositum, et trans flumina lata,
Aut intus clausos satura ad praesepia servant.

Carpit enim vires paulatim uritque videndo 215

Femina, nec nemorum patitur meminisse nec herbæ,

Dulcibus illa quidem inlecebris, et sæpe superbos

Cornibus inter se subigit decernere amantis.

Pascitur in magna Sila formosa iuvenca :

Illi alternantes multa vi proelia miscent 220

Volneribus crebris ; lavit ater corpora sanguis,

Versaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto

Cum gemitu ; reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus.

dignity. There is also a special fitness in the word, as the essence of "relegatio" was confinement to or exclusion from a particular place. Diet. A. 'Banishment.'

213.] The intervening hill excludes the view : the breadth of the stream prevents crossing.

214.] 'Satura,' to keep up their strength and divert them.

215.] "Caeco carpitur igni," A. 4. 2. 'Videndo : ' see on E. 8. 71. Here it = "visu," 'by the sight of her.'

217.] Ribbeck seems right in connecting 'dulcibus—inlecebris' with the preceding clause, after a suggestion of Klotz, 'illa quidem' having virtually the force of "quamvis," as in A. 9. 796., 10. 385. —'she wastes them away, though with a tender passion.' With the old punctuation 'et' must be taken as 'even,'—nay, they are often driven to fight with each other : but this is much less idiomatic.

219.] Almost all the MSS. give 'silva,' & however being marked as if for omission in Med. 'Sila' is found in Rom., and is mentioned as a various reading by Serv., comparing A. 12. 715, where a fight between two bulls is described in a simile as taking place "ingenti Sila summove Taburno," though he does not think it is needed. Heyne was the first to restore it, and there can be little doubt that he is right, as the specification is quite after Virg.'s manner, and is particularly in place here, announcing as it were by a change of tone that a narrative description is going to begin. This is a sufficient vindication of the line itself against the objections of Heyne and Wagn., who wish it away ; but we may also say with Keightley that it points a contrast between the heifer feeding unconcerned and the bulls fighting furiously for her love.

For a similar contrast comp. E. 6. 52 foll. Perhaps Hor. had this line in view, 1 Ep. 3. 36, "Pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca." ['Formonsa' all the uncials except Med.—H. N.]

220.] The language in A. 12. 720 foll. is very similar. The conflict there is not for a particular heifer, but for the sovereignty of the herd. The imitations in Ov. M. 8. 46 foll., Stat. Theb. 6. 864, while in their general detail agreeing rather with the passage in the Aeneid, represent the object of the combat as here. All of the passages seem to be modelled, those of the later poets especially, on the fight between Hercules and Achelous, Soph. Trach. 517 foll.

221.] ['Lavit' Nonius pp. 466, 503, Philarg. and all the uncials, though in Med. 'lavit' is corrected into 'lavat.' For 'corpora' Nonius pp. 337, 466 has 'vulnera' in his quotation of the line.—H. N.]

222.] ἦν δὲ μετόπισιν ὀδόντα πλήγματα καὶ στόνος ἀμφόιν, Soph. l. c. 'Gemitus,' like στόνος, seems to refer to the bellowing of the combatants : but it might conceivably be the crash of the horns, just as "gemere" is used v. 183 above of the noise of wheels. ['Urgentur' Pal.—H. N.]

223.] 'Longus,' though found only in Med. and a quotation in Macrob. Sat. 6. 4, was rightly restored by Burm. for the common reading 'magnus.' It is of course a translation of Hom.'s μακρός : 'Ολυμπος : Virg. however, as Heyne remarks, merely means 'Olympus' as a synonym for heaven, so that 'longus' is to be explained by 'reboant.' Med. also has 'resonant,' but this would clearly be inferior.

Nec mos bellantis una stabulare; sed alter
 Victus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris,
 Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
 Victoris, tum, quos amisit inultus, amores,
 Et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis.
 Ergo omni cura vires exercet, et inter
 Dura iacet pernox instrato saxa cubili,
 Frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,
 Et temptat sese, atque irasci in cornua discit
 Arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit

225

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224.] 'Stabulare,' intrans. like "stabulari." "Centauri in foribus stabulant," A. 6. 286. Varro 1. 21 uses the word actively. The elevation of the language leads Keightley to suggest that Virg. may have had in his mind the withdrawal into banishment of some defeated public man. Lucan. 2. 601 foll. and Stat. Theb. 2. 323 foll., who imitate the passage, use the image as a simile for the retirement of their heroes, Pompey and Polyneices. [Set' Med., 'Sed' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

227.] 'Amores,' of the beloved object, as in Catull. 45. 1, "Acmen . . . suos amores."

228.] The action of this line of course precedes that of v. 225, which is marked by the change of tense. Thus Keightley is wrong in connecting 'amores' with 'aspectans,' as the use of 'tum' shows. With the image comp. E. 6. 80 (according to one interpretation) and with 'regnis avitis' E. 1. 70. 'A wistful look at his stall, and the king has quitted his ancestral domain.' ['Adspectans' Rom.—H. N.]

230.] 'Pernox' is the reading of a few MSS. (none of Ribbeck's, though in one of the cursives there is an erasure), and of the Schol. on Juv. 7. 10, and is noticed by Philarg. and the Dresden Serv. 'Pernix,' [the reading of Med., Pal., Rom., and Gud., is explained by a gloss in Nonius p. 368 as = 'perseverans,' and so Serv., Philarg., and the Berne scholia on this passage.—H. N.] But it is less suited to the context, where 'iacet' and 'cubili' plead strongly for 'pernox.' 'Instrato' presents great difficulty. The frequent use of 'instrato' of spreading a couch, and the evident parallel of Lucr. 5. 987, "instrata cubilia fronde," are in favour of making it a participle here, but we

should then have to understand it 'spread on' (the rocks), not 'spread with,' which is the usual meaning of the word. If we could connect 'instrato saxa,' as Forcell. does, the objection would be obviated, and the passage would gain greatly in force; but this seems difficult with 'inter dura' preceding, though Mr. Blackburn suggests a double construction, which he thinks the order of the words is intended to intimate. Thus there is some plausibility in the view of Germ., Heyne, and others, who make 'instratus' an adjective, as if it were "non stratus." Virg. must then be supposed to have wished to translate *καταστρωτός*, which is applied both to the rough ground, Eur. H. F. 52, and to persons who sleep without a bed, Plato, Politicus 272 A. Wakef's proposal to connect 'instrato' with 'frondibus hirsutis' cannot be maintained.

231.] His fare is hard as well as his couch.

232.] "Irasci in cornua temptat." A. 12. 104, where the two next lines are repeated. The words are translated from Eur. Bacch. 732, *ταῦροι . . . εἰς κέρας θυμολύμενοι*, and are probably to be explained with Voss as if the bull were throwing his anger into his horns. So Ov. M. 8. 882, "vires in cornua sumo." But it is not easy to analyze the expression, or to be certain that Eur. and Virg. meant exactly the same thing: *εἰς κέρας* might be explained as denoting the object, *εἰς μάχην κεράων*: 'in cornua' may be framed on the analogy of "in speciem," &c., as a sort of modal accusative, so that 'irasci in cornua' would virtually = "irasci cornibus."

233.] 'Obnixus,' butting, as in v. 222. 'Ventos:' so "ventilare" is used of a fencer's flourishes (Lemaire). Comp. A. 5. 377 note.

Ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
 Post, ubi collectum robur viresque refectae, 235
 Signa movet, praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem;
 Fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto
 Longius ex altoque sinum trahit; utque volutus
 Ad terras immane sonat per saxa, neque ipso
 Monte minor procumbit; at ima exaestuât unda 240
 Verticibus, nigramque alte subiectat harenam.

Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
 Et genus aequoreum, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,

234.] "Iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam," E. 3. 87.

235.] ['Ast' Med. for 'post.'—H. N.] 'Refectae' Med., Pal., Gud. originally, 'receptae' Rom., Gud. corrected. The latter was the reading before Heins., and is to a slight degree supported by the imitations in Lucan and Statius referred to on v. 224.

236.] See on v. 212. ['Oblicum' Med. for 'oblitum.'—H. N.]

237.] Virg. shows his judgment by calling off the reader's attention to a simile instead of following the animals through a second encounter. The comparison is from Il. 4. 422 foll., where the thing to be illustrated is the march of the Greeks. It recurs in a briefer form A. 7. 528 foll., where the quarrel with the Italian rustics is swelling into a battle. Here probably the likeness is in the roar as well as in the rush of the water. With regard to the latter, two points are evidently meant to be noted,—the appearance in the distance and the final collision. 'Uti medio' Rom., Pal., 'ut in medio' Med. Wagn. prefers the former on the ground that the preposition is omitted by Virg., when he uses "medius" loosely, signifying 'in' rather than 'in the centre.' Med. originally had 'primo' for 'medio,' apparently from A. 7. 528.

238.] The construction evidently is 'uti fluctus, cum coepit albescere, trahit,' 'cum coepit' answering to 'volutus' in the next part of the sentence; consequently Heyne and Wagn. must be right in making 'que' couple 'ex alto' with 'longius.' The combination is Virgilian, resembling those noticed on A. 5. 498, but more grammatically regular. See Wagn. Q. V. 34. 'Ex alto,' 'from the main sea,' answering to 'medio ponto.'

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"Omnis ab alto Frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos," A. 1. 160. 'Sinus' here is the curve of the wave, as in 4. 362. 'Trahit' expresses not only forward motion but the gradual increase of the 'sinus.' 'Utque' is parallel to 'uti.'

239.] 'Ipso monte:' the 'mons' being the whole of which the 'saxum' is a part. "Saxum, Haud partem exiguum montis," A. 10. 127. Here 'mons' is probably the crag against which the sea breaks. The same comparison occurs 4. 361, A. 1. 105.

241.] 'Subvectat' is found in Med. and Rom., but it does not suit the sense, being used of carrying freights, upheaving burdens, &c. 'Subiectat,' on the other hand, is supported by Lucr. 6. 700, "Saxaque subiectare, et harenae tollere nimbos," which Virg. plainly imitated. 'Harenam' is the sand at the bottom which the sea casts up, the *κελαιὴν θίνα καὶ δυσάνεμον*, heaved up *βυσσόθεν*, of Soph. Ant. 590. Comp. A. 1. 107, "furit aestus harenis," where the same thing is described. 'Like a billow, when, beginning to whiten far away in the mid sea, it draws up from the main its bellying curve; like it too, when, rolling to the shore, it roars terrifico among the rocks, and bursts, in bulk as huge as their parent cliff, while the water below boils up in foaming eddies, and discharges from its depths the murky sand.'

242—243.] 'In fact, the maddening effects of passion are universal throughout animal nature, but none undergo so much as mares.'

242.] 'Adeo:' see on E. 4. 11.

243.] 'Pecudes, pictaeque volucres,' A. 4. 525. 'Pictae' is supposed by Forb. to be an imitation of "variae volucres," which occurs frequently in Lucr. (e.g. 2. 344, a passage not unlike this), but it

In furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.
 Tempore non alio catulorum oblita leaena 245
 Saevior erravit campis, nec funera volgo
 Tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere
 Per silvas; tum saevus aper, tum pessima tigris;
 Heu, male tum Libyæ solis erratur in agris.
 Nonne vides, ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum 250
 Corpora, si tantum notas odor attulit auras?
 Ac neque eos iam frena virum, neque verbera saeva,
 Non scopuli rupesque cavæ atque obiecta retardant
 Flumina, correptosque unda torquentia montis.

may be doubted whether the epithet there has that meaning. 'Pecudes:' added because not included in 'ferarum' (see v. 480), though that word might easily be pressed so as to include all quadrupeds, as might 'pecudes' itself (A. 6. 728).

246.] The perfects are explained by 'non alio tempore.' See on l. 374. 'Dare funera,' A. 8. 571; 'dare stragem,' v. 556 below. 'Edere' is also used with both, A. 9. 526, so that the meaning is probably to put forth or produce. 'Volgo,' v. 363 note. Here it seems i. q. "late."

247.] 'Informes,' on account of their size, as well as their appearance, great bulk being itself a deformity, as involving a departure from symmetry. So probably "turpe," v. 52.

248.] 'Pessima,' as "malus" is used of serpents, vv. 416, 425.

249.] "Heu, male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas," l. 448. 'Male erratur' like "male creditur," Hor. 2 S. 4. 21. 'Solis,' though grammatically belonging to 'agris,' really points to the traveller.

250.] This and the four following lines are placed by Ribbeck after v. 263, vv. 264, 265 being likewise inserted before v. 258. It is easy however to see that the passage loses by this attempt to restore its symmetry, and that to pass gradually through the animals not treated of in the Georgics, ending in man, and then to discriminate horses from mares is to do what Virg. deliberately abstains from doing, and to assimilate the composition of a didactic poem to that of a regular treatise. It is fair however to add that Ribbeck believes vv. 250—254 not to have belonged to the original draught of the poem, but to have been added on a revision and imperfectly harmonized with

the rest of the passage. 'Nonne vides,' l. 56. 'Pertemptat,' which is found in three MSS., would agree better with 'attulit,' and is supported by "mittit" in the passage just referred to, where see note. 'Tremor pertemptat' occurs Lucr. 6. 287. [Pal. has 'et' for 'ut.'—H. N.]

251.] Heyne remarks that we might rather have expected "auræ odorem attulere." As the scent comes with the gale, Virg. chooses to make it the bearer, not the borne, for the sake of variety.

252.] 'Iam' implies that the fury has risen beyond control. 'Virum,' because other than human obstacles are mentioned in the next verse. 'Verbera saeva' is questioned by Keightley, who remarks that no one would beat a runaway horse to stop him. Mr. Blackburn says, "Virg., writing loosely, enumerates some of the common methods of controlling horses without caring for the suitability of all to the particular case," adding "in my boyhood I remember a horse running away with me, and my bringing him to a sudden and dead halt by a sharp cut on his neck."

253.] Macrob., Sat. 6. 2, cites a line from Varius, which Virg. is supposed to have imitated, "Non amnes illam mediæ, non ardua tardant." See on E. 8. 89.

254.] I have restored 'correptosque,' as only one MS. omits the copulative. Its insertion is probably to be defended not by distinguishing between the breadth of a river and its violence as two kinds of obstacles, with Jahn and Ladewig, but by appealing to other instances where Virg. couples things not strictly co-ordinate, as A. 2. 86, "comitem et consanguinitate propinquum . . . misit;" 12. 305, "Pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem." 'Torquentia montis' is a heightening of

Ipse ruit dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus, 255
 Et pede prosubigit terram, fricat arbore costas,
 Atque hinc atque illinc umeros ad volnera durat.
 Quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem
 Durus amor? Nempe abruptis turbata procellis
 Nocte natat caeca serus freta; quem super ingens 260
 Porta tonat caeli, et scopulis inlisa reclamant

the picture of Lucr. 1. 288, "volvitque sub undis grandia saxa." 'Unda' may be connected with either 'correptos' or 'torquentia.'

255.] The wild boar has been already named v. 248, so Serv. and others have supposed that Virg. here means the tame one, which they think explains the force of 'ipse.' Ladewig quotes Varro 2. 1, from which it would appear that the name 'sus' was restricted by some to the tame sort. But the dignity of the language would pass into burlesque if applied to the domestic swine, and the facts mentioned here agree with Aristotle's description of the wild boar, H. A. 6. 17. 'Ipse' is apparently meant to prepare the reader for something exalted, and the mono-syllabic ending (comp. Lucr. 5. 25, "horrens Arcadius sus") is doubtless intended to be in keeping. 'Sabellicus' too has a similar object, recalling the woods and mountains of Samnium.

256.] 'Prosubigit': a rare word, used by Val. Fl. 4. 288, of the Cyclops forging the thunderbolt, and by Prudentius, *περὶ στροφ.* 3. 129, in the same sense as here, with 'pede.' 'Subigere' is frequently used of breaking up land (1. 125., 2. 50), and this may be the reference here, with the addition of 'pro' to denote the forward action of the feet, as in "proculco," "protero." Serv. says, "fodit, et pedibus impellit alternis." 'Arbore' may be either the instrumental or the local ablative. Aristot. 1. c. speaks of boars as *πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὴν ποιοῦντες μάχας θανάσιμὰς θωρακίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ποιοῦντες τὸ δέρμα ὡς παχύτατον ἢ παρασκευῆς, πρὸς τὰ δένδρα διατρίβοντες καὶ τῷ πληθὲ μολύνοντες πολυλάκκι καὶ ξηραίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς.*

257.] If 'atque . . . atque' are for "et . . . et," as probably in E. 5. 23, we had better connect 'atque . . . illinc' with what goes before, and read 'umerosque' with Rom., Pal., and many other MSS. But 'hinc atque illino' would be feeble if understood of the boar's rubbing himself backwards and forwards, or against more trees than

one; while in connexion with 'durat' they answer to 'arbore' in the previous line, being probably intended to indicate his rolling himself in the mud. On the whole then it seems best to take the first 'atque' as coupling 'durat' with the other verbs, and read 'umeros' with Med., Gud. originally, and some other copies.

258.] He glances at the story of Leander to show what love can make men do. Martyn remarks on the judgment which leads him to avoid mentioning it expressly, thereby representing the action as which the whole species would do. 'Versat' merely expresses the motion within, as probably in 4. 83, "Ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant." Some such verb as "facit" is probably to be understood with 'quid,' as also in v. 264. Comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 2. 10, "Quid Paris? ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus Cogi posse negat." We should say, 'What of the youth whose marrow the fierceness of love has turned to flame?'

259.] 'Abruptis,' as Heyne remarks, has the force of "abruptentibus," like "mare proruptum," A. 1. 215.

261.] The gates of the sky are mentioned by Homer, Il. 5. 749., 8. 393 foll., and by Ennius, Epigr. 10. It is even asserted by Columella that a fragment of an anonymous grammarian quotes the words "Quem super ingens Porta tonat caeli," as from Ennius; and Vahlen accordingly inserts them in the Annals (v. 595). Whether any distinct image is intended by mentioning them here in connexion with thunder, is not clear. Perhaps he may have meant that the gates are opened to let out the storm, and that the noise of their turning on their hinges is the thunder. Comp. 1. 371, "Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus." 'Reclamant' is commonly taken as if it merely meant 'to rebel;' but it is perhaps more poetical with Martyn to explain it by 'revocate' in the next line, the violence of the waters crying out against his daring.

Aequora; nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,
 Nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo.
 Quid lynces Bacchi variae et genus acre luporum
 Atque canum? quid, quae inbelles dant proelia cervi? 265
 Scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum;
 Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci
 Potniades malis membra absumpsere quadrigae.
 Illas ducit amor trans Gargara transque sonantem
 Ascanium; superant montis et flumina tranant. 270
 Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis,
 Vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus, illae
 Ore omnes versae in Zephyrum stant rupibus altis,

262.] Leander is warned by the thought of his parents, who would call him back in agony if they knew his danger. This explanation seems established by the next line, as Hero, in reality, so far from calling him back, was probably waiting for him.

263.] 'Crudeli funere' with 'moritura,' as A. 4. 308 shows. 'Super' may either mean 'thereupon,' or literally 'on his body,' as Ladewig explains it: comp. Musaeus 440, καὶ δ' Ἡρῶ τὲδνηκεν ἐπ' ἄλλυμένην παρακοίτῃ. To understand it as "insuper" seems scarcely so good, though the thought of Hero would be a stronger appeal than the thought of his parents. Pal. has 'supra.'

264.] Lynxes, like tigers (A. 6. 805), drew the car of Bacchus, Ov. M. 4. 24. 'Variae,' like "maculosae," the epithet of the lynx, A. 1. 323. Lucr. 5. 862 has "genus acre leonum."

265.] 'Dant proelia:' "edere proelia" occurs Lucr. 2. 118, Livy 25. 38. Compare our expressions 'to give battle' and 'to show fight,' the latter of which answers more nearly to the sense here.

266.] 'Scilicet' is apparently explained by 'quid' in the two previous lines. He has been hurrying on, and now he gives his reason for doing so, the fact that it is on the fury of the mares that there is most need to dwell. 'Ante omnis:' Keightley understands "furores," but it seems simpler to suppose 'above all animals' to be put for 'above the fury of all animals.'

267.] He chooses a mythological story as typical of what mares do, not apparently as supplying a mythical account of the origin of their fury. 'Mentem dedit' seems equivalent to "dant animos," A. 7. 383. Venus is said to have inspired them.

If we press the sense of 'mens,' we may explain it by what follows, the purpose with which they fell on their master. For the story see Dict. B.

268.] 'Quadrigae' seems properly to mean the horses rather than the car. See Forcell.

269.] 'Illas:' "equas." He returns to the general description, though he still localizes. 'Gargara,' l. 102.

270.] 'Ascanius' is a river flowing out of a lake of the same name in Bithynia, Strabo 14, C. 681. The introduction of the general after the particular, 'montis et flumina' after Gargarus and Ascanius, is perhaps rather weak, but the stress is possibly to be laid on the verbs 'superant' and 'tranant,' the accusatives meaning little more than "illa" and "hunc." The picture is from Lucr. 1. 14, "Inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta Et rapidos tranant amnis."

271.] 'Continuo,' closely with 'ubi.' He is now speaking of a different effect of passion. Keightley takes it 'all at once, after having run themselves out of breath.' 'Subdita' gives the image of a fire kindled from beneath. 'Avidis' may either be a general epithet of passion or denote the greediness with which they catch the flame.

272.] See 2. 323 foll. "Calor ossa reliquit," A. 3. 308. Rom. has 'redit calor.'

273.] Rom. and Med. have 'ad Zephyrum,' the preposition in the latter copy having been omitted in transcription and inserted above; and this Wagn. rightly supposes to be the cause of the error. For the specification of the west wind see next note. [For 'exceptant' Pal. and originally Med. have 'expectant.' 'Ex-

Exceptantque leves auras, et saepe sine ullis
 Coniugiis vento gravidæ, mirabile dictu, 275
 Saxa per et scopulos et depressas convalles
 Diffugiunt, non, Eure, tuos, neque Solis ad ortus,
 In Borean Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster
 Nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum.
 Hic demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt 280

ceptant' is attested by Serv., Philarg., and the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

275.] The theory of the impregnation of mares by the wind (*ἐξαιεροῦσθαι*) was general among the ancients. It is supposed to be indicated by the mythological stories of horses generated by Zephyrus or Boreas, and inheriting their swiftness (Il. 16. 150., 20. 222, in the former of which passages the mother, the Harpy Podarge, is feeding by the ocean, the home of the wind). Aristot., H. A. 6. 19, fixes it to Crete, Varro, 2. 1, to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and Columella l. c., himself a Spaniard by birth, speaks of the phenomenon as of frequent occurrence "in Sacro Monte Hispaniæ, qui procurrit in occidentem iuxta Oceanum." The two latter add that foals so conceived do not live beyond three years. Wind-eggs were supposed to be produced in the same manner, Varro l. c. Comp. Aristoph. Birds 695, where the egg produced by Night without a father is called *ὀπνημίον*.

276.] A spondaic termination generally expresses slowness and majesty: here it is evidently meant to indicate the contrary. Voss comp. Il. 4. 74, *βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο κάρηνων ἄλγιστα*: 10. 359, *φευγόμεναι τοὶ δ' αἶψα διώκειν ὠρμήθησαν*: and so Catull. 65. 23, "Atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu." The number of syllables in a spondaic line is smaller than in a dactylic (a fact similar to that noticed long ago by Johnson in reference to imitative rhythm in English poetry), and where the notion of rapidity has been already conveyed to the mind, the balanced equality of two long syllables may perhaps be best adapted, as Voss thinks, to leave an impression of continuous smoothness. Judging merely by the ear, we might say that the change of metre here expresses the motion downwards, as in the first passage from Homer, and that from Catullus.

277.] Aristot. l. c. says of the mares so impregnated, *θέουσι δὲ οὕτε πρὸς ἑω, οὕτε πρὸς δυσμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἑρκτον ἢ*

νότον. With this the words of Virg. cannot be made exactly to agree, whether we understand him to mean that they run not to the east nor to the north or south, with Martyn and Keightley, or not to the east, but to the north or south, with Heyne and other editors. The latter interpretation may appear preferable, as only differing from Aristotle by the omission of the west; but that difference is a most important one, as it would appear from v. 273 that Virg. certainly did not mean to exclude the west (unless we understand 'rupibus altis' of westerly cliffs overhanging the sea), so that on that point at any rate they must be considered as directly at issue. Either then we must suppose that Virg. wished to combine Aristotle's statement with that of others, who make the west wind that from which the conception generally takes place, or that he followed an entirely different authority, who, writing, as Martyn suggests, about some place where the nearest sea lay to the west, such as the parts about Lisbon (see on v. 276), spoke of the mares as only running westward, while Aristotle, writing about Crete, as naturally made them run north and south, in which directions the sea lies nearest. The language does not enable us to decide either way. 'Tuos ad ortus,' as the east is called "Euri domus" l. 371.

278.] 'Caurus' or 'Corus' is n.w. according to Pliny 18. 338, with whom Virg.'s description elsewhere (v. 356, A. 5. 126) agrees. Gell. 2. 22 makes it s.w. 'Nigerrimus Auster': "Turbidus imber aquis densisque nigerrimus Austris," A. 5. 696.

279.] "Nascitur, et laevo contristat lumine caelum," A. 10. 275. Rom. has 'sidere' for 'frigore.'

280.] 'Hic,' 'upon this,' 'under these circumstances.' The old reading before Heins. was 'hinc,' which is supported by an erasure in one of Ribbeck's cursives. 'Vero nomine' is explained to mean that this is the true hippomanes, as distin-

Pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus ;
Hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae,
Miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba.

Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus,
Singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.

285

Hoc satis armentis : superat pars altera curae,
Lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas.
Hic labor ; hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.

Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
Quam sit, et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem ;

290

Sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
Raptat amor ; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.

guished from two other things that went by the name, the supposed tubercle on the forehead of a young foal, mentioned A. 4. 515, and a plant used in incantations, Theoc. 2. 48. But it need mean no more than that the hippomanes is rightly called, *ἐπάρυμος*.

283.] Repeated from 2. 129.

284—294.] 'But I dwell too long on horses and cows ; I must sing of sheep and goats, a difficult subject to treat poetically, but the enthusiasm of an untouched theme carries me on.'

284.] ['Set' Med. and so in v. 291.—H. N.] 'Inreparabile tempus,' A. 10. 467.

285.] 'Circumvectamur' may either be an image from chariot-driving, as just below, v. 291, or from sailing, as in 2. 41 foll. 'Capti amore,' E. 6. 10.

286.] 'Armentis' includes horses (A. 3. 540., 11. 494) as well as oxen. Varro derives it from "aro," Festus and Serv. from "arma," animals useful in war, "ut scutis boum coria (l), equi proelio." Med. has signs of a correction, 'superest.'

287.] 'Agitare' looks almost like a play on the word, intended to apply both to the breeder and to the agricultural poet. If it must be confined to one, it will be to the former, as the next line shows. The word means 'to occupy oneself with.'

288.] As usual, he does not extenuate the difficulty, but tells them that they can cope with it, and points to the glory. See on 1. 63., 2. 37. He goes on to say that his own feeling is the same: he knows the effort needed, but yearns for the exertion and looks to the reward.

289.] This and the four following lines are a brief imitation of Lucr. 1. 921 foll., and in part of vv. 136 foll. of the same book (see also 5. 97 foll.). 'Animi dubius' is from the Lucretian "animi fallit," which perhaps he thought too bold an expression, as in A. 4. 96, where he copies the phrase, he changes 'animi' into 'adeo.' See however on A. 6. 332. 'Vincere verbis' is also from Lucr. (5. 735), who however has a different meaning, 'to prove,' whereas Virg. must mean to triumph over the difficulties of the subject, with some such reference as in v. 9.

290.] 'Hunc,' for which one MS. has 'hinc,' as Burm. wished to read, means 'this honour which I have in my mind,' as it were *δευτικὴς*, the honour I have to confer as a poet.

291.] "Avia Pieridum peragro loca," Lucr. 1. 926.

292.] "Iuvat integros accedere fontis . . . meo capiti petere inde coronam, Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora Musae," Lucr. l. c.

293.] 'Molli clivo,' E. 8. 8, here of the slope which leads down to the Castalian spring. In both passages there is a contrast, more or less distinct, between 'iugum' and 'mollis clivus.' 'Devertitur' seemingly has its ordinary sense of turning aside. Virg. gets to the spring, not by the regular road, but by a by-path of his own making. This assertion of originality is the common boast of the Roman poets, who constantly claim honours for having been the first to imitate Grecian subjects. See Introduction to Eclogues.

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum.
 Incipiens stabulis edico in mollibus herbam 295
 Carpere oves, dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas,
 Et multa duram stipula felicumque manipulis
 Sternere subter humum, glacies ne frigida laedat
 Molle pecus, scabiemque ferat turpisque podagras.
 Post hinc digressus iubeo frondentia capris 800
 Arbuta sufficere et fluvios praebere recentis,
 Et stabula a ventis hiberno opponere soli
 Ad medium conversa diem, cum frigidus olim

294—321.] 'Through the winter months the sheep should be kept in sheds, well laid with straw and fern. The goats should have arbutes and fresh water, and their cotes should face the south. They require and deserve as much care at these times as sheep; hair is not so valuable as wool, but it has its use; and besides, they are more prolific and give more milk: generally too they need less tendance—another reason for not grudging it when wanted.'

294.] 'Awake a louder and a loftier strain.' Dignity must be lent to the subject, so he implores Pales to give it. Such invocations are common where the task is supposed to increase in difficulty, e.g. A. 7. 37, before the description of the war in Italy, ib. 640, before the catalogue of the Italian forces, after the manner of Hom. Here it is perhaps open to the objection that a deliberate exaggeration is intended, the exaltation of what is naturally mean, not the treatment of things unusually noble in language transcending the poet's ordinary powers. It matters little whether the line be made the end of the foregoing paragraph or the opening of the present. With 'magno ore sonandum' Forb. comp. Hor. 1 S. 4. 43. "os Magna sonaturum," one of the qualifications of the poet—probably an imitation of Virg.

295.] 'Incipiens... edico' may perhaps be an allusion to the edict made by the praetors on entering office, as Keightley observes, remarking also that the language in general seems to be that of a proprietor going round his estate (Cato 2). The line may also remind us of A. 10. 258, "Principio sociis edicit, signa sequantur." 'Edico' is followed by an inf. clause as in A. 11. 463. There however the subject of the inf. is the same as the dat. expressed with the verb; here it is different, though the dat. ("tibi" or "pastoribus") is not expressed. In v. 298 the

subject is changed so as to be identical with the implied dative. Comp. the change of subject vv. 330 foll. 'Mollibus' seems generally to denote comfort, including the requisites mentioned v. 297, but not them only. So the foliage of summer is mentioned in the next line, as the thing for which the shepherd must provide a substitute. 'Herbam:' Col. (7. 3) recommends elm or ash leaves, beans, vetches, &c.

296.] 'Dum reducitur:' see on E. 9. 23. 'Mox' seems to denote that they will not have to remain long in the sheds. 'The cold weather, we must recollect, does not begin in the south of Italy till towards the end of December.' (Keightley). 'Aestas' includes all the warmer months, as "hiemps" the colder.

297.] Cato 5, Varro 2. 2, Col. 7. 8. There are some erroneous varieties in the MSS., 'durum stipula' 'dura stipula,' 'dura in stipula,' 'duram stipulam;' but 'duram stipula,' which is preserved by Gud., is obviously the right reading.

298.] ['Supter' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

299.] 'Turpis podagras,' probably the "clavi," a name given to two kinds of disease in the feet of sheep, Col. 7. 5.

300.] 'Digressus:' as if he were actually moving to another part of his farm (Keightley).

302.] Col. (7. 3.) says that sheep-cotes ought to look to the south, and from ib. 6 it seems probable that he would extend the remark to goats. Varro (2. 2. 3) prefers the east for both.

303.] Aquarius sets in February, which with the Romans would be close on the end of the natural year. 'Frigidus' and 'cadit' seem to refer to the sign, 'inrorat' to the supposed figure in the zodiac. 'Sprinkling the skirts of the departing year.' 'Cum olim' seems equivalent to "olim cum," for which see on 2. 403.

Iam cadit extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno.
 Haec quoque non cura nobis levio^re tuendae. 805
 Nec minor usus erit, quamvis Milesia magno
 Vellera mutantur Tyrios incocta rubores :
 Densior hinc suboles, hinc largi copia lactis ;
 Quam magis exhausto spumaverit ubere mulctra,
 Laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina mammis. 810
 Nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta
 Cinyphii tondent hirci saetasque comantis
 Usus in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis.
 Pascuntur vero silvas et summa Lycaeⁱ,
 Horrentisque rubos et amantis ardua dumos ; 815

305.] The MSS. present three readings, 'haec—tuendae' (fragm. Vat., Rom.), 'hae—tuendae' (Pal.), 'haec—tuenda' (Med.) The first seems preferable, as enabling us to explain the two others. 'Haec' is an archaic form of the nom. fem. pl., used by Ter., Lucr., and Cic., if not elsewhere in Virg. (see on A. 6. 852), while it would naturally be misunderstood by transcribers, as it has actually been by Serv. and Philarg., both of whom defend its combination with 'tuendae' on the ground that the junction of a neuter with a fem. is a Latin idiom. If 'haec—tuenda' be read, 'haec' will be the 'stabula.' Wund. is right in connecting the line with what goes before (comp. Hor. 2. S. 2. 68, "unctam Convivis praebebit aquam; vitium hoc quoque magnum"), though it has also a reference to what follows.

306.] 'High as is the price that wool fetches when dyed.' The introduction of 'quamvis' with an exception expressed in special, not in general language, is like 1. 38, 39, "Quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos, Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem." 'Milesia vellera,' 4. 334, mentioned among the best by Col. 7. 2, ranked third, after the Apulian and Graeco-Italian, by Pliny 8. 190.

307.] [Rom. has 'colores.'—H. N.]

308.] The recommendations of the goat enumerated in this and the following lines are summed up Geop. 18. 9, διδυμοτοκέϊ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺν, καὶ τρέφει τὰ γεννώμενα, καὶ προσδόους διδωσιν οὐκ ὀλίγας, τὰς ἀπὸ γάλακτος καὶ τυροῦ καὶ κρέως, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τριχὸς. Goats occasionally bear three, Col. 7. 6. 'Copia lactis,' E. 1. 82. [For the second 'hinc' fragm. Vat. has 'hic.'—H. N.]

309.] Rom. and others have 'quo:'

'quam' however is the reading of Ribbeck's other MSS. (one of the cursives having an erasure) and sufficiently supported by, A. 7. 787, 788, where 'tam magis . . . quam magis' occurs. The meaning is, as 'exhausto' shows, the fuller the pails after one milking, the more will be yielded by the next.

310.] For 'flumina' Pal., Rom., one of Ribbeck's cursives [and Nonius p. 340] give 'ubera,' which is acknowledged by Philarg., and preferred by some of the earlier editors.

311.] 'Incanaque menta,' A. 6. 809.

312.] 'Tondent,' 'men clip,' like "in-urunt," v. 158. This seems better than to separate 'Cinyphii' from 'hirci,' making it the nominative plural, or to suppose that the goats are said to clip their own beards because they surrender them to the shears. The latter view, though slightly supported by 'barbas,' is rather discountenanced by the use of 'pascuntur,' v. 314, of the goats generally. Rom. has 'hircis,' but this is doubtless due to the initial letter of 'saetas.' The river Cinyphs, in Libya, is mentioned by Hdt. 4. 175, 198; its goats are alluded to Martial 8. 51. 11., 14. 140; the use to which their hair was put, by Sil. 3. 276. ['Hirqui,' Pal.—H. N.]

313.] For these hair-cloths, called "cilicia," see Dict. A. s. v. 'Nautis.' "capra pilos ministrat ad usum nauticum," Varro 2. 11.

314.] 'Pascuntur' is constructed with an accusative, as being equivalent to a transitive verb. So "depascitur," v. 458. 'Lycae' (E. 10. 15), another instance of specification for the sake of dignity.

315.] "Amantis litora myrtos," 4. 124.

Atque ipsae memores redeunt in tecta, suosque
 Ducunt, et gravido superant vix ubere limen.
 Ergo omni studio glaciem ventosque nivalis,
 Quo minor est illis curae mortalis egestas,
 Avertes, victumque feres et virgea laetus 820
 Pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma.
 At vero Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas
 In saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,
 Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura
 Carpmus, dum mane novum, dum gramina canent, 825
 Et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba.
 Inde, ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora,
 Et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae,
 Ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo

316.] "Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae Ubers," E. 4. 21, which however seems mentioned there as a wonder, not as a part of the ordinary course of nature. Med. strangely has 'inmemores.' 'Suos,' their young.

317.] The pause after the first foot expresses the slowness of their approach with their burden of milk.

318.] 'Omni studio' contains the notion of 'eo magis,' the natural correlative of 'quo minor.'

319.] 'Curae mortalis' = "curae mortalium," like "mortalia corda," 1. 123; "mortalis visus," A. 2. 605; "mortalis sermone," Lucr. 5. 121. Some MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) have 'minus,' which was the old reading, retained by Burm. from a strange misapprehension originated by Serv., as if 'curae' were dat. and 'mortalis' constructed with 'egestas.'

320.] 'Virgea pabula,' the arbutus mentioned v. 301. 'Laetus' seems rightly explained by Wagn. as = "largus," the epithet belonging rather to the gift than to the giver.

321.] 'Let them have good store of hay the winter through.'

322—338.] 'In summer let them graze early in the morning; as the heat comes on, take them to water; at midday let them rest in the shade, and in the cool of the evening graze again.'

323.] 'Utrumque gregem,' sheep and goats. 'Mittet' is the reading of Med. a m. pr., and of some copies mentioned by Ursinus, and is clearly right. The rest have 'mittes' (so all Ribbeck's) or 'mittas.'

324.] "Aestate . . . cum prima luce exeunt pastum, propterea quod tunc herba roscida meridianam, quae aridior est, iucunditate praestat," Varro 2. 2. The present passage is partially repeated from E. 8. 14, where Damon invokes Lucifer. ['Lucifero' fragm. Vat. originally, and Gud.—H. N.]

325.] It is a question whether 'carpmus' means 'let us haste along,' like "carpere prata," v. 142, "carpere gyrum" v. 191, or 'let us graze,' the shepherd being identified with his flock.

327.] 'Caeli' with 'hora,' like "caeli menses" 1. 335, "caeli tempore" 4. 100. 'Sitim collegerat' is used of becoming thirsty, Ov. M. 5. 446, like "frigus colligere" of catching cold, so that the sense of thirst is here attributed to the time of day.

328.] Comp. E. 2. 13. With 'rumpent arbusta' Serv. comp. "adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae," Juv. 1. 12. For the change from 'collegerit' to 'rumpent' see on 4. 282.

329.] 'Iubebo,' which was conjectured doubtfully by Heyne and adopted by Wakef., is now found to be the reading of Pal. and (originally) fragm. Vat. It is absolutely necessary to the sense, as with 'iubeto' the subject of 'exquirere' (v. 331), 'dare' (v. 335), and 'pascere' (ib.), no less than of 'potare' (v. 330), must be 'greges,' which in the case of 'dare' and 'pascere' at least would be absurd. The notion of inf. for imperative is not warranted by the usage of Virg.; see on A. 3. 405. With 'iubebo' Heyne comp. "suadebo" 4. 264, and

Currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam ; 330
 Aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem,
 Sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus
 Ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum
 Illicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra ;
 Tum tenuis dare rursus aquas, et pascere rursus 335
 Solis ad occasum, cum frigidus aëra vesper
 Temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,
 Litoraue alcyonem resonant, acalanthida dumi.
 Quid tibi pastores Libyae, quid pascua versu

Wakef. appositely cites Hor. A. P. 317, "Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo Doctum imitatore et vivas hinc ducere voces."

330.] 'Currentem ilignis canalibus' seems to mean no more than poured into troughs. 'Ilignis:' i. q. "iligneis," the more ordinary form. Hor. 2 S. 4. 40, "iligna nutritus glande."

331.] 'Exquirere:' the subject is here changed from the sheep to the shepherd. For 'at' Med. Pal. [and originally fragm. Vat.] have 'aut.'

332.] "Annoso . . . robore quercum," A. 4. 441.

334.] 'Illicibus crebris' with 'nigrum,' 'sacra umbra' with 'nemus.' 'Accubet' rather than 'adstet,' as applying to the resting of the shadow on the ground, like "procubet umbra" &c., v. 145 (Taubmann, referring to Turnebus 5. 4). 'Where the grove, black with countless ilixes, reposes nigh in hallowed shadow.'

335.] 'Tenuis' seems here a perpetual epithet of water, as of air, expressing its penetrating power. See on l. 92, and comp. 4. 410. Others understand it of water from a little stream.

336.] 'Temperat aëra' like "temperat arva" l. 110, where the sense of the word is further defined by "arentia," denoting the thing to be relieved, as it is here by 'frigidus,' denoting the relief to be given.

337.] 'Iam roscida,' beginning to drop dew. The moon was called "roriflua" and "roris mater." For the general sense comp. 2. 202.

338.] 'Resonant alcyonem, acalanthida:' a bolder variety for "resonant cantum alcyonis, acalanthidos." For the 'alcyones' on the coast comp. l. 398. Lachm. on Lucr. 3. 383 seems right in preferring 'alcyonem' (found in one of

Ribbeck's cursives) to 'Alcyonen,' on the ground that the personification does not suit a simple passage like this. In 4. 15, as he says, the case is different, as there the mythological accessories of the swallow are mentioned. The ordinary reading 'alcyonen' inconsistently gives the Greek form, but drops the personification. The case is one of those in which MS. authority goes for little. 'Acalanthis' or "acanthis" is the Greek name for the goldfinch or thistle-finch, in Latin "carduelis," because it lives among thorns and eats the seeds of thistles. The form *ἀκalanthis* would seem to point to *ἀκalanthis* or *ἀκalantha* as a cognate of *ἀκανθος* or *ἐκανθα*, the latter being derived from *ἐκ*, with Passow, the former from some connected word, *ἀκαλος* or *ἀκάλη*. The old reading here was 'et acanthida,' but though 'acalanthida' is more or less corrupted in some of the MSS., none of them support 'et.'

339—383.] 'As an instance where summer-grazing is carried to the utmost, I might tell of shepherd life in Africa. There in those vast plains the cattle feed day and night for a month together, and the herdsman carries all his chattels with him, like a Roman soldier on march. The opposite extreme is in Scythia, where there is no grazing, and the cattle are always shut up. Ice and snow is there all the year round; day and night are alike; all liquids freeze; sudden snow-storms kill the cattle; deer are not hunted, but butchered in the ice; the natives live underground by the fire, playing and drinking.'

339.] By the 'pastores Libyae' are probably meant the Numidians, with whom the notion of nomadic life was peculiarly identified.

Prosequar, et raris habitata mapalia tectis? 340
 Saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine mensem
 Pascitur itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis
 Hospitiis: tantum campi iacet. Omnia secum
 Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque Laremque
 Armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram;
 Non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis 346
 Iniusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, et hosti
 Ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.

340.] The 'mapalia' or 'magalia,' which appear to differ only in quantity, are defined by Cato, as quoted by Fest. and by Serv. on A. 1. 421, "quasi cohortes rotundae," referring to the "cohortes villaticae," in which the live-stock, &c., were kept (Dict. A. 'Villa'). These "cohortes" were made up "ex pluribus tectis" (Varro L. L. 4. 16), having various sheds or other buildings round them. Thus the 'mapalia' would seem to have been a camp or settlement, consisting of various tents or huts, here called 'tectis,' which would naturally be scattered, 'rara' (Keightley well comp. A. 8. 98), owing to the thinness of the population and the extent of the country, and easily movable. Shaw (Travels, pp. 220 foll. ed. 1757) gives a full account of these encampments or 'dou-wars,' which he says consist of a greater or less number of tents (he had seen from 3 to 300), usually placed in a circle. This agrees with A. 1. 421., 4. 259. 'Mapalia' seems also to have been used for the tents themselves (Sall. Jug. 18, and perhaps Pliny 5. 22, Val. Fl. 2. 460, where 'mapale' is used in sing.), which according to Sall. were oblong, and shaped like the keels of boats, as they appear to be in the present day (Shaw, l. c. Hay's Western Barbary, p. 25, quoted by Keightley).

341.] The elder Scaliger, a great Virgilian enthusiast, declares (Poet. 5. 16) that Apollo himself could produce nothing superior to these verses.

343.] 'Hospitiis' seems to denote fixed dwellings, where they could be received at their journey's end, as distinct from what the herdsmen carry with them. 'Tantum campi iacet' accounts for the absence of 'hospitia,' and for the continuous journeying. Ladewig has a strange notion that 'pecus' is the nom. to 'iacet' and 'campi' a local gen. 'Omnia secum agit': the same practice seems to have

prevailed on a smaller scale in Italy. "Contra illi in saltibus qui pascuntur (pascunt?) et a tectis absunt longe, portant secum crates aut retia, quibus cohortes in solitudine faciant, ceteraque utensilia," Varro 2. 2. Possibly Virg. may intend his illustration to convey an indirect precept to the Italian shepherd.

344.] 'His roof and his home.' Sil. 2. 441 foll., imitating this passage, enumerates among the baggage of the Nomad, "tectumque foecique in silicis venis."

345.] 'The Spartan dog and the Cretan quiver' are rather unseasonable reminiscences, like those in E. 10. 59, as the Numidian was not likely to be equipped with anything foreign.

346.] 'Patriis' seems to refer to the manner of campaigning rather than to the actual armour.

347.] 'Iniusto' of excess, like "iniquo pondere," 1. 164. The Roman soldier, besides his armour, had to carry provisions, palisades for the camp, &c. (Cic. Tusc. 2. 16), altogether amounting to 60lb., according to Vegetius 1. 19. [Fragm. Vat. has 'invito.'—H. N.] 'Carpit' implies haste, as the next line shows. 'Hosti' seems to have given some trouble to the copyists, Med. a m. p. and some others having 'hostem,' perhaps from unacquaintance with the phrase 'ante expectatum,' Pal. 'hostis.' It is a dat. of reference, such as is more commonly found in the case of personal pronouns, like "mihi," "tibi," &c. ["Quom" fragm. Vat. for 'cum.'—H. N.]

348.] 'Ante expectatum' occurs again Ov. M. 4. 790., 8. 5, Sen. Ep. 114, &c. (Forb.) So we find "expectato maturius." 'Positis castris' i. q. "et castra ponit." The soldiers, on coming to the end of their march, immediately proceed to encamp. Pal. has 'agmine,' which, with 'hostis' (see on the preceding line), Ribbeck prefers, supposing 'in agmine hos-

At non, qua Scythiae gentes Maeotiaque unda,
 Turbidus et torquens flaventis Hister harenas, 350
 Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem.
 Illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta, nec ullae
 Aut herbae campo apparent aut arbore frondes;
 Sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto
 Terra gelu late, septemque adsurgit in ulnas. 355
 Semper hiemps, semper spirantes frigora cauri.
 Tum sol pallentis haut umquam discutit umbras,
 Nec cum invectus equis altum petit aethera, nec cum
 Praecipitem Oceani rubro lavit aequore currum.
 Concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae, 360
 Undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
 Puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustris;
 Aeraque dissiliunt volgo, vestesque rigescunt

tis' to mean 'against the ranks of the enemy.'

349.] 'At non : ' 'but things are not so,' or, 'but this comparison does not hold good, where' &c. The ellipse occurs 4. 530, A. 4. 529 : in the latter place however it can be supplied at once from the words of the context. The geography is vague, as usual when he speaks of countries out of the ordinary beat. 'Maeotia tellus' is mentioned A. 6. 799 as an extreme point. The old reading was 'Maeotica.'

350.] 'Turbidus' closely connected with 'torquens,' which it qualifies (Wagn. and Wund.). 'Hister,' 2. 497.

351.] 'Redit' expresses the form of the mountain, stretching first to the east and then to the north (Serv.). For the exaggeration which places Thrace in the extreme north see 4. 517.

354.] 'Informis,' shapeless, like Chaos; comp. E. 6. 36 note.

355.] The earth is said to rise, because its height is increased by the ice and snow.

357.] 'Tum' seems here merely to mark the transition, 'Nay, the sun,' &c. This and the two following lines are imitated from Od. 11. 15 foll., where the atmosphere of the Cimmerians is similarly described. Similar imitations occur Ov. M. 11. 592, Pseudo-Tibull. 4. 1. 65. 'Pallentis umbras,' A. 4. 26, opposed here to the rosy brightness of the sun, 'rubro,' v. 359.

359.] [As above, v. 221, Med. corrected has 'lavat.'—H. N.]

360.] Thomson's lines (Winter, 723 foll.) form a good comment on Virg., "An icy gale, oft shifting, o'er the pool Breathes a blue film, and in its mid career Arrests the bickering stream." The language is from Lucr. 6. 626, "mollisque luti concrescere crustas."

361.] 'Ferratos orbis:' again from Lucr. 6. 551, where "rotarum" is expressed.

362.] 'Illa,' as in A. 1. 3. Its force is very difficult to express, but it seems to be equivalent to a repetition of the noun. 'Patulis' used to be joined with 'puppibus,' which would answer to "pandas carinas," 2. 445; but Heyne seems right in saying that the rhythm requires us to connect it with 'plaustris;' see E. 2. 20. The breadth and flatness of the waggons will then give a notion of weight, as Ladewig rightly understands it. 'Hospita aequora,' A. 3. 337.

363.] 'Volgo,' as in Lucr. 1. 238, generally or universally; comp. below v. 494, A. 3. 643. Strabo (2, C. 74) has an account from Eratosthenes of the splitting of a copper vessel by the cold, commemorated by an inscription in the temple of Aesculapius. Mr. Long suggests that the vessel (ὄψις) contained water, the expansion of which, when it became ice, burst the copper. In the winter of 1860-1 instances of cast-iron snapping were common enough.

Indutae, caeduntque securibus umida vina,
 Et totae solidam in glaciem vertere lacunae, 365
 Stiriaque inpexis induruit horrida barbis.
 Interea toto non setius aëre nunguit:
 Intereunt pecudes, stant circumfusa pruinis
 Corpora magna boum, confertoque agmine cervi
 Torpent mole nova et summis vix cornibus extant. 370
 Hos non inmissis canibus, non cassibus ullis
 Puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pinnae;
 Set frustra oppositum trudentes pectore montem
 Comminus obtruncant ferro, graviterque rudentis

364.] 'Clothes are congealed on the back.'

365.] The connexion of this line with the preceding is not very evident; Wund. accordingly proposes to understand 'lacunae' in the sense of its cognate "lagenae" (see Forcell. s. v. who refers to Gruter, p. 578, n. 4, for an instance of this), or to read "lagenae." Jahn however seems right in replying that 'totae' would be against this. A connexion will be seen if we suppose 'lacunae' to be the pools from which they drank or drew water, and this may be carried on to the next verse, the moisture of the beard, which immediately becomes an icicle, being caused by drops of the liquid drunk. In any case there is no anticlimax, as Wund. thinks, the freezing of a lake or pool to the bottom being worth mentioning after the formation of ice on a stream; nor need we suppose the line to be out of place with Keightley, even if we admit its want of connexion with the preceding. ['Lucunae' Med. originally, and so Ribbeck: see Lachmann on Lucr. 3. 1031, where good MS. authority supports the same form.—H. N.]

366.] "Glacie riget horrida barba," A. 4. 251, of Atlas.

367.] 'Non setius:' 'the snow is as bad as the frost,' as it is rightly explained by an anonymous critic referred to by Wagn.

368.] Looking back to v. 352, we must apparently either convict Virg. of an oversight, or suppose with Heyne that he means to allow some exceptions when the cattle are turned out to graze, and that during one of these a snow-storm comes on. But this last view can hardly be said to be borne out by the language. Ladewig may be right in saying that the oxen would be those which would be required to draw the 'plaustra,' v. 362. There is a

simile from a snow-storm Il. 12. 278 foll., but it bears no great resemblance to Virg.

369.] Comp. Thomson, Winter, 240, "Drooping, the labouring ox Stands covered o'er with snow, and then demands The fruit of all his toil." Virg. here simply gives the physical image; in v. 525 he brings out the pathos involved in the relation of beasts to man. Rom. and fragm. Veron. have 'confecto.'

370.] 'Mole nova' is explained by Wagn. of the new-fallen snow. The meaning seems rather to be that they are oppressed with the weight of a bulk not their own, which is probably what Heyne intended by his brief note, "insolenti, nempe nivis." So Trapp and Martyn talk of 'unusual weight.' 'Torpent' of course expresses numbness as well as mere oppression.

372.] "Puniceae saeptum formidine pinnae," A. 12. 750. 'Formido' was actually the name of the cord with red feathers which the hunters stretched along the openings of the woods to drive the game into the net (Sen. de Ira 2. 12), its Greek appellation being *μῆρυθος*. Here Virg. probably so far reverts to the commoner meaning of the word as to make 'formidine' the terror inspired by the feathers.

373.] They are immersed in the snow, and in vain try to push it before them. ['Sed' Pal.—H. N.]

374.] 'Rudere,' properly used of asses, is transferred to other animals, as to lions, A. 7. 16, to the monster Cacus, A. 8. 248, and even to the prow of a vessel, A. 3. 561. So 'bray' is sometimes used of a deer in English, though according to Scott (Marion 4. 16, note) 'bell' is the more appropriate, and Spenser makes a tiger 'bray.'

Caedunt, et magno laeti clamore reportant.
 Ipsi in defossis specubus secunda sub alta
 Otia agunt terra, congestaque robora totasque
 Advolvere focus ulmos ignique dedere.
 Hic noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti
 Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.
 Talis Hyperboreo Septem subiecta trioni
 Gens effrena virum Rhiphaeo tunditur Euro,
 Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis.
 Si tibi lanitium curae, primum aspera silva,

375

380

376.] This Troglodytic life is reported of the Sarmatians by Mela 2. 1, of the Germans by Tac. Germ. 16, of the Armenians by Xenophon, an eye-witness, Anab. 4. 5. In Aesch. Prom. 452 it is part of the barbarism from which Prometheus raised the human race: *κατ' ὄρυγες δ' ἔναον, ἔστ' ἀήσυροι Μύρμηκες, ἔντρον ἐν μυχοῖς ἀνηλούς*. The homes of the Esquimaux are built out of the snow, and rise but a small height above its level. 'Ipsi' distinguishes their own life from the state of things about them.

377.] 'Totasque:' as usual, many MSS., including Gud., leave out the final 'que,' which is marked in Med, as if for omission.

379.] 'Noctem' refers to the whole time during which storms prevail and the sun does not shine. "Noctem sermone trahebāt," A. 1. 748: "nos flendo ducimus horas," A. 6. 539. In all these passages it is difficult to say whether the notion is that of speeding along or of drawing out, as either would be sufficiently appropriate. Perhaps here the natural length of the winter night is a reason for supposing speeding along to be meant, as in Hor. 1 Ep. 5. 11, "Aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem," the meaning is that the natural shortness of the summer night is to be counteracted by the pleasure of conversation. 'Pocula' here seems to have the transferred sense of a draught (1. 9, E. 8. 28). In the sense of a cup it could hardly stand with 'vitea,' which would have to be understood of the wood, like "pocula fagina," E. 3. 36.

380.] By 'fermento' Virg. evidently means beer, the national drink of Germany, Gaul, and other countries (Tac. Germ. 23, Pliny 14. 149., 22. 164); but whether he uses 'fermento' of fermented grains, or mistakes the process, supposing that leaven is used, is not clear. Martyn very plausibly

proposes to read 'frumento,' which is supported by one MS., 'fromentoque.' 'Sorbis:' a kind of oider seems to have been made from service berries, Pliny 14. 103; Palladius however (2. 15) speaks as if he only knew it by hearsay. It is possible, though scarcely likely, that 'fermento atque sorbis' may be for 'sorbis fermentatis,' according to a suggestion of Martyn's adopted by Wagn.

381.] "Septem triones" ("triones," "teriones," oxen used for ploughing, Varro L. L. 7. 74) was the Roman name for the constellation Ursa Major, the seven stars of which they figured to themselves as seven oxen. The plural is more common than the singular, the latter of course ignoring the etymology of the word. The tmesis is used by Cic. N. D. 2. 41 in the plural, by Ov. M. 1. 64 in the singular.

382.] 'Effrena:' denoting the freedom of savage life. 'Rhiphaeo,' 1. 240. Dryden's rendering of this and the preceding line is amusing, when we consider the various relations between Holland and England in his day: "Such are the cold Ryphean race, and such The savage Scythian, and unwarlike Dutch."

383.] 'Velatur,' the reading of Rom., Pal., and Gud., was restored by Heins. for 'velantur' (Med.). The plural might be defended as a change of number, 'gens' being still the subject; but it seems more likely that it was introduced by those who wished to bring the verb into agreement with 'corpora.' The line is closely connected with the preceding; they are assailed by the wintry wind, and they arm themselves against it.

384—393.] 'If you breed sheep for wool, let them avoid prickly shrubs and luxuriant food, and be careful in the choice of your rams, rejecting even those whose fleeces are unimpeachably white

Lappaeque tribolique, absint; fuge pabula laeta; 385
 Continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos;
 Illum autem, quamvis aries sit candidus ipse,
 Nigra subest udo tantum cui lingua palato,
 Reice, ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis
 Nascentum, plenoque alium circumspice campo. 390
 Munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est,
 Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit,
 In nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem.
 At cui lactis amor, cytium lotosque frequentis
 Ipse manu salsasque ferat praesepeibus herbas. 395
 Hinc et amant fluvios magis, et magis ubera tendunt,
 Et salis occultum referunt in lacte saporem.

if their tongues be dark. Wool is a great object: it tempted even the moon-goddess.

384.] 'Lanitium' seems rightly explained by Forcell., "lanae proventus." "Lanitia" occurs in Laberius (fr. 'Paupertas') v. 67, "lanities" in Tertullian. "Aspera silva, Lappaeque tribolique," l. 152. These are to be avoided as tearing the wool and wounding the flesh, see v. 444.

385.] 'Pabula laeta,' a common expression in Lucretius. Here however the epithet is emphatic, as it is luxuriant pasturage which is injurious to the wool, Col. 7. 2.

386.] 'Continuo,' l. 169. 'Mollibus' is equally emphatic with 'albos.' Cerda refers to Geop. 18, Varro 2. 2, Col. 7. 2, Pal. 8. 4.

388.] 'Tantum' admits the apparent slightness of the defect as compared with the general excellence of the ram, 'ipse.' The precept is found in all the rustic writers, some of whom (Aristot. H. A. 6. 19, Col. 7. 3, Pliny 8. 189) lay down more or less distinctly the general rule that the colour of the fleece depends on that of the ram's tongue. The writer in the Geopon. (18. 6) so far differs from the rest as to say that it is the ewe's tongue which should be examined. Virg. however seems not quite to have understood his authorities, as they say that a black tongue will produce black lambs, a speckled tongue, speckled, while he makes a black tongue the indication of a speckled offspring.

390.] 'Pleno . . . campo,' as Heyne remarks, lends dignity to the subject.

391.] A legend borrowed from Nicander (see Introduction to the Georgics), as we are told by Macrob. Sat. 5. 22. One version is that Pan changed himself into a splendid white ram, and thus induced the Moon to follow him—seemingly a less refined variety of the story of Endymion. Another is that Pan gave the Moon a choice out of his flock, and that she chose a white ram, which had a dark tongue, and so spoiled the flock. In either case 'munere' will mean an inducement.

392.] 'Pan deus Arcadiae,' E. 10. 26.

394—403.] 'If your object is milk, feed your cattle well with salt herbage. Some prevent kids from sucking at all. The milk when made into cheese is either sold at once or kept for the winter.'

394.] 'Cytiso,' E. 1. 79, 9. 31. 'Lotos,' not the tree, as in 2. 84, but the land-plant, of which there are two kinds, *huespos* ("Melilotus officinalis," Linn.) and *kyrios* or *Albuon* ("Melilotus caerulea"). Keightley, referring to Fée.

395.] 'Ipse' is explained by Jahn to mean that they are not to be left to look for salt herbage for themselves. It might also mean that the farmer is to do it himself, the injunction being added merely to express the importance of the thing to be done; see on 4. 112. Pal. and Rom. have 'ille.' 'Salsas' seems to mean salted, as Aristot. H. A. 8. 10, Col. 7. 3, and Pall. 12. 13, all speak of giving salt to sheep (Voss). "We ourselves salt hay for our cattle. It is remarkable that the graminivorous animals in general are fond of salt, while the carnivorous dislike it" (Keightley).

396, 397.] Two reasons are given—the

Multi iam excretos prohibent a matribus haedos,
 Primaque ferratis praefigunt ora capistris.
 Quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis, 400
 Nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole cadente,
 Sub lucem exportant calathis (adit oppida pastor),
 Aut parco sale contingunt hiemique reponunt.

salt makes them drink more, and so give more milk, and it imparts a salt flavour to the milk. Of the latter Keightley says, "This effect is doubtful."

398.] 'Multi' introduced as in l. 193. 'Excretos' ["aut separatos, aut qui valde creverint" Philarg.: i.e. either from 'excerno' or 'excresoo.' It is from 'excerno';] the meaning evidently being not that the kids are weaned when they are grown, but that they are not allowed to suck at all—a practice opposite to that recommended above, v. 178, in the case of calves, as the object to be attained is different. 'Excretus' then will have a sense analogous to that which it bears in physiological writers, denoting the separation which takes place in birth. To understand it with Heyne as equivalent to "excernunt et prohibent," or with Wagn. in his smaller edition, of removal to a distance, as distinguished from putting on the 'capistrum,' seems not so good. Ribbeck adopts 'multi etiam' from Pal. and one of his cursives, which is plausible.

399.] 'Prima,' from the first, like 'iam excretos,' or perhaps, as Mr. Blackburn thinks, the extremities of their mouths. These 'capistra,' unlike those in v. 188, seem to have been made with iron points, which would prick the mother and make her drive the kid away. 'Praefigunt ora capistris' is a variety for "praefigunt capistra oribus."

400—403.] The difficulty of this passage appears to arise from the brevity and want of precision with which Virg. is apt to deliver his practical precepts. Milk was used for various purposes, for making curds as well as for making cheese; cheeses were of different kinds, and made in different ways, some for immediate use, and others for keeping; and, lastly, part of the produce would be for home consumption, part for sale. These details might have been embarrassing in poetry, so Virg. despatches the whole subject in four lines, giving a glance at each. The words 'quod surgente . . .

nocte premunt' refer to the practice of making curds or cheese in the evening from the milk drawn in the morning; but it is not said which of the two products is meant, 'premere' being applicable to both; nor is it said for what purpose either is made. In the next part of the sentence 'quod iam . . . calathis,' speaking of the evening milk, he tells us what becomes of it ultimately—it is sent to the town—but not of the process it has passed through; only we are left to infer that it has been dealt with rapidly, as it is ready to be carried away at daybreak. In v. 403 we hear merely of the process, the cheese being evidently one of those described by Col. 7. 8, which undergo a nine days' course of pressing, sprinkling with salt, &c., and are then washed, dried, and put away. Thus we shall not need with Fea and Keightley to punctuate after 'sub lucem,' v. 402, which beside introducing an abruptness not very usual in Virg., involves the admission of Scaliger's conjecture 'exportans,' contrary to all the MSS. 'Surgente die horisque diurnis' refer to the same thing, the morning milking, as 'tenebris et sole cadente' show. The 'calathi,' which here are to carry the cheese or curd to market were also used in the actual making of cheese (Col. 1. c). 'Adit oppida pastor' is parenthetical, not unlike "furor arma ministrat," A. 1. 150, which is similarly thrown in to account for what has been just said. Possibly there may be some playfulness in the juxtaposition of 'oppida' and 'pastor.' With the thing itself comp. E. 1. 21 foll., 34. 5, G. 1. 273 foll. The 'pastor' is probably the farmslave, not the owner, though it is not always easy to see for what class of men Virg. is writing. 'Parco,' because it might be done too liberally, as Heyne explains it. 'Contingunt' probably from "tango," not from "tingo" or "tinguo," as Keightley remarks, comparing Celsus de Med. 2. 24, "quae contacta sale modico sunt." See Forcell.

Nec tibi cura canum fuerit postrema, set una
 Velocis Spartae catulos acremque Molossum 405
 Pasce sero pingui: numquam custodibus illis
 Nocturnum stabulis furem incursusque luporum,
 Aut inpacatos a tergo horrebis Hiberos:
 Saepe etiam cursu timidos agitabis onagros,
 Et canibus leporem, canibus venabere dammas; 410
 Saepe volutabris pulsos silvestribus apros
 Latratu turbabis agens, montisque per altos
 Ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum.
 Disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum,

404—413.] 'It is worth while too to rear dogs of the best breed, to protect you against robbers and wolves, and to hunt wild beasts and game.'

405.] 'Spartae catulos,' vv. 44, 345. They are joined with Molossians by Hor. Epod. 6. 5, "Molossum aut fulvus Lacon, Amica vis pastoribus." For the latter comp. also Lucr. 5. 1063. The Spartan dogs (called *κυρίδια* by Aristot. H. A. 5. 2, which may perhaps answer to 'catulos' here) seem to have been preferred for hunting, the Molossian as watch-dogs. Aristot. H. A. 9. 1 says that the Molossian hounds were much like others, but that their sheep-dogs were remarkable for size and courage (Cerde). The general precept is after Hesiod (Works 604), *καὶ κύνια κερχάρδοντα κομῶν μὴ φείδω σίτου. Μὴ ποτε σ' ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἔληται.*

406.] 'Pingui' seems to mean 'fattening.' Whey as a food for dogs is recommended by Dioscorides 2. 80, and by Col. 7. 12, the latter prescribing the addition of barley-meal.

407.] 'Stabulis furem . . . horrebis:' comp. E. 6. 50, "quamvis collo timuisset aratrum."

408.] True to his habit of localizing, Virg. warns his farmer against Spanish brigands, supposing him for the moment to be settled in their neighbourhood. Varro (1. 16), enumerating points to be considered in the choice of a farm with regard to neighbourhood, mentions as the first question "infesta sit regio necne," adding that there are many excellent tracts of land which would be undesirable for farming by reason of the neighbourhood, some for instance in Sardinia, and those in Spain bordering on Portugal. The technical name for cattle-stealers was 'abigei.' 'A tergo' seems intended

to give the notion of surprise. Med. a m. p. has 'indignatos' for 'inpacatos.'

409.] The 'onagri,' or wild asses, again do not belong to Italy or to any part of Europe, being chiefly found in Asia Minor (Varro 2. 6), and in Africa (Pliny 8. 174). The flesh of their foals was considered a delicacy, though Pliny (8. 170) tells us that Maecenas set the fashion of preferring that of the tame ones, a taste which died with him.

410.] 1. 308.

411.] 'Volutabris,' a rare word, quoted by Forb. from Arnob. 7. 224.

412.] 'Agens' here and in A. 1. 191, 4. 71, seems to mean merely 'chasing:' comp. A. 7. 481. 'Turbabis' appears to include the notions of rousing from their lair and throwing into confusion, like "misceat" A. 1. l. c. Rom. has 'terrebis,' which would be no improvement.

413.] 'Ingenti clamore,' is read by one M.S., as in v. 43, and approved by Burm., but the size of the stag (comp. A. 1. 192) shows the success of the sport, and confers credit on the dogs, so that the epithet is not, as Heyne thinks, a merely ornamental one. 'Premes ad retia:' "preasique in retia cervis," Ov. Her. 4. 41; "Quattuor sunt venatorum officia, vestigatores, indagatores, alatores et pressores," Isid. Orig. 10 ad finem (Emm.).

414—439.] 'Snakes should be got rid of by fumigating the sheds, which they are apt to infest. Attack them with sticks and stones, and they will take to flight. There is one particular snake in Calabria of special danger, with scaly back and speckled belly, who lives on the banks of pools, feeding on fish and frogs, but in hot weather is driven into the fields, a formidable enemy to the casual sleeper.'

414.] There are similar warnings in

Galbanoque agitare gravis nidore chelydros. 415
 Saepe sub immotis praesepibus aut mala tactu
 Vipera delituit caelumque exterrita fugit;
 Aut tecto adsuetus coluber succedere et umbrae,
 Pestis acerba boum, pecorique aspergere virus,
 Fovit humum. Cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor, 420
 Tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem
 Deice. Iamque fuga timidum caput abdidit alte,
 Cum medii nexus extremaeque agmina caudae
 Solvuntur, tardosque trahit sinus ultimus orbis.
 Est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis, 425
 Squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga,
 Atque notis longam maculosus grandibus alvum,

Geop. 18. 2, Col. 7. 4. Pliny (24. 19) says that the smell of cedar shavings puts serpents to flight. "Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum," A. 7. 13.

415.] 'Galbanum,' a gum from a plant growing in Syria, is mentioned by Pliny 12. 126, as having the power of smoking away serpents. So Diosc. 3. 38. The root of the plant was also thought a specific against their bite, Sammonicus 846. Virg. imitated Nicander, Ther. 51 foll., who recommends βαρύδωμος ἐπὶ φλογὶ (ωγρηθεῖσα Χαλβάνη . . . καὶ ἡ πρίονεσσι τομαὶν Κέδρος. 'Chelydros,' 2. 214. 'Gravis' may either signify the intolerable smell of these reptiles (comp. v. 451, and for the fact, Nicand. Ther. 421 foll.) or simply = χαλεπός. [Nonius p. 315 and Serv. read 'gravi,' explaining it as = 'nocenti' or 'noxio,' harmful to the snakes.—H. N.]

416.] 'Immotis' gives the reason why the vipers may have been long secreted there. The sheds would be moved in order to be cleaned. Rom. has 'ignotis.' 'Mala tactu' ends a line, Lucr. 2. 408, where it means rough or disagreeable to the touch. Here it expresses the Greek ἄσπτος.

417.] 'Caelumque exterrita fugit' gives the reason for 'delituit.' 'Exterrita' seems to refer to the timid nature of the animal.

418.] What this 'coluber' is seems uncertain. Voss understands it of the "coluberatrix," Linn., which, though really harmless, was accused of sucking the cows. ['Succederet' Pal.—H. N.]

420.] 'Fovit humum,' like "fovere larem," 4. 43, "castra fovere," A. 9. 57, of constant occupation. 'Cape saxa:' comp.

A. 5. 274, 275, and the scene in the Culex, vv. 155 foll.

421.] A. 2. 381.

422.] 'Deicere' is not an uncommon term in hunting (Emm.). Here it is rendered appropriate by 'tollentemque minas.' 'Iamque:' the precept is exchanged for narrative, the meaning being merely 'this will put him to flight.' Pal. has 'namque,' Med. a. m. a. 'cumque.'

423.] 'Cum' seems virtually equivalent to 'dum.' The head is in the ground; the volume of the body uncoils as the middle approaches the hole; the end still has a curve. The 'medii nexus' and the 'extremae agmina caudae' before formed a complication, which is now unloosed ('solvuntur'), but the tail still continues to undulate. 'Agmina,' of a serpent, A. 2. 212 note, 5. 90, as of a river, A. 2. 782. [Rom. has 'agmine'.—H. N.]

424.] If 'sinus ultimus' is to be taken strictly, 'tardos orbis' = "tardum orbem." Possibly Virg. may mean, as Forb. thinks, that though the head is gone, there is still time to strike the tail of the serpent, but it seems more likely that these details are merely meant for a picture. Serv. supposes the direction to be "Caede serpentem, donec et caudae volubilitas conquiescat."

425.] The serpent meant is the "cherasydrus," a species of water-snake, which abounded in Calabria (Solinus, c. 8), the passage being imitated again from Nicand. Ther. 359 foll.

426.] A. 2. 474. For 'pectore' Pal. has 'corpore.'

427.] Cerda remarks that two charac-

Qui, dum amnes ulli rumpuntur fontibus et dum
 Vere madent udo terrae ac pluvialibus austris,
 Stagna colit, ripisque habitans, hic piscibus atram 430
 Improbus ingluviem ranisque loquacibus explet;
 Postquam exusta palus, terraeque ardore dehiscunt,
 Exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens
 Saevit agris, asperque siti atque exterritus aestu.
 Ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos, 435
 Neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas,
 Cum positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa
 Volvitur, aut catulos tectis aut ova relinquens,
 Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.

teristics are here mentioned, the length of the belly and the spots.

428.] 'Rumpuntur fontibus' = "erumpunt fontibus." 'Ullus' is seldom found but in negative or interrogative sentences.

429.] For 'ac' Rom. has 'et.'

430.] 'Hic,' on the banks and in the water. 'Atram:' see on l. 129.

431.] 'Improbus:' see on l. 119. 'Ingluvies' is properly a bird's crop (Col. 8. 5); here it means the stomach, whence it comes to be used as a synonym for gluttony (Hor. l. S. 2. 7, &c.) [The Berne scholia, in a note probably derived ultimately from Verrius Flaccus (see Paulus, Fest. p. 112 M.) say "*ingluviem, gulam: ingluviem est spatium gulae, unde et glutum et glutire dicimus per ingluviem aliquid demittere*."—H. N.] 'Ranis:' comp. vv. 82 foll. of the *Batrachomyomachia*, where the frog dives to avoid a water-snake.

432.] 'Exusta,' was restored by Heins. for 'exhausta,' which is found in Gud.

433.] Med. has 'extulit,' perhaps from a corruption 'exulit,' which appears in another MS.; Ladewig however adopts it, supposing it to be used intransitively. Gud. and two others of Ribbeck's cursives read 'exiit.' [Ribbeck reads 'exulit' = 'exsilit.'—H. N.] 'Flammantia lumina:' "Ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni," A. 2. 210.

434.] 'Exterritus' is altered in Med. into 'exercitus,' which is also found in one or two other copies. It is plausible, as 'exterrita' has occurred not long before, and the latter word might seem scarcely suited to the aggressive fury of the serpent. But the stronger the word expressing the effect of heat on the serpent, the more fearful would be the conception conveyed of its poison. Comp. the descrip-

tion of the Libyan serpents in Lucan, book 9. Serv. refers to Sall. Jug. 89. "natura serpentium, ipsa pernicio, siti magis quam alia re accenditur."

435.] 'Ne' Pal., Rom., and two of Ribbeck's cursives, 'nec' Med., Gud. The latter, though less usual, is defensible; comp. Ov. Trist. l. 1. 11, where "nec . . . neve" occur, and see Forb.'s note. 'Divum' or 'dium' seems to be only used in the expressions 'sub divo,' 'sub divum,' the latter of which occurs Hor. l. Od. 18. 12. 'Dio' (Pal.) was the old reading, but Med., Rom., and others have 'divo.'

436.] 'May I never take a fancy.' 'Dorso nemoris' is explained by Hor. 2 S. 6. 91, "praeceptum nemoris . . . dorso," the back or ridge of a mountain on which a wood grows. 'Iacuisse:' Madv. (§ 407, obs. 2) remarks that this use of the perf. inf. instead of the present by the poets is especially found after "verba voluntatis et potestatis."

437.] A. 2. 473.

438.] The reference is probably to the serpent's casting his skin twice in the year, in the spring and autumn, 'catulos relinquens' marking the former, 'ova' the latter period. So Heyne and Keightley, referring to Aristot. Hist. A. 8. 17. The drought mentioned in the preceding verses points rather to the later time than to the earlier.

439.] The two ablatives, 'linguis,' 'ore,' are not easy to explain, though 'micat' would be sufficiently intelligible with either separately. The choice seems to lie between making 'ore' local, which would leave 'linguis' for an instrumental or modal ablative, like "micat auribus," v. 84, and supposing that 'micat ore' is re-

Morborum quoque te causas et signa docebo. 440
 Turpis ovis temptat scabies, ubi frigidus imber
 Altius ad vivum persedit et horrida cano
 Bruma gelu, vel cum tonsis inlotus adhaesit
 Sudor, et hirsuti secuerunt corpora vepres.
 Dulcibus idcirco fluviis pecus omne magistri 445
 Perfundunt, udisque aries in gurgite villis
 Mersatur, missusque secundo defluit amni;
 Aut tonsum tristi contingunt corpus amurca,

garded as a single notion, 'linguis' being constructed as above, so as to answer the purpose of a yet further specification. See on l. 360. The line is repeated A. 2. 475. 'Ora,' a reading introduced by Heyne probably from an oversight, would untie the knot, but it has no MS. authority. 'Trisulcis:' the tongue of the serpent is only two-forked; other poets however have followed Virg., and so Pliny II. 171.

440—463.] 'As to the diseases of sheep, they are liable to scabs from the effect of the weather, or from uncleanness or scratches when new shorn. To remedy this, they are well washed, or rubbed with ointment after shearing. Lancing the place is good, and in case of violent inflammation and fever, bleeding in the feet.'

440.] The diseases of sheep and other cattle are touched upon by Cato 96, and by Varro 2. 1, the former talking only of the scab, the latter, though very briefly, of other complaints. Col. (7. 5) goes more fully into the subject, referring as usual to Virg.

441.] "Oves frequentius quam ullum aliud animal infestantur scabie," Col. l. c. 'Temptat,' E. 1. 49. 'Frigidus imber,' l. 259. For 'ubi' Rom. has 'cum.'

442.] 'Persedit:' "clades nova pestilitasque . . . fruges persedit in ipsas," Lucr. 6. 1125.

443.] ['Inlutus' Med. originally, Pal., Rom., and Gud. originally: 'inlotus' Med. and Gud. corrected. Ribbeck reads 'inlautus.'—H. N.]

444.] 'Hirsutis,' the reading of Med. and Rom., is rightly regarded by Wagn. as a mere corruption arising from the first letter of the next word, as Virg. is not likely to have specified the unshorn sheep as those likely to suffer from brambles. Columella too says "si tonsum

gregem patiaris silvestribus rubis aut spinis sauciari" (l. c.). He adds two other causes of 'scabies'—lodging in a shed used for horses, mules, or asses, and especially deficiency of food.

445.] Comp. l. 272 note.

446.] "Ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccat," E. 3. 95, where accidental immersion is spoken of.

447.] 'Missus,' like "missa Pado," 2. 452 note. For this sense of 'defluit' Forcell. instances Curt. 9. 8, "sumptis duobus amnis peritis, defluxit ad insulam;" Suet. Nero 27, "quoties Ostium Tiberi deflueret." Keightley suggests that the detail may be meant to convey a precept of washing the sheep in running water rather than in pools.

448.] 'Amurca,' l. 194. Cato (96) says the ointment should be a compound of 'amurca,' water in which lupines have been boiled, and lees of wine, to which Col. (l. c.) adds white hellebore, if the ointment is used as a cure, not as a preventive. They add that the sheep are to be left in this condition two or three days, and then washed in the sea or in salt water. Varro (2. 11) prescribes wine and oil, mixed, according to some, with white wax and hog's lard. Virg.'s list of ingredients is much more formidable than either. Many of them, Keightley remarks, are needless, as in nearly all the receipts to be met with in ancient writers, and in those among ignorant people with ourselves. Comp. Dict. A. 'Theriaca.' Virg. does not say whether he means the ointment as a preventive or as a cure; the mention of hellebore and the omission of the subsequent direction about washing would lead us to infer the latter, if any reliance could be placed on his precision of expression. 'Contingunt:' see on v. 403. Here however it may be from "continguo."

Et spumas miscent argenti vivaque sulphura
 Idaeasque pices et pinguis unguine ceras 450
 Scillamque elleborosque gravis nigrumque bitumen.
 Non tamen ulla magis praesens fortuna laborum est,
 Quam si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum
 Ulceris os: alitur vitium vivitque tegendo,
 Dum medicas adhibere manus ad volnera pastor 455
 Abnegat, aut meliora deos sedet omina poscens.
 Quin etiam, ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa

449.] 'Spumas . . . argenti,' litharge of silver, i.e. as Keightley explains it, the oxide or scum that forms on the surface of silver, or of lead containing silver, when in fusion. See Pliny 33. 106 foll. 'Vivaque sulphura' is found only in one of Ribbeck's MSS., and that a cursive, where the reading has been erased: it is acknowledged however by Serv., Marius Victorinus, and Macrob. Sat. 5. 14, evidence which seems equal to so much first-class MS. authority. The other reading 'et sulphura viva' looks like a correction to avoid the hypermetric dactyl, such as has been introduced elsewhere in similar cases. See further on 2. 69. 'Viva,' *ἄντρον*, native sulphur, as opposed to "factitium" or "mortuum," *πετυρωμένον*. The use of sulphur is mentioned Geop. 18. 15.

450.] 'Idaeas, because of the pines on Ida, A. 5. 449, 10. 230. The use of pitch for the scab is recommended by Pliny 24. 38, and by Didymus in Geop. 18. 8, and Col., for cuts received in shearing. "Pinguis unguine," soft and yielding. Wax can only be made so by the addition of oil" (Keightley).

451.] 'Gravis:' see on v. 415. Both black and white hellebore are recommended by the various writers. 'Bitumen:' Pliny recommends a mixture of bitumen and pitch, *πισσόσαλτος*.

452.] The sense seems to be a 'favourable crisis in the disease is never so nigh at hand,' the language being worded so as to combine the notion of a remedy with that of a turn in the complaint. 'Fortuna laborum' occurs again A. 7. 559 in a similar sense, 'any crisis in the work before us.' Germ. quotes Prop. 1. 17. 7, "Nullane placatae veniet fortuna procellae?" where however the addition of "placatae" makes it an attributive genitive.

453.] 'Potuit' seems merely a poetical

amplification, though the context speaks of unwillingness to perform the operation. 'Rescindere:' "Ense secant lato volnus, telique latebram Rescindant penitus," A. 12. 389.

454.] 'Tegendo:' see on E. 8. 71. Germ. comp. Lucr. 4. 1068, "Ulcus enim vivescit et inveterascit alendo."

455.] 'Adhibere manus,' *χειρουργεῖν*, which, according to Diog. L. 3. 85, consisted of *τέμνειν* and *κατεῖν*.

456.] Heins. restored 'aut' from Med., Rom., &c. Pal. and others have 'et,' which Ribbeck prefers. For 'omina' all Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive have 'omnia,' which may possibly be defensible on the analogy of such expressions as "omnia fausta precari," and Horace's "Siccis omnia nam dura Deus proposuit" (1 Od. 18. 3); but no instance is quoted for the combination 'meliora omnia,' and in any case 'omina' is less colloquial and more poetical. The confusion is a frequent one; see on A. 2. 182. With the general sense comp. Soph. Aj. 581, οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ θρηγεῖν ἐπὶ δὲ πρὸς τομῇν πῆματι. Serv. quotes Sall. Cat. 52, "Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospere omnia cedunt: ubi socordiae et atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos implores: irati infestique sunt," a citation which Ribbeck strangely misunderstands as if it were an attestation of the reading 'omnia.'

457.] 'Dolor' apparently of the 'sores,' which has become aggravated and violently inflamed, so as to produce fever, though it is possible that Virg. may have passed without notice to another complaint. Col. (l. c.), referring to this passage, merely says "febricitantibus ovibus," 'Balantum,' l. 272 note; "venit . . . pigris balantibus aegror," Lucr. 6. 1132.

Cum furit atque artus depascitur arida febris,
 Profuit incensos aestus avertere, et inter
 Ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam; 460
 Bisaltæ quo more solent acerque Gelonus,
 Cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deserta Getarum,
 Et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino.
 Quam procul aut molli succedere saepius umbrae
 Videris, aut summas carpentem ignavius herbas, 465
 Extremamque sequi, aut medio procumbere campo
 Pascentem, et serae solam decedere nocti,
 Continuo culpam ferro compesce, prius quam
 Dira per incautum serpent contagia volgus.

458.] 'Artus depascitur,' A. 2. 215.

459.] 'Incensos aestus:' comp. the Greek *καῦσος*, *πυρρός*. 'Avertere et ferire,' i. q. "avertere feriendo."

460.] 'Inter ima . . . pedis,' from the ankle or between the hoofs, according to Col. I. c., who adds that blood is also taken from under the eyes or from the ear ("maxime de capite," Varro). It is not clear, nor does it much signify, whether 'inter ima pedis' is to be connected with 'ferire' or with 'salientem.' 'Salientem' is transferred from the blood to the veins, as the veins are said "currere," Pers. 3. 91.

461.] The first syllable of 'Bisaltæ' is lengthened also by Ov. M. 6. 117. Claudian Laud. Stil. 1. 134, shortened by Gratius 523.

462.] The line is expressed as if it referred exclusively to the 'Gelonus,' who however has really only to do with the 'deserta Getarum,' Rhodope belonging to the Thracian Bisaltæ. 'Fugit' seems merely to express the migratory habits of the people, who, as Keightley reminds us, were horsemen. Med. has 'aut' for 'atque.'

463.] 'They drink (mares') milk coagulated with horses' blood.' This custom is recorded of the Massagetæ by Stat. Ach. 1. 307. Horace (3 Od. 4. 24) attributes the practice of drinking horses' blood to the Spanish Concani. Pliny (18. 100) says that the Sarmatians mixed millet with the milk or the blood of mares. The milk of mares is a common beverage of savage tribes, from Hom.'s Hippemolgi downwards. Virg. is likely enough to have mistaken the people, even if he be right about the custom.

464—477.] 'If you observe a sheep fond

of shade, languid in feeding, loitering, given to lying down, kill it before it infect the rest. The spread of disease is fearfully rapid, sweeping off not individuals but whole flocks. Witness what took place in the Alpine district of Noricum and Timavus, where the pastures are still desolate.'

464.] The epithet 'molli' marks the reason why the shade is sought, and so reflects back, as Voss remarks, on the seeker.

465.] 'Summas' marks the listlessness of the feeder, sheep in health being, as Mr. Blackburn observes, very close biters. For 'ignavius' Rom. has 'segnius.'

466.] He uses nearly the same words to express the effect of disease which he had employed E. 8. 87, 88 to denote that of love. Pal. has 'concombere.'

467.] 'Solam' may mean that it retires alone, or it may really refer to 'nocti,' as the only thing that has the power to make it retire.

468.] Instead of introducing the antecedent to 'quam' he changes the sentence. Serv. and some of the old editors understood 'culpam' of the fault of neglect against which the shepherd was to guard, remarking "habere morbum culpa non est." Virg. however evidently expects his shepherd to feel with Henry Taylor's huntsman, "The dog that's lame is much to blame; It is not fit to live." The meaning of course is that the sheep is to be killed, not, as the Delphin editor thinks, that the disease is to be exterminated by cutting.

469.] So 'volgus' of the common herd of deer, A. 1. 190. 'Incautum' is doubtless meant to suggest the notion of a reckless mob, at the same time that it

Non tam creber agens hiemem ruit aequore turbo, 470
 Quam multae pecudum pestes. Nec singula morbi
 Corpora corripuiunt, sed tota aestiva repente,
 Spemque gregemque simul, cunctamque ab origine gentem.
 Tum sciat, aërias Alpes et Norica si quis
 Castella in tumulis et Iapydis arva Timavi 475
 Nunc quoque post tanto videat desertaque regna
 Pastorum et longe saltus lateque vacantis.
 Hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
 Tempestas totoque autumnu incanduit aestu,

expresses the danger of the sheep. Pal. has 'serpunt,' but the subj. points to the intention of the shepherd, who is to act so as not to give the malady time to spread.

470.] The comparison seems to be not between the frequency of storms at sea and the number of the diseases of cattle, but between the quick rush of a storm-wind and the rapid spread of each of the various diseases. 'Creber' then will be taken closely with 'agens hiemem,' like "creberque procellis Africus," A. 1. 85. 'Aequora,' the reading of Rom. and originally Gud., approved by Heins. and Heyne, is rightly condemned by Wagn. as disturbing the comparison. 'Aequore' may mean either along the ocean, or from it, like "ruit oceano nox," A. 2. 250.

472.] 'Aestiva,' military summer quarters, is transferred to sheep, because they were frequently pastured in different places in summer and in winter. "Mihi greges in Apulia hibernabant, qui in Reatinis montibus aestivabant," Varro 2. 2. So Pliny (24. 28) speaks of "montium aestiva." Here the quarters are further put for their occupants. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

473.] 'Spemque gregemque:' "agnos cum matribus," Serv. 'Ab origine gentis' occurs A. 1. 642 of the foundation of a people. Here it seems to mean that the destruction is root and branch, sweeping off all generations alike.

474.] 'Sciat,' 'let him know,' i. e. let him bear witness from his knowledge to the fact I speak of, like *ἴστω* in Greek, Aesch. Choeph. 602. ['Ut' Pal. for 'et,'—H. N.]

475.] 'Castella' are the fortified dwellings of the Alpine tribes, Livy 21. 33, Hor. 4 Od. 14. 11, referred to by Forb. The Timavus (E. 8. 6, A. 1. 244) is called 'Iapyx' from the neighbouring country

'Iapydia.' Med. (originally), Pal., Rom., and Gud. have 'Iapygis,' which Serv. condemns. Pal. has 'ora Timavi.'

476.] 'Regna pastorum,' E. 1. 70.

477.] ['Vocantis' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

478—497.] 'This district was once visited by a pestilence which destroyed beasts of every kind, wild and tame. The symptoms were various; at one time the animals were parched up, at another they melted away. The victim died at the altar, or when slaughtered its body was found useless for augurial purposes. Calves died grazing or in their stalls: dogs went mad and swine were choked.'

478.] We know nothing of the epidemic described, or the time at which it happened, but it seems to have left a sufficiently terrible recollection behind it to induce Virg. to select it as a subject for a companion picture to that of the great plague of Athens at the end of the sixth book of Lucr. Serv. supposed the pestilence to be the same as that of Athens, which he declares spread into Italy, evidently an entirely gratuitous supposition. Other poets attempted similar descriptions, e.g. Ov. M. 7. 523 foll., who treads in the steps of Lucr. and Virg., Lucan 6. 80 foll. 'Morbo caeli,' like "vitio aëris," E. 7. 57. 'Miseranda' occurs as an epithet of "lues" A. 3. 137, which more or less resembles this passage.

479.] 'Tempestas' is explained by 'morbo caeli,' the complaint being ascribed to the season. Comp. "letifer annus," A. 3. 138, and the preliminary passage to the description in Lucr. (6. 1090—1137), where diseases are referred to the state of the air. 'Toto . . . aestu:' the full force of an unusually hot autumn, a time proverbial for sickness, was brought

Et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum, 480
 Corruptique lacus, infecit pabula tabo. .
 Nec via mortis erat simplex; sed ubi ignea venis
 Omnibus acta sitis miseros adduxerat artus,
 Rursus abundabat fluidus liquor omniaque in se
 Ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa trahebat. 485
 Saepe in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram,

to bear on the atmosphere, causing or aggravating the distemper.

480.] Perhaps Ladewig is right in supposing 'Neci' to be personified in such passages as the present, 4. 90, A. 2. 85, &c. (a remark extending to "Morti," A. 5. 691., 10. 662, "Leto," A. 5. 806, &c.), as if "Orco" or "Plutoni" had been used; but the use of "dare exitio" in Lucr. 5. 95, 1000, shows that the supposition is not necessary (comp. also id. 6. 1144, "morbo mortique dabantur," which Virg. doubtless had before him here). Where the personification is little more than a metaphor, not much is gained by attempting to discriminate it from a metaphor of the ordinary sort. It is possible that it may have been more vividly present to a writer's mind at one time than at another, even where the expression employed is precisely the same; but criticism in such cases is apt to lose itself in over-refinement, especially when exercised on a poet like Virg., who is always in search of some artistic variety, and has no definite muster-roll of mythological personages or philosophical abstractions as part of his general belief.

481.] So Lucr. 6. 1126, speaking generally of diseases, "Aut in aquas cadit, aut fruges persidit in ipsas, Aut alios hominum pastus pecudumque cibatus." The absence of the copulative after 'infecit,' of which Wagn. complains, is doubtless meant to mark the close connexion of the two parts of the verse, the falling of the pestilence on the drink and food of the animals being coupled as a single event with that which it aggravated and partly caused, the death of the animals themselves. Virg. has imitated the structure of a line which is similarly placed at the opening of the description in Lucr. (6. 1140), "Vastavitque vias, exhaust civibus urbem." 'Tabo' is used partly doubtless as associated with "tabes," partly, as Keightley remarks, to express the analogy between the corruption of the juices of the herbage and

that of human blood in death or disease. Pal. has 'corruptique.'

482.] In the following lines Virg. apparently means to describe the disease as going through two opposite stages, parching fever being succeeded by a sort of liquefaction. 'Nec via mortis erat simplex' then will mean generally that the course of the disease was not uniform, as Keightley takes it, rather than that there was more than one way, as a comparison of 2. 73 would seem to suggest. There is still however room for difference about 'via mortis,' which might either mean the path by which death approaches, or that which leads to death. Other passages where similar expressions occur (e.g. Ov. M. 11. 792, Tibull. 1. 3. 50., 10. 4. Prop. 4. 7. 2) are in favour of the latter sense. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

483.] The fever is called 'sitis' from its effect. 'Venis omnibus acta,' 'coursing through every vein.' 'Adduxerat artus:' from the shrinking of the skin in fever. Heyne quotes "adducta cutis" from Ov. M. 3. 398, Forb. "macies adduxerat artus" from Ov. Her. 11. 27, and "ossaque nondum Adduxere cutem" from Lucan 4. 288. "In manibus nervi trahere," Lucr. 6. 1190. Pal. has 'at-traxerat,' perhaps from a gloss in Philarg. "contraxerat."

484.] 'Rursus' of a change, as in v. 138. For a similar description comp. Lucr. 6. 1203, "Corruptus sanguis expletis naribus ibat: Huc hominis totae vires corpusque fluebat," and the rhetorical account of death from the bite of a "seps," Lucan 9. 767 foll.

485.] 'Minutatim' occurs Lucr. 2. 1131, 5. 1384, 6. 1191. Here it means literally 'piecemeal.' ['Conlapsa Med.—H. N.]

486.] 'In honore deum medio,' in the middle of a sacrifice. "Inter sanctos ignis, in honore deorum," A. 3. 406. This technical sense of 'honor' is frequent in Virg., A. 1. 49, 630, &c. Whether the 'hostia' was a bull, as Heyne thinks,

Lanea dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta,
 Inter cunctantis cecidit moribunda ministros.
 Aut si quam ferro mactaverat ante sacerdos,
 Inde neque impositis ardent altaria fibris, 490
 Nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates,
 Ac vix suppositi tinguntur sanguine cultri
 Summaque ieiuna sanie infuscatur harena.
 Hinc laetis vituli volgo moriuntur in herbis,
 Et dulcis animas plena ad praeseptia reddunt; 495
 Hinc canibus blandis rabies venit, et quatit aegros
 Tussis anheles ac faucibus angit obesis.
 Labitur infelix studiorum atque immemor herbae

or a sheep, according to Voss, there seems nothing to determine. 'Stans ad aram,' 2. 395 note.

487.] 'Circumdatur' is probably to be taken strictly, 'is being put round the head.' For the difference between 'infula' and 'vitta,' see Dict. A. s. vv. 'Vitta' may be either abl. of quality with 'infula,' or of the instrument with 'circumdatur,' though the latter would be awkward, as suggesting another construction.

488.] 'Ministros,' the attendants who had the charge of the victim, as in Lucr. 1. 90, called in Greek *βοῦχοι* (Aesch. Ag. 231). Rom. has 'magistros.' 'Cunctantis' is explained by 'ante' in the next line. The same picture is given by Ov. M. 7. 593 foll.

490.] 'Inde,' from that victim, connected with 'impositis fibris.' 'Imponere' of offerings: see on A. 1. 49. 'Fibris,' 1. 484 note. The refusal of the flame to kindle, here arising from the state of the animal, was a bad omen. Comp. Soph. Ant. 1006.

491.] This seems to introduce a new thought, the deficiency or corruption of some part of the interior of the animal, what was called "exta muta" (Heyne). Cerdà comp. Ov. l. c. (v. 600), "Fibra quoque aegra notas veri monitusque decum Prodidit."

492.] 'Suppositi,' because the throat was cut from beneath. "Supponunt alii cultros," A. 6. 248. The present line is almost repeated by Ov. (v. 599).

493.] The thin gore ('ieiuna,' opp. 'pinguis') just dyes the surface of the sand.

494.] The herbage was tainted, as Wagü. remarks, so that 'laetis' merely

denotes luxuriance, answering to 'plena ad praeseptia.' The misery of the scene is indefinitely heightened by their dying in the midst of plenty.

495.] "Linquebant dulcis animas," A. 3. 140, the *μελήθρα* or *μελίφρονα θυμὸν* of Homer and Hesiod. "Reddebant vitam," Lucr. 6. 1198.

496.] "Catulorum blanda propago," Lucr. 4. 997. The epithet here is in contrast to 'rabies.'

497.] The 'angina,' *δάγχη* or *βοδάγχος*, is a disease of swine, Aristot. H. A. 8. 21. 'Obesis' seems to express the swelling of the throat, as Serv. takes it, though applicable enough to the natural state of the animal. ['Obessis' Rom. and originally Med.]

498—514.] 'Racors fell sick, lost their appetite, and became restless, their ears drooping, and breaking out into cold sweat, their skin parched; afterwards as the disease advanced, their eyes glared, they breathed with difficulty, gore flowed from their nostrils, and their throats swelled. The only remedy was a draught of wine; but in time this maddened them, and they tore their own flesh in death.'

498.] 'Infelix studiorum' seems to be an expression of the same kind as those mentioned on l. 277, but it is not easy to fix its exact meaning. A horse might be called "felix studiorum" either as feeling pride in his occupation, or as having attained success in it, and the negative of either would suit the sense here, as though already a victor, he might still be unhappy, as having been out off from further triumphs. Anyhow there seems more force in taking the words together than in accepting the punctuation of

Victor ecus, fontisque avertitur et pede terram
 Crebra ferit; demissae aures, incertus ibidem 500
 Sudor, et ille quidem moriturus frigidus, aret
 Pellis et ad tactum tractanti dura resistit.
 Haec ante exitium primis dant signa diebus;
 Sin in processu coepit crudescere morbus;
 Tum vero ardentes oculi atque attractus ab alto 505
 Spiritus, interdum gemitu gravis, imaque longo

Heyne, who, following Philarg., connects 'studiorum' with 'immemor' Comp. "seri studiorum" Hor. 1 S. 10. 21. 'Immemor herbae,' E. 8. 2. Ov. M. 7. 543, imitating this passage, has "De-generat palmas, veterumque oblitus honorum Ad praesepe gemit, fato moriturus inerti."

499.] 'Fontisque avertitur': a rare construction, perhaps modelled on the Greek ἀποστρέφωμαι τινα. 'Aversari' used transitively is common enough. Forcell. refers to Stat. Theb. 6. 192, "oppositas in pasta avertitur herbas." ['Equos' Pal., 'equus' Med., 'ecus' Non. p. 317.—H. N.]

500.] 'Crebra ferit' like "acerba sonans," v. 149. 'Demissae aures:' Col. (6. 30) mentions "aures flaccidae" among the symptoms of disease in horses. 'Incertus' seems to mean 'irregular,' appearing suddenly in profusion. 'Ibide-m' refers to 'aures.' Lucr. (6. 1187) has "sudorisque madens per collum splendidus umor," though the description there is of human sickness.

501.] 'Ille quidem' v. 217. The meaning apparently is that the sweat continued to break out in the last hours, when it became cold, 'moriturus' being used because he is speaking of horses, not of a particular horse. So the plurals in the following lines. Cerda comp. Hippocr. 4. 37, of ψυχροὶ ἰδρώτες, ἐν μὲν δέξει πυρετῇ γιγόμενοι, θάνατον σηματούουσι and Nicand. Ther. 255, ψυχρότερος νεφετοῖο βολῆς περιχέεται ἰδρώς. 'Moriturus,' as Wagn. remarks, signifies rather 'doomed to death' than 'about to die,' so that the sense here is 'when death was certain.'

502.] Again from Lucr. (6. 1194) "frigida pellis Duraque." 'Ad tactum,' as we say 'to the touch,' like "ad aspectum," constructed generally with the words which follow, 'tractanti' being connected with 'resistit,' which 'dura' qualifies.

503.] The meaning seems to be 'These

are the signs of a deadly attack in its first stages,' so that 'sin,' as Keightley remarks, = 'but when.' Comp. "si" A. 5. 64.

504.] 'Crudescere,' as in A. 7. 788, 11. 833, opp. to "mitiescere," as Forb. says.

505.] 'Ardentes oculi,' Lucr. 6. 1146, 1180. 'Attractus ab alto spiritus,' ib. 1186. Cerda comp. Hor. Epod. 11. 10, "latere petitus imo spiritus."

506.] The use of 'gravis' with an abl. may afford an example of the shades of meaning which sometimes range under a single construction. "Gravis aere" (E. 1. 35), 'gemitu gravis' here, 'pietate gravis," (A. 1. 151), "Marte gravis" (A. 1. 270), and "gravis ictu" (A. 5. 274), if analyzed, are all reducible to the same type, 'heavy in respect of copper,' 'of groaning,' 'of piety,' 'of Mars,' 'of a blow;' but each has its peculiar associations, which lead the writer to choose and the reader to acquiesce in it. The first is the commonest, "aere gravis" = "aere gravata." The second, now before us, seems to mean 'groaningly heavy' = "gravis gemibundusque," 'gemitu' being frequently used as a modal abl. (A. 2. 323, 413, &c.), while 'gravis' standing alone would be a natural epithet for heavy breathing. The third is like the first, only that moral weight is substituted for physical. In the fourth we think of "gravis" as a synonyme of "gravidus," while "Marte" seems to hover between the father regarded as the agent, and his issue regarded as the instrument. In the fifth we feel that the epithet really belongs to "ictu" (as in Pers. 1. 13 "pede liber" = "pede libero," 5. 116 "fronte politus" = "fronte polita"), the traveller being only heavy as having just dealt a heavy blow. 'Ima' and 'longo' explain each other. Comp. with Cerda "ilia ducere" (Hor. 1 Ep. 1. 9), of a broken-winded horse. Med. originally had 'alta' for 'ima,' doubtless, as Wagn. observes, from the previous line.

Ilia singultu tendunt, it naribus ater
 Sanguis, et obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua.
 Profuit inserto latices infundere cornu
 Lenaeos; ea visa salus morientibus una;
 Mox erat hoc ipsum exitio, furiisque relecti
 Ardebant, ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra—
 Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum!
 Discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus.
 Ecce autem duro fumans sub vomere taurus

510

515

507.] The 'singultus' is also mentioned by Lucr. (6. 1160), where it seems to mean a hiccup, the *ἀνὰ κερὶ* of Thuc. 2. 49. 'Tendunt,' 'equi,' like 'dant' v. 503. 'It . . . sanguis:' again from Lucr.; see on v. 484. "Fauces . . . atrae Sanguine." Lucr. 6. 1147. ['Et' Pal. and Rom. corrected for 'it.'—H. N.]

508.] 'Obsessas . . . lingua:' once more from Lucr. (6. 1148 foll.), "ulceribus vocis via saepta coibat; . . . lingua . . . aspera tactu."

509.] Oil or fat mixed with wine is prescribed by Col. 6. 30, as a remedy for "lassitudo" in horses. Germ. comp. II. 8. 190, where Hector reminds his horses of the wine Andromache used to give them. 'Inserto,' in the mouth. Aristot. (H. A. 8. 21) speaks of pouring wine into the nostrils of sick pigs. ['Insertos' Pal.—H. N.]

510.] 'Lenaeos' A. 4. 207 note.

511.] Here again, as Macrob. (Sat. 6. 2) remarks, he copies Lucr. (6. 1229), "Hoc aliis erat exitio letumque parabat" (speaking of the uncertainty of treatment, that which cured one patient killing another). The meaning apparently is that wine at first gave relief, but afterwards made the animal worse, not that some were cured by it at first, but that afterwards others died of it. 'Furiis relecti' may be a kind of oxymoron, 'strength returned, but it was the strength of madness,' though it need mean no more than that the fever was increased. Pal. has 'exitio hoc ipsum.'

512.] 'Iam morte sub aegra,' even in the weakness and decay of death. Their remains of strength were exhausted in this suicidal violence.

513.] From Nicand. Ther. 186, *ἐχθρῶν τὸν τέρα κείνα καθήσιν ἐμπελάσσειε*. The very mention of such horrors calls forth a deprecation, "ominis causa," as in A. 2. 484. The feeling seems to be that as such things are and must be, the gods should

avert them from the speaker, who believes himself to be well deserving, and turn them on those whom he hates. The enemies here are probably those of Rome, not the poet's own, though such expressions of personal malignity, in jest or in earnest, are common elsewhere, e.g. Hor. 3 Od. 27. 21. With the first part of the line comp. A. 3. 265. 'Errorem' of madness, as in E. 8. 41. Rom. has 'ardorem.' Though the expression is vague, Virg. is doubtless to be understood as deprecating or imprecating suicidal madness not in the case of men, but in that of horses, which in battle would be the strength alike of Rome and of the enemies of Rome.

514.] 'Nudis,' from the ulceration of the gums (Martyr), or simply from the opening of the mouth ("Mollia ricta fremunt duros nudantia dentes," Lucr. 5. 1064, quoted by Heyne), so as to give the picture, or because of the looseness of their jaws ("dentes crepuere relecti," Pers. 3. 101), which would agree with 'morte sub aegra,' as explained above, their feebleness making their madness more deplorable. In any case we may agree with Philarg., "ut foeditatem exprimeret, adiecit nudis."

515—536.] 'The oxen fell in the act of ploughing, bloody foam gushing from their mouths, and the ploughman had to separate the dead from the living, and suspend his labour. Past caring for shade, or herbage, or sparkling streams, they sank unnerved, with closed eyes and drooping neck, despite of all their services, and of the natural and healthful simplicity of their life. Oxen could not be got to draw the car to Juno's temple, so they had to take buffaloes, without caring to pair them. The harrow had to be substituted for the plough; nay, men dug with their nails, and drew the wains themselves.'

515.] Imitated by Ov. M. 7. 538, 539.

Concidit, et mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem,
 Extremosque ciet gemitus. It tristis arator,
 Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuvenum,
 Atque opere in medio defixa relinquit aratra.
 Non umbrae altorum nemorum, non mollia possunt 520
 Prata movere animum, non, qui per saxa volutus
 Purior electro campum petit amnis; at ima
 Solvuntur latera, atque oculos stupor urget inertis,
 Ad terramque fluit devexo pondere cervix.
 Quid labor aut benefacta iuvant? quid vomere terras 525
 Invertisse gravis? atqui non Massica Bacchi

Comp. also Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 122, cited on G. 2. 403. 'Ecce autem' calls attention to a new object, something like *καὶ μὴν* in Greek. See A. 2. 318, 526, &c. 'Fumans' 2. 542. He falls in the middle of his exertion (comp. 'duro'). 'Sub vomere' as he has to pull under the weight of the thing he drags.

516.] A third imitation of Lucr. 3. 489, already glanced at vv. 84, 283.

517.] 'Ciet gemitus,' like "ciebat fletus," A. 3. 344. ['Et' for 'it' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

518.] 'Abiungo' used in the sense of unyoking, ἀποζεύγνυμι, as "iungo" in that of yoking. Emm. comp. Prop. 3. 9. 10, "Quam prius abiunctos sedula lavit equos," where however the MSS. give "adiunctos." The present part. seems to be used with some latitude, as Keightley remarks, to supply the want of a past part. Comp. A. 1. 305. For the contrary variety see on l. 293. 'Fraterna morte' is probably to be constructed with 'abiungens,' being a poetical equivalent for "fratre mortuo:" but it need only mean at or in consequence of his brother's death, like "morte Sychaei" 4. 502.

519.] 'Reliquit' [Pal., Donatus on Terence And. 2. 5. 1, Serv. on E. 2. 70; and so Heyne. It should be observed that the notes of Serv. and Donatus apparently come from the same source.—H. N.]

520.] An imitation, as Macrob. Sat. 6. 5 has seen, of Lucr. 2. 361 foll. (a passage already glanced at E. 8. 85 foll.), "Nec tenerae salices, atque herbae rose vigentes, Fluminaque illa queunt summis labentia ripis Oblectare animum, subitamque avertere curam." Virg. is of course referring to the ox which has just fallen dying.

522.] In deviating from the language

of Lucr. l. c. Virg. has perhaps thought rather of what would charm a spectator than of what would attract cattle; at any rate it may be said that the words 'qui . . . amnis' show a genuine feeling for the picturesque as distinct from a more utilitarian appreciation of nature, such as has been supposed, and doubtless with some truth, to characterize the classical writers when compared with the moderns. It is a question whether 'electrum' here, as in Callim. in Cer. 29, which Virg. seems to have followed, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἤλεκτρον ὄψαρ 'Εξ ἀμαρῶν ἀρέθου, is amber or the metal of that name (A. 8. 402, 624). Either comparison would be sufficiently natural and classical. The Homeric use of the word is involved in similar uncertainty: see Lidd. and Scott, v. ἤλεκτρον. 'Ima latera,' apparently like "ima ilia," v. 506, the extremity of the long flank, implying that the whole length is relaxed and unnerved.

523.] "Dura quies oculos et ferreus urget Somnus," A. 10. 745. ['Urguet' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

524.] 'Fluit' expresses gradual sinking to the ground. "Ad terram non sponte fluens," A. 11. 828, of Camilla falling from her horse in death. Forcell. quotes Curt. 8. 14, "Rex fluentibus membris, omissaque armis, vix sui compos;" Martial 11. 41. 3, "Cedentis oneri ramos silvamque fluentem Vicit."

525.] Scaliger (Poet. 5. 11) says of this and the five following lines "malim a me excogitata atque confecta quam vel Croesum vel Cyrum ipsum dicto habere audientem." Their spirit is that of a gentle accusation of destiny, not unlike the tone of A. 2. 426 foll. 'Benefacta,' his services to men.

526.] 'Gravis' expresses the difficulty

Munera, non illis epulae nocuere repostae :
 Frondibus et victu pascuntur simplicis herbae,
 Pocula sunt fontes liquidi atque exercita cursu
 Flumina, nec somnos abruptit cura salubris.
 Tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis

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he has surmounted. He has performed his part in the grand system of labour which the gods have ordained (l. 63 note, 121 foll.), yet he reaps no fruit from it. 'Massica,' 2. 143.

527.] [*"Repostae, aut abundantes, aut variae."* Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.] 'Reponere' is used in three other places in Virg. (4. 378, A. 7. 134. 8. 175., adduced by Wagn.) in connexion with a banquet; yet though the tenor of the language is the same, the meaning seems to vary. In A. 7. 134 the reference seems to be either to the wine that was brought on after the banquet, or at least the first course, was over (Il. 1. 470, A. 1. 724), or to a second banquet in honour of the good news, "reponite" pointing in either case to the drinking that has gone on before. In 4. 378 the description resembles that of the early part of the banquet, A. 1. 701, which would lead us to understand "plena reponunt pocula" either of setting anew on the table the cups which had been used at their last repast, so that the word would be rhetorically, though not etymologically, equivalent to "ponere," or, as "plena" might suggest, of refilling the cups as they were emptied. At the same time it is possible there from the brevity of the description that the spreading of the table and the setting on of the bowl after the banquet may be expressed in a single line. In A. 8. 175 the meaning evidently is that the feast, which had been interrupted by the arrival of Aeneas, is set on again in his honour. Wagn. also comp. Stat. Theb. 2. 88, "Instaurare diem festasque reponere mensas," where the meaning is to renew the feast after the interlude of a drunken brawl, as "ariasque reponimus ignem," A. 3. 231, of the renewal of the banquet and sacrifices which the Harpies had interrupted. It seems worth while to consider these passages together, though the result be to show that the same sense cannot be assumed for the same word even where the general context is similar. Here it is evident that the only meanings which will suit the word as an epithet of 'epulae' are that of placing a second course on the table, and that of serving

up a meal where a former one has been served up. The latter might stand, whether supposed to indicate simply a succession of banquets day after day, which would gradually tell on the health, or, as Gesner suggests in his Thesaurus, a. v., the taking of two full meals on the same day (comp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 35); but the former seems more natural and forcible. This will give a slight tinge of contemporary satire to the passage, like those in the contrast between the husbandman's life and the life of other men at the end of G. 2. The attempt of Wagn. to understand "reponere" in connexion with "instaurare" with a special reference to libations, so that 'epulae repostae' might here mean a sacrificial or pontifical feast, seems to break down, and Voss and Wakef.'s interpretation of cherished stores is disposed of by Heyne's remark, "epulae in cella carnaria ita servatae vereor ne nauseam moturae sint gulosis," fortified as that is by a passage cited by Forcell. from Quint. 2. 4, "necesse est his, cum eadem iudiciis pluribus dicunt, fastidium moveant, velut frigidi et repositi cibi."

528.] 'Simplicis' opposed to the arts of cookery displayed in an elaborate banquet, 'epulae repostae.'

529.] 'Pocula' refers to the cups at human feasts, with which their draughts are contrasted. See on E. 8. 28. 'Exercita cursu' (comp. "exercito motu," Lucr. 2. 97, and the use of *γυμνάσειον*, Aesch. Prom. 586, 592) seems merely to mean 'rapid.' It has certainly the appearance of being more than a mere ornamental epithet; yet it is difficult to discover its exact relevancy to the case of the cattle. A contrast may be intended, as Wagn. thinks, between flowing and stagnant water: but that is indicated by the noun as much as by the epithet. Mr. Singleton, in a note to his 'Virgil in English Rhythm,' suggests that the motion is conceived of as purifying the water.

531.] 'Tempore non alio:' this was the first time. "Illaque haudque alia . . . luce," Catull. 64. 16.

Quaesitas ad sacra boves Iunonis, et uris
 Imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus.
 Ergo aegre rastris terram rimantur, et ipsis
 Unguibus infodiunt fruges, montisque per altos 535
 Contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra.
 Non lupus insidias explorat ovilia circum,
 Nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat; acrior illum
 Cura demat; timidi dammae cervique fugaces
 Nunc interque canes et circum tecta vagantur. 540
 Iam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum

532.] 'Quaesitas,' sought and not found, like Horace's "Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi" (3 Od. 24. 32). On other occasions they offered themselves without difficulty. 'Ad sacra Iunonis:' it is not easy to determine whether Virg. has simply transferred to these Alpine regions the Argive procession where the priestess was drawn by white oxen to the temple of Juno, for which Serv. and Philarg. refer to the story of Cleobis and Biton, Hdt. 1. 31, or whether there was any thing analogous to it in those parts. Keightley refers to Strabo 5, p. 215, for the existence of a grove of the Argive Hera in the Venetian territory, and to Tac. Germ. 40 for the custom among the Germans of having the car of their goddess Hertha drawn by cows. 'Uris,' 2. 374 note. ['Aris' Pal. —H. N.]

533.] 'Imparibus' aggravates the misfortune: not only were they buffaloes, but they were ill-matched. The word, as Heyne remarks, may include dissimilarity of colour as well as inequality in size. The objection of Ameis, "multo difficilior est uros magnitudine et maxime colore impares in eadem regione invenire quam eos qui colore pares sunt," seems rather literal, even if his view of the fact is right, while his own interpretation, "qui huic negotio impares sunt," would yield a less forcible and natural sense. 'Donaria,' properly gifts, is used occasionally, especially in poetry (Ov. F. 3. 335, Lucan 9. 515), for places where gifts are offered, temples (as here), shrines, altars, &c.

534.] Pal. has 'ipsi,' which would also stand.

535.] 'Infodiunt,' 2. 348: here of burying seed in the ground.

537—547.] 'Man has no longer to fear beast, nor beast man, in the presence of a greater terror: the sea throws up its fish;

serpents die on land and in the water, and birds in the air.'

537.] The spectacle of a state of nature, from which the terror felt by beast for beast or man is removed, has been already presented to us by Virg. in two different lights; in E. 5. 60, as part of a restored golden age, in E. 8. 28, 52, as resulting from a monstrous reversal of the order of the world, such as is conceived by a heart-broken lover. We see it now in a third aspect, as the actual consequence of a levelling pestilence. 'Insidias explorat,' seems to be a mixture of two expressions, such as 'insidias struit' and "loca explorat," though it might also mean 'tries his stratagems,' "exploro" having the sense of "experior" in several passages quoted by Forcell., e.g. Lucan 2. 603, "Taurus in adversis explorat cornua truncis;" Sil. 11. 358, "Hoc iugulo dextram explora." 'Insidians,' the reading of Rom., Gud., and another MS., would remove all difficulty, but it does not look so Virgilian. With the picture of the wolf comp. the simile A. 9. 59 foll. The general sense of the passage is poorly imitated by Ov. M. 7. 545, 546. Lucr. 6. 1219, after saying that the beasts and birds did not touch the bodies of those who died by the plague, or if they did, were poisoned, goes on "Nec tamen omnino temere illis solibus ulla Comparebat avis, nec tristia saecula ferarum Exibant silvis: languebant pleraque morbo Et moriebantur."

538.] "Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile," Hor. Epod. 16. 51. "Obambulare muris," occurs Livy 36. 34. 'Acrior cura:' disease is stronger than hunger or thirst of blood.

539.] 'Timidi dammae,' E. 8. 28 note.

541.] 'Iam' serves for a transition as in 2. 57, though here it may have a more distinctly temporal force, signifying that

Litore in extremo, ceu naufraga corpora, fluctus
 Proluit; insolitae fugiunt in flumina phocae.
 Interit et curvis frustra defensa latebris
 Vipera, et attoniti squamis adstantibus hydri. 515
 Ipsis est aër avibus non aequus, et illae
 Praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt.
 Praeterea iam nec mutari pabula refert,
 Quaesitaeque nocent artes; cessere magistri,
 Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus. 550

the event has begun before that previously mentioned is ended. 'Maris immensi,' l. 29. 'Natantum' like "volantes," "balantes," &c. Comp. Soph. fr. 856 (Nauck), *ἰχθύων πλωτῶ γένει*.

542.] Comp. E. l. 60, where the thing here mentioned is used to symbolize an impossibility. Here however the fish are dead or dying before they are thrown upon the shore. Aristot. (H. A. 8. 19) denies that fish suffer from epidemics, but later naturalists do not agree with him.

543.] Wagn. demurs to 'proluit,' but it has the same sense as in l. 481, 'washes before it.' 'Insolitae' would be a more natural epithet of 'flumina,' but the river may be called unaccustomed to the seal, as well as the seal to the river, and Virg. prefers the former mode of expression, both for novelty's sake, and as giving the river a quasi-personality. See E. 6. 40. The seals are cast on shore, not being able in their sickness to contend with the waves, but they take to the rivers as the nearest approach to their natural home. Comp. Horace's well-known picture l. Od. 2. 7. 8.

544.] 'Curvis latebris,' 2. 216. The epithet is significant, as the shape of their lurking place would prevent most animals from following them. Pal. has 'depressa.'

545.] 'Attoniti,' as the serpent v. 434 is "exterritus." 'Adstantibus': the force of the compound may perhaps be given here by our 'standing up.' Comp. "asurgo." Forcell. cites Pliny 34. 54, "Phidias... fecit... Minervam Athenis, quae est in Parthenone adstans" [but Ditlefsen reads "stans"]. They erect their scales in terror or in fruitless self-defence. Pal. strangely gives 'squamis serpentinae.'

546.] 'Ipsae,' which habitually live in it. 'Non aequus,' 2. 225. Not unlike is

Lucr. 6. 741, "Averna . . avibus contraria cunctia."

547.] Comp. A. 5. 516, 517. ['Relinquant' Pal. 'relinquunt' Med.—H. N.]

548—566.] 'Remedies are in vain: horror and disease reign everywhere: the bleatings and lowings of dying cattle are heard all about; the stalls are heaped with dead, which have to be buried, as their flesh cannot be roasted or boiled, nor their hides or wool used for clothing under penalty of contagion.'

548.] 'Mutari pabula,' seemingly of changing their food, not of driving them to pasture in another district. 'Iam nec' was restored by Heins. from Med., Pal., Gud., &c., for 'nec iam,' which Rom. and others give. Macrob. Sat. 6. 2 quotes 'nec mutari iam,' and Ribbeck adopts it.

549.] 'Quaesitae,' invoked or applied to, if 'artes' be taken in the sense of healing powers; invented, if it merely mean expedients of cure. 'Cessere magistri' occurs again A. 12. 717, where the herdsmen retire from a combat between two bulls, as here the healers leave the field to the disease. 'Magistri' here seems to be not, as Voss thinks, the "magistri pœdum," but "magistri artis medendi" (comp. Cic. de Inv. l. 25, "artium liberalium magistri," Pers. Prol. 10, "Magister artis ingenique largitor," and "arte magistra" of Iapis the physician A. 12. 427), the specification being supplied from the previous clause. [Med. originally has 'cessare.'—H. N.]

550.] The choice of the mythic heroes of medicine to convey the notion that the utmost medical skill was baffled by the disease is eminently characteristic of Virg.'s literary spirit, and contrasts significantly with the way in which Lucretius enforces the same thought, in one of his finest lines, "mussabat tacito Medicina timore" (6. 1179), the healing art generally so clear and articulate, now

Saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris
 Pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque,
 Inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.
 Balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes
 Arentesque sonant ripae collesque supini. 555
 Iamque catervatim dat stragem atque aggerat ipsis
 In stabulis turpi dilapsa cadavera tabo,
 Donec humo tegere ac foveis abscondere discunt.
 Nam neque erat coriis usus, nec viscera quisquam
 Aut undis abolere potest, aut vincere flamma; 560
 Ne tondere quidem morbo inluvieque peresa

muttering in voiceless terror. The patronymic of Chiron comes from his mother, Philyra (see on v. 93), from whom he is also called "Philyreius" (Ov. M. 2. 676), that of Melampus from his father.

551.] 'Tisiphone,' who seems mentioned merely as one of the Furies (A. 6. 571), the impersonation of Vengeance, comes up from the Shades with Disease and Terror flying before her as her harbingers. Comp. the use of *Ἀρῆς* in Greek for pestilence.

552.] Comp. A. 12. 335, "circomque atrae Formidinis ora, Iraeque, Insidiaequae, dei comitatus, aguntur."

553.] The Fury increases in size, like Fame A. 4. 175. The hint of the line seems to be taken from the famous description of "Religio" Lucr. 1. 64. 5, "Quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat, Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans," though nothing is said there about growth.

555.] 'Arentes' points to the intense heat, v. 479. Rom. gives 'horrentes.'

556.] 'Dat,' Tisiphone. The language is again imitated from Lucr. (6. 1144), "Inde catervatim morbo mortique dabantur." Later in the description, v. 1263, there is another line which Virg. may have had in view, "Confortos ita acervatim mors accumulabat." 'Ipsis,' seems to imply that the sheds being the places of rest for the untainted and those under treatment, were the last spots where the dead should have been allowed to lie in heaps.

557.] 'Dilapsa': "diffuentia," Taubm. See vv. 484, 485. ['Dilapsa' Med. and Rom., 'delapsa' Pal.—H. N.]

558.] 'Discant,' the reading of some MSS., including one of Ribbeck's cursives in an erasure, is to be rejected, because, as

Wagn. observes, it would signify that the object of Tisiphone in piling up the dead was to teach men to bury them.

559.] 'Viscera,' according to Serv. on A. 6. 253, signifies the whole carcass under the skin, so that it is the natural correlative of 'coria.'

560.] The context, as Wagn. urges, seems to show that Serv. [and the Berne scholia] are right in supposing Virg. to speak of the impossibility of cleansing or cooking the flesh for men's use, as against Heyne and Voss, who suppose him to mean that the carcasses were too numerous to be destroyed by fire or water. The latter view is favoured by the words 'viscera undis abolere' (comp. A. 4. 497, "abolere viri monumenta," where destruction by fire is spoken of, and Tac. A. 16. 6, "corpus igni abolitum"); but we may reconcile them to Serv.'s interpretation by supposing a confusion between such phrases as "viscera purgare (or "coquere") undis" and "vitium undis abolere," aided perhaps by an association with "oleo," as if 'abolere' could mean to get rid of the smell. The reference then will be, as hinted above, either to cleansing or to boiling. 'Vincere flamma,' in the sense of cooking, is supported by Forb. from Sanimonicus, v. 319, "coctileas undis calefactas et prope victas," and by Tac. H. 4. 53, "metallorum primitiae nullis fornacibus victas."

561.] 'Ne . . . quidem' is the reading of Rom., Pal., Gud., and probably Med., and is restored by Wagn. for 'neo . . . quidem.' See on l. 146. 'Inluvies,' ἀλουσία, unwashed filth, here the discharge from the sores. Comp. v. 443, where "inlotus sudor" is said to cause "scabies." In later writers, such as Tac. and Justin, it seems to be a noun from "inluo," l. q.

Vellera nec telas possunt attingere putris;
 Verum etiam, invisos si quis temptarat amictus,
 Ardentes papulae atque immundus olentia sudor
 Membra sequebatur, nec longo deinde moranti
 Tempore contactos artus sacer ignis edebat.

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"inundatio;" but there is no need to assume such a sense here, as there are other passages where it is used as a positive quality, denoting not only the absence of washing but the presence of dirt. ['Peregrina' Pal.—H. N.]

562.] Wagn. seems right in supposing that in 'telas attingere' Virg. puts the case of the wool having been woven, and says that it would be useless, as the webs would break at the touch. There is in fact a rhetorical climax—"The wool was too rotten to be shorn, or, if shorn, to be woven, or if woven, to be put on, or if put on, to be worn without contracting disease. 'Attingere' appears as if it might refer either to the weaver, or to the person who takes up the texture for use. 'Adiungere,' the reading of one MS., would yield a good sense (Voss comp. Ov. M. 6. 55, "Tela iugo vincta est"), were it better supported.

563.] 'Etiam' might go with 'temptarat,' 'if any one had gone so far as to make the experiment;' but it seems better to take it with 'papulae atque sudor sequebatur,' as if "non modo," or something equivalent, had been expressed in the pre-

ceding part of the sentence. 'Not only was the wool too rotten for weaving or wearing, but it even produced inflammation.' Rom. has 'quin etiam.' ['Temparet,' Med. originally; and so Ribbeck: 'temptarat' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

565.] 'Sequebatur' seems to express the trickling of the sweat all over the limbs, following as it were their course, as Heyne explains it, with a further reference to these symptoms as the consequence of putting on the garment—a mixture of 'sudor sequebatur' and "sudor per membraibat." 'Moranti' of the patient, who, as we should say, had not to wait long before he was seized.

566.] 'Contactos' is explained by the substantive "contagium." 'Sacer ignis,' a disease akin to the erysipelas, but according to Celsus (5. 28), not identical with it. Lucr. (6. 1167) compares the ulcers in the plague to the effect of the 'sacer ignis,' and in v. 660 speaks of the disease itself, "Existit sacer ignis, et urit corpore serpens Quamcumque arripuit partem, repitque per artus," where the last clause will illustrate 'membra sequebatur.' ['Contractos' Pal., and originally Gud.—H. N.]

P. VERGILI MARONIS
G E O R G I C O N
LIBER QUARTUS.

THE possible relation of this part of Virg.'s work to the *Μελισσοργικὴ* of Aratus, and the position which it may be said to occupy with reference to the presiding conception of the Georgics as the poetical glorification of labour, have each of them been touched upon in the general Introduction. As a didactic treatise, the Fourth Book is perhaps more regular than the rest; that is, if we consider it to include not only the "experience" of the bee-keeper, but, according to Dryden's somewhat bold rendering of "*experientia*," the "birth and genius" of the bee. There are however two memorable digressions, the one apologizing for the absence of a disquisition on gardening as a constituent part of the Georgics and containing a notice of a visit once paid by the poet to an old gardener at Tarentum (vv. 116—148), the other tracing the Eastern method of breeding bees out of the carcasses of cattle to a supposed legendary origin in the Grecian story of Aristaeus (vv. 315—558). On the first I have offered some remarks in a note on the lines concluding it: on the second something remains to be said.

Tradition tells us that the story of Aristaeus did not originally form part of this book, which, as first written, had a very different conclusion. [Serv. on E. 10. 1 says of the poet Cornelius Gallus, "*fuit autem amicus Vergilii adeo ut quartus Georgicorum a melio usque ad finem eius laudes teneret, quas postea iubente Augusto in Aristaei fabulam commutavit*:" and repeats this story on G. 4. 1.] Heyne discredits this, seeing nothing in the subject of the book which could have suggested so elaborate a commemoration of Gallus: but if we accept Keightley's ingenious suggestion that the mention of Egypt as the country where the art of restoring bees was in vogue (vv. 287 foll.) may have led to an eulogy on the friend who had followed up the victory of Actium, assisted Octavianus in securing Cleopatra, and was in consequence made the first prefect of the new province, we shall see that the element of internal probability is not wanting, at the same time that we shall be able, as Keightley remarks, to account for a certain appearance of topographical overloading in the lines where Egypt is designated. So again the circumstances of Gallus' fall, which was owing to the alleged extravagant assumption of his Egyptian administration, may show us that, without wishing to war with the dead, Caesar may have naturally desired the suppression of so elaborate an encomium on a career which ended so disastrously. Keightley apparently thinks that the passage extended only to a few lines, which were easily removed, though not without leaving a rent: I see no difficulty in taking the tale on its intrinsic likelihood as it stands, and supposing that the episode of Gallus may have been as considerable in its range and pretension as the episode of Aristaeus. We have seen

in the Sixth Eclogue how Virgil could introduce his friend among the personages of the old mythology, and he may doubtless have made some contrivance here by which his bees should hum the praises of Gallus through half the book, yet not weary the reader. However, if we do not know what we have lost through Augustus' interposition, we know that we have gained a splendid specimen of Virgil's narrative power, an anticipation of that greater work to which Rome and Greece alike were bidden to give way.

PROTINUS aërii mellis caelestia dona
Exsequar. Hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.
Admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum
Magnanimosque duces totiusque ordine gentis
Mores et studia et populos et proelia dicam.

5

1-7.] 'I now come to the making of honey, still hoping for Maecenas' patronage. It opens a new world, the life of a commonwealth in miniature; a humble subject, but one which may bring glory to the poet, if Apollo inspire him.'

1.] This exordium is even briefer than that of Book 2. One reason why it is not protracted further may be, that there was no deity to be invoked as the special patron of this part of the subject, like Bacchus or Pales. Again, the episode of Aristaeus furnishes a halting-place of such length, that Virg. may well have felt that his readers ought to be delayed as little as possible on the border of his new province. 'Protinus' ['protenus' Pal.] expresses that in speaking of bees he is following the course of his subject. 'Aërii mellis caelestia dona,' referring to the supposed origin of honey from dew (E. 4. 30 note, μέλι δὲ τὸ πίπτον ἐκ τοῦ αἰέρος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἑσπερινῶν ἀνατολαῖς, καὶ ὅταν κατασκήψῃ ἡ Ἥρα, Aristot. H. A. 5. 22. Pliny 11. 30, accepting this hypothesis, speculates further whether it is the sweat of the heaven, or the saliva of the stars, or the humour got rid of by the atmosphere. "Quibusdam placet non faciendi mellis apibus scientiam esse, sed colligendi. Hinc *mel aërium* Vergilio, quod ex rore aëris factum: *Protinus—dona*." Sen. Ep. 85. 'Caelestia' is to be understood partly in the sense of 'aërii,' partly as an acknowledgment that the gift is from the gods. [Philarg. quotes a statement of Celsus that bees made their wax from flowers (see v. 40 below), and their honey from dew.—H. N.]

2.] 'Exsequi' is frequently used of going through a subject, as in Livy 27. 27, "si quae variant auctores omnia exsequi velim;" Tac. A. 3. 65, "exsequi

sententias haud institui, nisi insignes," quoted by Forcell. Otherwise it might be understood as in A. 4. 396, 421, 6. 236, of the performance of the task set by Maecenas (comp. 3. 41). 'Aspice' in the sense of regarding with favour. "Aspice et haec," Pers. 1. 125.

3.] 'Admiranda' might be taken with 'tibi,' and referred to all the accusatives which follow, Virg. promising to tell of them for Maecenas' admiration; but it seems better to understand 'admiranda' merely as an epithet of 'spectacula,' as a contrast is apparently intended between 'admiranda spectacula' and 'levium rerum,' and to make the two following lines epexegetical of the one before us. 'A marvellous exhibition of things slight in themselves—high-souled leaders, and the life of a whole nation, its character, its genius, its races, its battles, shall all be unfolded to you.' 'Spectacula' seems to be suggested by 'aspice.' 'Levium rerum' is to be understood quite generally.

4.] The force of 'magnanimos' is expressed by a whole line lower down, v. 83, "Ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant." 'Ex ordine,' which is of course unmetrical, is found in the majority of MSS., but the preposition is omitted by Med. and Rom. It was probably, as Wagn. says, introduced by some one who remembered 3. 341, "totumque ex ordine mensem," or knew that "ex ordine" was a common phrase. 'Ordine' is constructed with 'dicam,' but its position after 'totius' is significant, implying that the whole is to be regularly divided into its parts.

5.] 'Mores,' though a very significant word in the mouth of a Roman, involving in fact that which, as they felt, made their nation what it was, is difficult to render by

In tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, si quem
 Numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.
 Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,
 Quo neque sit ventis aditus, nam pabula venti

a single English equivalent. It includes the particular as well as the general, *ἔθνη* as well as *ἄνθρωποι*; and though distinguished from "*leges*," written ordinances imposed from without (comp. Hor. 3 Od. 25. 35), it is equally applicable to actual institutions and floating usages or feelings. 'National character,' 'the spirit of the age,' 'civilization,' 'social traditions,' words occupying different places in our modern vocabulary, all seem to suit it by turns. Of these the second, which might serve as a translation of the word in several passages of the satirists (e.g. Pers. 2. 62, Juv. 14. 323), is perhaps the only one which would not express the meaning here: but on the whole the first seems preferable. '*Studia*' are tastes or pursuits, as in 3. 498, where we have seen the word applied to the horse. They would contribute to form '*mores*' ("abundant *studia* in *mores*"). In '*populos*' we are reminded of the various constituents of a nation, its historical races or its clans. Comp. A. 10. 202, where different '*populi*' range under one "*gens*." In applying it to the bees Virg. may have referred to the different races, which, as he says, vv. 92 foll., may exist in the same hive, or he may have used the word as it is used by Col. 9. 13, where "*duo populi*" appear to mean "*duo examina*," of the inhabitants of different hives. In the former view '*proelia*' will have been suggested by '*populos*:' see vv. 67 foll. [Does not '*populi*' rather mean 'city communities'?—H. N.]

6.] 'In tenui,' of the thing on which the labour is spent, as "*laborare in re*" is used. Tac. A. 4. 32 (comp. by Wund.) says "*nobis in arto et inglorius labor*," contrasting his subject with that of the historians of ante-imperial Rome, where however the image is taken from exercising in a confined space. 'Tenuis non gloria:' he does not advert, as in 3. 289 foll., to the slightness of the subject as constituting the triumph of the man who could adorn it, but simply says that the glory of a true poet whom the gods inspire to sing is not to be measured by the littleness of his theme.

7.] '*Laeva*' is interpreted by Gell. 5. 12 to mean 'adverse:' [Nonius on the

other hand (pp. 51, 331), Philarg., Serv., and the Berne scholia] explain it to mean 'propitious.' The commentators are divided, Jahn, Keightley and Ladewig among the more recent, taking the former view, Heyne the latter. Pliny 2. 142 and Varro ap. Fest. '*sinistrae*' are cited to show that in Roman augury the left was thought the favourable, the right the unfavourable quarter, the received opinion among the Greeks being precisely the reverse, a contrariety accounted for by the statement that the augurs of the one nation looked to the north, those of the other to the south. Looking to Virg.'s usage, we find the only places where '*laevus*' occurs in a good sense are A. 2. 693., 9. 631, both of which mention thunder on the left as a propitious omen, apparently following Ennius, Ann. 517, while it is applied in a bad sense E. 1. 16, A. 2. 54 to human folly, and in A. 10. 275 to the baleful light of the dog-star; to which must be added that when he uses "*sinister*" metaphorically it is always for evil, as "*dexter*" is always for good. Thus the balance seems decidedly to incline towards Gellius' view, which is also favoured by the word '*sinunt*,' implying that a gracious permission is not a matter of course. Thus explained, the words will contain a slight touch of modesty, perhaps of pessimism, as if Virg. feared that he had to struggle with an unpropitious destiny, much as he expresses himself 2. 483, 484. Possibly the word may have a shade of meaning like that which it has in E. 1. 16, as if it denoted the gods that blunt the intellect. '*Sino*' with an acc. is not uncommon in Virg., v. 47, A. 4. 540, 6. 96, 9. 620, 10. 598, 12. 316, like *ἔειπε* in Greek, so that it need not be regarded as elliptical. "*Aderitque vocatus Apollo*," A. 3. 395. For '*audit vocatus*' Wund. comp. Hor. 2 Od. 18. 40, 3 Od. 22. 3.

8—17.] 'First about a situation for a hive. It should be out of the way of the wind, of cattle, which spoil flowers and grass, of lizards, bee-eaters, swallows, and other birds, which not only injure the garden, but devour the insects.'

9.] This and the next three lines are quoted and adopted by Col. 9. 4.

Ferre domum prohibent, neque oves haedique petulci 10
 Floribus insultent, aut errans bucula campo
 Decutiat rorem, et surgentis atterat herbas.
 Absint et pieti squalentia terga lacerti
 Pinguibus a stabulis, meropesque, aliaeque volucres,
 Et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis; 15
 Omnia nam late vastant, ipsasque volantis
 Ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.

10.] 'Petulci:' an epithet of lambs in Lucr. 2. 368. [quoted with this line of Virg. by Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 206 M), whence Macrob. Sat. 6. 5, may have got his note.—H. N.] Pliny (11. 62) gives another reason why sheep do harm to bees, because the insects get entangled in the wool. ['Aedi' Rom.—H. N.]

11.] We may either understand "ubi" from 'quo' or regard 'floribus insultent' as implying motion, as we should say 'where they do not come trampling on the flowers.' 'Campo' with 'errans,' which conveys a notion of space, rather than with 'decutiat.' ['Bacula' Pal.—H. N.]

13.] ['Apsint' Gud.—H. N.] 'Squalentia,' 2. 348. Here it seems="squamosa," with which it is perhaps connected. 'Squalentia terga lacerti' for "lacertus squalenti tergo." Comp. A. 1. 634, "horrentia centum Terga suum," and see A. 4. 511 note. Col. (9. 7) speaks of the lizard, "qui velut custos vestibuli prodeuntibus apibus affert exitium," recommending as a safeguard that the hive should have two or three entrances. The "stelio," a variety of the lizard, is mentioned below, v. 243.

14.] 'Stabula' here and in v. 191 may be transferred by Virg. from the cattle, the subject of the preceding book; Col. (9. 6. 4) however uses it of bees, as elsewhere of poultry, peacocks, and even fish. 'Pinguibus' seems to give the reason why care should be taken. Med. has 'ab stabulis,' which Forb. and Ladewig adopt. 'Meropes': the "merops apiaster L.," or bee-eater, is a bird of passage in the south of Europe. 'It is like the swallow, of the fissirostral tribe, and, like it also, hunts insects on the wing. Its bill is long and slender, slightly curved; its wings long and pointed. The "meropes" usually visit Greece and Italy in flocks of from twenty to thirty; they very rarely stray so far north as England' (Keightley). 'Alineque

volucres,' which Heyne thinks feeble, is connected by Wagn. closely with the next line, as being equivalent to the common Greek idiom, *ἄλλα τε πτηνὰ καὶ Πρόκνη*. He does not however produce any similar instance in Latin; the parallel too seems to fail from the previous specification of 'meropes,' which shows that 'aliae' means 'other than what precedes,' not 'other than what follows.' If we are to account for what is probably a mere piece of artificial writing, we might say that the swallow is mentioned after the 'aliae volucres' because Virg. chooses to conceive of her with reference to her original human form.

15.] 'Procne:' see on E. 6. 78. 'Manibus cruentis': the blood which stained her hands was supposed to have dropped on her breast. Such at least is the interpretation suggested by Ov. M. 6. 669, "neque adhuc de pectore caedis Excessere notae, signataque sanguine pluma est." Otherwise it would seem more natural to understand of her beating and rending her breast in her agony for the child she murdered, as the note of the nightingale is interpreted as a lament for Itys. The hostility of the swallow to bees as well as of the bee-eater is mentioned by Aristot. H. A. 9. 40, Geopon. 15. 2, and Aelian 5. 11.

16.] 'Ipsas' opposed to 'omnia.' [Nonius p. 459 reads 'ipsae'.—H. N.] 'Volantis' is commonly taken as a substantive, but it seems rather to mean that bees are caught on the wing.

17.] The epithet is transferred from the nestlings to the nest, as in A. 12. 475, "hirundo Fabula parva legens, nidisque loquacibus escas," and perhaps A. 5. 214, "Cui domus et dulces latebrosos in pumice nidi" (see however G. 1. 414). Col. (7. 9) actually uses 'nidus' of a litter of pigs—"in cubili suam quisque matrem nidus exspectat," but this is probably poetical imitation rather than idiomatic prose.

At liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco
 Adsint, et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus,
 Palmaque vestibulum aut ingens oleaster inumbret, 20
 Ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges
 Vere suo, ludetque favis emissa iuventus,
 Vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,
 Obviaque hospitibus teneat frondentibus arbos.
 In medium, seu stabit iners, seu profluat umor, 25
 Transversas salices et grandia conice saxa,
 Pontibus ut crebris possint consistere et alas
 Pandere ad aestivum solem, si forte morantis
 Sparsarit aut praeceps Neptuno inmerserit Euris.
 Haec circum casiae virides et olentia late 30
 Serpulla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae

18—32.] 'Let it be placed near water, standing or running, and overshadowed by a tree, under which they can take refuge from the heat of a spring noon. Stones or branches should be thrown into the water as bridges where they can dry themselves if they get wet. There should be casia, wild thyme, savory, and violets growing near.'

18.] This is recommended by Aristotle (H. A. 9. 40), the writer in the Geopon. (15. 2), Varro (3. 16), and Columella (9. 5).

19.] 'Tenuis:' Varro (l. c.) says that the water should not be more than two or three inches deep. ['Rivos' originally Med.—H. N.]

20.] 'Inumbret' was restored by Heins. from Med., Rom., Pal., and others, for 'obumbret' which is found as a correction in Gud., and is the reading of another of Ribbeck's cursives.

21.] The swarm is headed by new chiefs, who lead out the colony, 'iuventus.' ['At' Pal. for 'ut.' Med. has 'examina' for 'examina.'—H. N.]

22.] 'Vere suo, their own spring, the time when they are in vigour, after their winter seclusion. This seems more poetical than to understand the words with Ameis, "ver quod proprium sit apum, seu quod verum habeant ver, incipiens a verno aequinoctio et pertinens usque ad solstitium aestivum." 'Ludet,' according to Keightley, refers to the incessant flying backward and forward of the bees previous to the rising of the swarm.

23.] 'There may be a bank near to invite them.' So 'obvia' in the next line.

"Decedere nocti," E. 8. 88, G. 3. 467. Pal. has 'discedere.'

24.] The image is from a man who meets his friend and detains him ('teneat') hospitably. Forb. comp. Hor. 2 Od. 3. 10, "umbram hospitalem," of the shade of the pine and poplar.

25.] 'Sabit' of the 'stagna' v. 18, 'profluat' of the 'rivus' v. 19. ['Profluat' Pal., and originally Gud.—H. N.]

27.] 'That there may be many bridges for them to stand upon.' Florentinus in the Geopon. 15. 2, and Varro, l. c., assign a different reason for the recommendation, viz. that the bees may be able to sit and drink.

28.] 'Pandere ad aestivum solem:' comp. l. 398. 'Morantis' seems to mean lingering near the water, or pausing in their flight, but it is not easy to see the reason for it. ['Aestivum' Pal.—H. N.]

29.] 'Sparsarit,' sprinkled, Wund., rightly, as the context shows. 'Praecepta,' the headlong sweep of the wind suggests the headlong fall of the bees, as if it had been "praecipites." 'Neptuno' is intended "angustis rebus addere honorem."

30.] 'Haec circum:' around this watered spot where the apiary is to be. 'Casiae,' 2. 213, E. 2. 49 note.

31.] 'Serpulla,' E. 2. 11, where it is similarly characterized. ['Serpilla' Rom. 'serpulla' Med. and Pal.—H. N.] 'Thymbrae:' the 'thymbra,' though a kind of "satureia," was different from it, for Columella has (10. 233) "Et satuireia thymi referens thymbraeque saporem." It may be that the 'thymbra' is the

Floreat, inriguumque bibant violaria fontem.
 Ipsa autem, seu corticibus tibi suta cavatis,
 Seu lento fuerint alvearia vimine texta,
 Angustos habeant aditus: nam frigore mella
 Cogit hiemps, eademque calor liquefacta remittit.
 Utraque vis apibus pariter metuenda; neque illae
 Nequiquam in tectis certatim tenuia cera
 Spiramenta linunt, fucoque et floribus oras

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wild, the "satureia" the cultivated plant. The savory, though cultivated in our gardens, is not one of our indigenous plants." (Keightley). 'Graviter spirantis' is here used in a good sense, contrary to its usual acceptation. Pliny talks of "odore iucunde gravi" 21. 60, "suaviter gravi" 25. 118.

32.] 'Inriguum' active, as in Tibull. 2. 1. 44, "Tunc bibit inriguas fertilis hortus aquas." So "rigui amnes" 2. 485.

33—50.] 'The entrances to the hives should be narrow, to exclude heat and cold. These indeed the bees endeavour to protect themselves against by stopping up every crevice with wax and the pollen of flowers: nay, they sometimes hive underground, in hollow rocks and in decayed trees. Accordingly plaster the crevices yourself with mud and leaves. There should be no yews in the neighbourhood, no burning of crabs near, nor should the hive be in a marshy spot, or where there is an echo.'

33.] Comp. note on 2. 453. 'Corticibus cavatis,' 2. 387.

34.] Rom., Pal., and originally Med., read 'alvaria,' being misled by the pronunciation. Other kinds of hives are mentioned by the agricultural writers (Varro 3. 16, Col. 9. 6, &c.), those made of the ferula, which Col. and Pliny put next to cork, of hollowed wood or boards, of earthenware, of dung, and of bricks. ['Vimene' Gud., and so Ribbeck.—H.N.]

35.] The bees make their own entrances narrow, as Aristot. (H. A. 9. 40) remarks. The reasons which make this desirable, as given by Col. 9. 7, are, first, the exclusion of the cold, secondly, the exclusion of lizards and the larger insects. As a protection against the extremes of the weather he also lays stress on what Virg. notices afterwards, the plastering of the hives, and on their being made of a proper material, cork being the best fitted for that object, earthenware the worst. Keightley thinks that Virg. misunderstood his

authorities, and that Col. would not have mentioned the weather at all as a reason for narrow entrances, but for his deference to the poet.

36.] 'Remittit' gives the opposite image to 'cogit.' Ameis remarks that 'liquefacta remittit' has the force of "reliquefacit," a word which is not found.

37.] 'Utraque vis' in prose would probably have been "utriusque vis." Comp. such expressions as "ea signa" A. 2. 171. 'Apibus metuenda:' see on 2. 419. 'Neque illae,' &c.: "nec te Nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernus," A. 6. 118. 'Nequiquam' does not mean 'without an object' (Heyne), but 'without result,' as v. 45 shows. 'The bees take good care of themselves; but you should care for them nevertheless.' From this line to v. 181 Rom. is wanting.

39.] 'Spiramenta,' 1. 90, here of the crevices ('rimosa cubilia,' v. 45) with the earlier commentators, not with Heyne of the entrances. The 'fucus' seems to be the pollen of flowers, as Keightley explains it, distinguished from the 'gluten,' a substance collected from trees. Comp. v. 160, "Narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten." Aristotle seems to class them together (H. A. 9. 40), οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ κηρία φέρουσαι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τὰ δάκρυα ἰτέας καὶ πελέας καὶ ἄλλων κολλώδεσάντων. τούτω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος διαχρίνουσι: τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων ἐνεκεν. Varro (l. c.) distinguishes between the "propolis," with which the entrance is rubbed, and the *ἐπιθήκη*, with which the combs are glued together. Modern English writers appear to include both under the name of bee-bread, though there is some difference of opinion about the use made of this substance. But it is not easy to say what Virg. really means, as no other instance is quoted of 'fucus' used in this or a similar sense. 'Floribus' occurs again v. 250, seemingly for this same pollen, and so apparently Pliny 11. 16, speaks of the "propolis" as "crassi-

Explant, collectumque haec ipsa ad munera gluten 40
 Et visco et Phrygiae servant pice lentius Idae.
 Saepe etiam effossis, si vera est fama, latebris
 Sub terra fovere larem, penitusque repertae
 Pumicibusque cavis exesaeque arboris antro.
 Tu tamen et levi rimosa cubilia limo 45
 Ungue fovens circum, et raras superinice frondes.
 Neu propius tectis taxum sine, neve rubentis

oris iam materiae additis floribus, non-dum tamen cera, sed favorum stabilimen-tum." [Philarg. identifies 'fucus' with 'propolis,' the Berne scholia adding that the name 'fucus' was due to this kind of wax being black. Philarg. suggests another interpretation, that 'fucus' here = 'galbanum,' intended as a protection against the attacks of hostile animals.—H. N.] 'Oras' is explained by Keightley of the entrances, to which, according to Varro and the Geopon., the "propolis," or some similar substance was applied. 'Explant' however points rather to crevices, as Taubm. understands it, though no instance is given of 'orae' in this sense. It may mean however, as Mr. Blackburn thinks, the edges of the crevices. 'Ora' might be suggested, and paralleled from A. 2. 482, "lato dedit ore fenestram."

40.] 'Haec ipsa ad munera:' ad linenda spiramenta et explenda oras."

41.] 'Visco,' 1. 139. 'Pice Idae,' 3. 460. 'Phrygiae Idae,' A. 3. 6. Pal. has 'tentius,' which from a gloss in another MS. seems to have been regarded as a synonym or even an abbreviation of "tenacius."

42.] 'Effossis' is commonly explained of holes formed by nature or by man. I have been told however that there is reason to think that bees make holes for themselves, which is Serv.'s interpretation.

43.] 'Fovere larem,' 3. 420. 'Fodere,' the old reading before Heins., supported by Med. and many others, if not contrary to the sense, would at any rate create a tautology with 'effossis.'

44.] 'Pumicibus:' comp. the simile A. 12. 587 foll., and that in Il. 2. 87 foll., where the bees issue *πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς*. The line is an echo of 2. 453, "Corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo," where see note. Some MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) give 'alvo' here, but 'antro' is acknowledged by Macro. Sat. 6. 7,

and was doubtless preferred by Virg. for variety's sake. 'Alveo' would remind us of the hive; 'antro' suggests the parallel between the hollow trunk and the rocky cavity just mentioned.

45.] For 'et levi' many MSS., including two of Ribbeck's cursives, give 'e levi,' a reading acknowledged by Serv., who separates it from 'limo,' and supposes it to mean 'lightly' (like "e facili," "e tuto," &c.), the bee-keeper being reminded that a slight effort on his part will accomplish what costs the bees a great one. Burm., who points out the metrical fault of this ingenious explanation, himself reads 'e levi,' citing similar instances from medical writers, e. g. Cels. 5. 28, "Prius ungi ex cerussa pustulae debent." He also suggests that 'e leni' might be read in the sense proposed by Serv. As however 'et levi' has the authority of Med., Pal., and other MSS., and is mentioned by Serv. as a variant, we may safely prefer it, as the more obvious reading, to either of these refinements. The same precept is given by Col. 9. 14, Varro 3. 16, &c.

46.] 'Fovens,' because one object is to keep out the cold air. Wagn. says he should have expected "densas," not 'raras,' but Keightley replies that the poet knew leaves do not lie close when spread on anything.

47.] Heyne rightly vindicates the position of this and the three following lines against any who may think that they would have come in more naturally among the cautions of vv. 9 foll. The question there was about choosing a neighbourhood for the bees where they might expatiate without injury: Virg. is now speaking of the hive, and after directing that it should be made weather-tight, he naturally passes on to speak about smells and sounds which might penetrate it and injure the inmates. Heyne had originally conceded that if the Georgics were

Ure foco canculos, altae neu crede paludi,
 Aut ubi odor caeni gravis, aut ubi concava pulsu
 Saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago. 50
 Quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem Sol aureus egit
 Sub terras caelumque aestiva luce reclusit,
 Illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant,
 Purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant

a dogmatic treatise, the lines might perhaps have found place after v. 17, and Ribbeck avails himself of the concession, supposing that they may have been added after the first edition of the poem. The rhythm of the line resembles that of 2. 299, "Neve inter vites corylum sere; neve flagella." 'Taxum,' E. 9. 30 (note). 'Tectis,' the hives, as above v. 38.

48.] 'Cancros,' on account of their smell: see on v. 49. With 'crede' we might supply 'tectis,' but as the hive would not in any case be actually planted in a deep marsh, it is perhaps better to consider the verb as intransitive, 'do not trust a marsh' being equivalent to 'do not calculate on it as not likely to do harm,' 'do not enter into relations with it.' So probably A. 7. 97, "thalamis neu crede paratis." In the next line "locis" may easily be supplied from 'ubi.'

49.] The dislike of bees for strong smells is abundantly vouched for by various authorities whom Cerda quotes. Pliny (11. 61) says that they attack persons who are strongly perfumed; Col. (9. 14) that they are angry at those who smell of wine. 'Pulsu,' with the stroke or impact of a sound. The two clauses, as usual, state the same thing.

50.] Virg. seems to have been thinking of Lucr. 4. 570, "Pars (vocum) solidis adlisis locis reiecta sonorem Reddit, et interdum frustratur imagine verbi." (Comp. his whole language about visual images in the early part of the same book.) Varro (3. 16) recommends placing bee-hives "potissimum ubi non resonant imagines," which with Cic. Tusc. 3. 2, "ea virtuti resonant, tanquam imago," would seem to show that 'imago' was a received word for an echo, not a mere poetical expression. Columella adopts a periphrasis: "nec minus vitentur cavae rupis aut vallis argutiae (Forcell. quotes an application of this word from Pliny 10. 85 to the varieties in the note of the nightingale), quas Graeci *ἠχούς* vocant."

There is some impropriety in the use of 'imago' here, as though it suits 'resultat,' it cannot in strictness be called 'offensa.' That which strikes the rock ('offenditur') is the actual sound; the reflection or echo is that which is returned. Modern writers speak less decisively of the effect of sound on bees, some doubting whether they have a sense of hearing.

51—66.] 'When warm weather begins, the bees issue forth and spread themselves over the country near, culling from flowers and streams what will support their young and make wax and honey. Accordingly when you see them swarming in the air, be sure that they will make for water and trees. Rub with savory and balm the place where they are likely to settle, and make a clashing of cymbals, and they will alight of their own accord and get into the hive.'

51.] 'Quod superest,' 2. 346. 'Pulsam . . . sub terras;' the image seems to be partly mythological, winter being vanquished by the sun like the Titanic powers by Jupiter, and driven down to Tartarus; partly derived from the succession of day and night, which appear to ascend from under the earth and go down to it again. The physical explanation suggested by Serv. seems scarcely borne out by the passage to which he refers, Lucr. 6. 840 foll.

52.] In the winter the sky is closed up with clouds and bound with frost, so that it is here said to be opened and relaxed by light and warmth. "Aperit annum," 1. 217. 'Aestiva' points to the twofold division of the year, 3. 296. With 'luce reclusit' comp. A. 9. 461, "iam rebus luce reiectis," and perhaps A. 4. 119, radiisque retexeret orbem."

53.] 'Silvas saltusque peragrat,' A. 4. 72. Pal. has 'saltum.'

54.] 'Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia limant,' Lucr. 3. 11. 'Metunt flores' is doubtless to be explained of collecting the pollen, v. 38, though the

Summa leves. Hinc nescio qua dulcedine laetae 55
 Progeniem nidosque foveat, hinc arte recentis
 Excudunt ceras et mella tenacia fingunt.
 Hinc ubi iam emissum caveis ad sidera caeli
 Nare per aestatem liquidam suspexeris agmen,
 Obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem, 60
 Contemplator: aquas dulcis et frondea semper
 Tecta petunt. Huc tu iussos asperge saporis,
 Trita melisphylla et cerinthae ignobile gramen,
 Tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum:

verb and the epithet 'purpureos' make the expression a bold one. Col. (9. 14) however follows Virg., as Keightley observes. Something perhaps is attributable to the colour of the language, which is heightened so as to identify the bees with larger animals, especially with men. 'Purpureos,' E. 5. 38 note.

55.] 'Leves' points partly to their being on the wing, partly, like 'libant' and 'summa,' to the smallness of their draught. 'Hinc' gives the reason for 'metunt flores' and 'libant flumina.' 'Nescio . . . laetae,' l. 412. Here the words are rather difficult, as they may refer either to the pleasure of collecting the pollen (perhaps to the actual sense of physical sweetness), or to the delight of rearing their young.

56.] 'Progeniem nidosque' are doubtless meant to be taken together (see note on v. 17, and comp. l. 414). 'Foveat' is probably to be taken in a wide sense, expressing warmth as well as support (see vv. 42, 46), bee-bread being supposed to contribute to both.

57.] ['Excludunt' Pal. and one of Ribbeck's cursives in the margin.—H. N.] 'Figunt' is read by a few MSS. (none of Ribbeck's), and adopted by Cerda, as a sort of anticipation of the comparison in vv. 170 foll., which is indeed suggested by 'excudent.' 'Fingendorum favorum' however occurs Cic. Off. l. 44, "ceram fingunt," Pliny ll. 14.

58.] 'Hinc' is taken by Heyne to mean 'afterwards' (comp. E. 4. 37, where it is similarly followed by 'ubi iam'). Probably however Keightley is right in explaining it 'on this account,' sc. their love of trees and water, as there appears to be a sort of parallel between vv. 54, 55, and v. 61. Ameis, recognizing the parallel, thinks that 'hinc' indicates the several stages in the bees' occupations. Ribbeck

adopts 'hic' from Pal. There seems no reason for supposing a reference in 'caveis' to the seats in the theatre, as the word is used of cages, hen-coops, &c. If anything, there may be an allusion to beasts let loose from their cages.

59.] 'Aestatem liquidam' of the clear summer sky, what is commonly regarded as time being spoken of as space. Comp. E. 9. 44, "pura sub nocte." 'Liquidam' also suggests the notion of water, to agree with 'nare.'

60.] 'Trahi' seems to signify not only length, as in v. 557, but agitation by the wind: see v. 9. 'Nubem' is similarly used A. 7. 705 of a flight of birds in the air.

61.] 'Contemplator,' l. 187.

62.] 'Huc,' on some tree towards which they may be tending, and to which you wish to lure them. 'Iussos,' 'those which you will have been told,' i. e. which I am going to tell you. Heyne comp. v. 549, "monstratas excitat aras." So also "aequore iusso" A. 10. 444. Ribbeck reads 'tussos,' from a conj. of Reiske's 'tunao,' supported by v. 267. 'Sapores' refers rather to the smell than to the taste, as the branches were to be rubbed with the plants mentioned in the next line. ['Sopores' Pal.—H. N.]

63.] 'Melisphyllum' or "melissophyllum," i. e. Lat. "apiastrum" (though the two are apparently distinguished by Col. 9. 8), 'balm.' [Philarg. and the Berne scholia, from Varro 3. 16.—H. N.] 'Cerintha' is usually supposed to be the "cerintha major, L.;" but Tenore asserts that this does not grow in the south of Italy, so that he inclines to identify Virg.'s plant with the "satureia thymbra" (v. 31 note) or "s. capitata." [Pal. has 'carmen,' perhaps a mistake for 'germen,' as Burmann suspected.—H. N.]

64.] Another instance of Virg.'s magni-

Ipsae considerat medicatis sedibus, ipsae 65
Intima more suo sese in cunabula condent.

Sin autem ad pugnam exierint—nam saepe duobus
Regibus incessit magno discordia motu;
Continuoque animos volgi et trepidantia bello
Corda licet longe praesciscere; namque morantis 70
Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat, et vox
Auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum;
Tum trepidae inter se coeunt, pinnisque coruscant,

loquence, curiously contrasting with our use of the key and warming-pan. The reference is to the mythological story which is indicated more fully v. 150 foll. The ancients were divided on the question whether the bees were frightened or pleased by the sound, Varro (3. 16), Col. (9. 8. 12) holding the former opinion, which is accepted by Lucan (9. 288, 289), Pliny (11. 68) and the writer in Geopon. (15. 3) the latter. Aristot. (H. A. 9. 40) says that they appear to be pleased, but adds *ἔστι μὲντοι ἔδηλον ὅλως εἰ ἀκούουσιν, καὶ πότερον δι' ἡδονὴν τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν* (assemble after swarming) *ἢ διὰ φόβον*.

65, 66.] 'Medicatis sedibus,' on the branches so rubbed. 'Cunabula' probably refers to the hive to which the bees are to be transferred, as 'intima' seems to show. If the reference to the branches were continued, 'more suo' might point to their method of taking rest by clustering together, "pedibus per mutua nexis" (A. 7. 66), which would account for 'cunabula.' [Intima] Pal.—H. N.]

67—87.] 'When there are two kings in the hive there is a battle. First there are hoarse murmurs, alarms as if of a trumpet: then the bees form round their king, issue forth into the air, and the action begins, and lasts until one or the other party is routed. You may stop it however by sprinkling a little dust among the combatants.'

67.] Virg. evidently intended to give directions as to what should be done by the bee-keeper in the case of a battle, as he has just now laid down a rule to meet the case of swarming; but he strikes at once into a parenthesis which swells into a regular description, forming a paragraph of itself, and we can only collect what the apodosis would have been from vv. 86, 87, and the following paragraph, where he returns from the bees to their owner. This irregularity of structure, as Forb. remarks, has doubtless a design of its own, the poet

throwing himself into the enthusiasm of the subject, and sympathizing with his heroes. 'Exierint' refers to what has been said previously (v. 58, &c.) about their leaving the hive, so that 'ad pugnam' is emphatic, as is also shown by its position. 'If it be for battle that they have left the hive;' 'if their going out be for battle.'

68.] 'Regibus' is doubtless to be connected with 'incessit,' as in Sall. Cat. 31, "mulieres, quibus . . . timor insolitus incesserat" (si lectio certa), and other passages quoted in Kritz's note there. Other reasons for these conflicts are assigned by ancient and modern authorities besides the claims of rival monarchs, such as rivalry in getting honey, (Pliny 11. 58) and actual want, when the inhabitants of one hive will attack another (Aristot. H. A. 9. 40), and if one nation loses its queen, the vanquished will combine with the victors (London Encyclopaedia, 'Apis'). The error of the ancients in supposing the queen bee to be a king is well known.

69.] "Trepidantia bello:" "alacritate pugnandi, non timore," Serv., rather a bold expression, so that in default of a parallel it seems better to regard 'bello' as dative with Voss. Comp. A. 7. 482, "belloque animos accendit agrestia."

71.] 'Canor' occurs Lucr. 4. 181, where it is applied to the note of the swan. 'Martius aeris canor' is explained by the next line to mean a sound as of a trumpet. 'Ille' seems to mean 'well known to warriors,' not 'well known to bee-keepers.' This noise is made by the bees not only when preparing for a battle, but before swarming out, &c. Varro (3. 16) says, "Hicque duces conficiunt quaedam ad vocem ut imitatione tubae, tum id faciunt, cum inter se signa belli et pacis habeant."

72.] 'Fractos' expresses the successive short blasts of a trumpet.

73.] For 'tum' Pal. has 'dum.' 'Co-

Spiculaque exacuunt rostris, aptantque lacertos,
 Et circa regem atque ipsa ad praetoria densae 75
 Miscentur, magnisque vocant clamoribus hostem.
 Ergo ubi ver nantae sudum camposque patentis,
 Erumpunt portis: concurritur aethere in alto;
 Fit sonitus; magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem,
 Praecipitesque cadunt; non densior aëre grando, 80
 Nec de concussa tantum pluit ilice glandis.
 Ipsi per medias acies insignibus alis

rusco' is used with an ablative, like "mico," 3. 84, 439, to which it is equivalent in sense. So Ov. M. 4. 494, "linguaeque coruscant" (of serpents), where another reading is "linguas."

74.] 'Rostris,' probably i. q. "rostrorum," Virg. expressing himself with intentional or unintentional inaccuracy, as if the bees wounded by their bite (comp. "morsibus," v. 237). The words might also mean 'they sharpen their stings against their beaks,' which again would be a mistaken statement, as Keightley says. 'Aptant,' 'get in order for action,' a word rather common in Virg. for putting on arms, A. 2. 672, 11. 8, &c.

75.] 'Praetoria,' properly the general's tent in the Roman army, seems here to mean the royal cell, which would naturally be more sacred than even the person of the monarch, as being the abode of his privacy.

77.] 'Sudum,' more commonly an epithet of the sky, is here applied to the season, which it distinguishes from "imbriferum ver," 1. 313. Comp. "aestatem liquidam" above, v. 59. The bees avoid rain instinctively, very few stragglers being caught in showers. 'Camposque patentis,' A. 5. 552, of the ground cleared for tilting, here of the air, the battle-field of the bees, 'patentis' apparently meaning cleared from storms, like "caelo aperto" A. 1. 155, and the expression in v. 52 above, "caelum reclusit." 'Nantae' is used as a finite verb, not as a participle, as Heyne would have it. Wagn. comp. 3. 235, "ubi collectum robur viresque refectae." ['Nantae' Pal. The Berne scholia say, "in Ebrii nantae, non naetae. Is the enigmatical 'Ebrius' Verrius Flaccus? Paulus, p. 276 M. "renantitur significat reprehenderit. Unde aithus nos dicimus nantiscitur et nantus, id est adeptus."—H. N.]

78.] It is difficult to decide whether

'aethere in alto' belongs to 'concurritur' or to 'fit sonitus,' either of which clauses might stand well alone, the former as in Hor. 1. S. 1. 7, the latter as in v. 188 below. Perhaps the former punctuation is to be preferred, as more clearly differing this from ordinary encounters, as Virg. may have wished to do even while describing it in regular military language.

79.] 'Orbis' is not infrequently used of a mass of men (Forcell. s. v.): here it signifies the 'mêlée' of the two armies.

80.] It matters little whether a verb substantive be supplied for 'densior' or 'pluit' from the next line. Serv. opportunely reminds us that in the encounters of bees slayers perish as well as slain.

81.] This line is apparently referred to by the pseudo-Probns in Cathol. (p. 1444 and 1464 Putsch), when he says that Virg. uses "haec glandis" as a nominative; Priscian however (6. 96, Keil) rightly connects 'tantum glandis,' τὸ τοῦτον βαλάνου, though he admits there is a doubt.

82.] Wagn. makes a difficulty here, because nothing has been specified to which 'ipsi' can be referred, unless it be 'regem,' v. 75. But the whole paragraph turns on the two rival chiefs (v. 68), who are further pointed out by the words 'insignibus alis' = "insignes alis" (comp. A. 5. 130 foll., where the commanders are mentioned as distinguished from the rest by their accoutrements). Nor is there any thing harsh in 'per medias acies,' as the notion of movement is easily supplied. Ribbeck connects 'per medias acies' with 'insignibus.' The real distinction between the wings of the queens and those of the rest is that the former are shorter; but Virg. can scarcely have meant this. Col. however (9. 10) says that the "reges" have wings "pulchri coloris."

Ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant,
 Usque adeo obnixa non cedere, dum gravis aut hos
 Aut hos versa fuga victor dare terga subegit. 85
 Hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
 Pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt.
 Verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambo,
 Deterior qui visus, eum, ne prodigus obsit,
 Dede neci; melior vacua sine regnet in aula. 90
 Alter erit maculis auro squalentibus ardens;

83.] Virg. may have thought, as Serv. supposes, of Homer's description of Tydeus (Il. 5. 801), *μικρὸς μὲν ἦν δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής*. 'Versant' need be no more than a poetical equivalent for 'habent'; but it may also refer to the plans which the generals are supposed to form, like "animum per omnia versat," A. 4. 286; "partis animum versabat in omnis," ib. 630.

84.] 'Adeo' with 'dum,' as in Plaut. Mero. 3. 4. 71, ib. prol. 75, cited by Forcell., who refers to other passages where "adeo donicum," and "adeo usque ut," are similarly used. 'Aut hos,' 'aut hos' are placed in the same way A. 10. 9, 10. The meaning seems to be neither king will give way till his army is fairly routed by main force. We might have expected 'subegerit.' ['Credere' Pal.—H. N.]

85.] 'Fuga dare terga,' A. 12. 463. 'Subegit' restored by Heins from most MSS. (all Ribbeck's) for 'coegit.'

86.] In this and the following line Virg.'s humour breaks out, relieving what would otherwise be felt to be mere exaggeration. The rhythm of the present line is evidently intended to be ultra-heroic as well as the expression.

87.] So Varro l. c., Pliny 11. 58. Serv. says that the dust frightens them as apparently prognosticating a storm, and a modern writer (Lond. Encycl.) thinks that they probably mistake the dust for rain. 'Quiescunt' Med., 'quiescent' Pal. Perhaps the present harmonizes better with the preceding description.

88—102.] 'When they are dispersed, kill the worse of the two rivals. The distinction is easy; one is bright, with gold spots on his body, the other cumbersome and dingy. This difference of race extends to the common bees, so that in filling your hive you should look out for the better sort, which will give you superior honey.'

88.] 'Revocaveris:' whether by sprinkling dust, or allowing the contest to have its natural end. Pal. has 'ambos.' Philarg. [says "*ambos*, legitur et *ambo*:" the Berne scholia, "*ambos*, *ambo* iuxta Ebrium." Again comp. Paulus (Festus p. 4 M) "*ambo* ex Graeco ductum videtur, quod illi *εμφο* dicunt," and Serv. on A. 12. 342, E. 5. 68. From Iulius Romanus ap. Charis. p. 119 K. we know that it was the doctrine of Verrius Flaccus that the acc. pl. of 'ambo' was 'ambos,' not 'ambos.' This again is an argument for the identification of 'Ebrius' with Verrius Flaccus.—H. N.]

89.] 'Deterior' is explained by vv. 92 foll., so that it has no reference to inferiority in the contest. 'Prodigus' is generally explained as opposed to "parcus," consuming honey without making any return, as he is not wanted as a king: perhaps however it may mean "superfluous," as 'prodigus' is used of things lavished prodigally.

90.] 'Dede neci:' see on 3. 480. In the next clause 'vacua' is emphatic, implying the removal of the rival. 'Aula' is not to be pressed, as it evidently does not signify either the hive, which would not be 'vacua,' or the royal cells, of which each monarch would have one.

91.] He is beginning to distinguish the two as 'alter . . . alter,' when he breaks off that he may do it more formally. 'Maculis auro squalentibus,' spots rough with gold, apparently meaning that the spots seem to be laid on like scales of gold: "tunicam squalentem auro," A. 10. 312. 'Erit' implies that these two varieties will be found to exist when there has been a battle, and this agrees substantially with Varro 3. 16, "Praeterea ut animadvertat, ne reguli plures existant; inutiles enim fiunt propter seditiones, et, ut quidam dicunt, tria genera cum sint ducum in apibus, niger, ruber, varius, ut

Nam duo sunt genera; hic melior, insignis et ore,
Et rutilis clarus squamis; ille horridus alter
Desidia, latamque trahens inglorius alvum.

Ut binae regum facies, ita corpora plebis.

95

Namque aliae turpes horrent, ceu pulvere ab alto

Cum venit et sicco terram spuit ore viator

Aridus; elucent aliae et fulgore coruscant,

Ardentes auro et paribus lita corpora guttis.

Haec potior suboles; hinc caeli tempore certo

100

Dulcia mella prêmes, nec tantum dulcia, quantum

Et liquida et durum Bacchi domitura saporem.

Menecrates scribit duo, niger et varius; qui ita melior: ut expediat mellario, cum duo sint eadem alvo, interficere nigrum, quem scit cum altero rege esse seditiosum et corrumpere alvum, quod fuget aut cum multitudine fugetur."

92.] 'Insignis et ore' seems to refer to form, as distinguished from colour. ['Que' is added as a correction in Med. after 'melior.'—H. N.]

93.] 'Rutilis squamis' = 'maculis auro squalentibus.' 'Ille . . . alter,' 2. 397, where however 'hic' has not preceded. In introducing the pleonasm here, Virg. may have meant to point not only to the previous line, but to the unfinished contrast v. 91. 'Horridus desidia' seems to express the squalor arising from inaction, its hair rough, &c. Col. (9. 10) distinguishes the better sort as "leves ac sine pilo," from the worse, which are "hirsuti."

94.] 'Latam . . . alvum:' with an unwieldy paunch, and slow in its movements; consequently less adapted to lead the swarm to victory or to successful labour ('inglorius'). So Aristot. (H. A. 9. 4) makes the darker monarch twice the size of the other. ['Alvum' Pal.—H. N.]

95.] 'Plebis:' Heins. from Med. and all Ribbeck's MSS., as well as the better MSS. in Col. 9. 10, for the old reading 'gentis.' It should be remembered, though Virg. was not aware of the fact, that the queens are not only the monarchs, but the parents of their subjects. 'Binae' seems to be the predicate.

96.] 'Horrent' is explained by 'horridus,' v. 93. From the words of Col. l. c. "Nam deterior sordido sputo similis, tam foedus quam pulvere . . . viator," it would seem as if he doubted whether the comparison was to the dusty traveller or to his spittle. The commentators seem to

take the former view, but the latter is not impossible, in spite of the harshness with which the simile would then be worded, as there would then be some point in 'terram spuit,' which otherwise is a needlessly offensive detail. 'Alto:' the dust rising as it were in a column; "pulvere caelum Stare vident," A. 12. 407.

97.] 'Terram' = "pulverem," only with a further notion of solidity.

99.] 'Auro et guttis:' drops of gold. 'Paribus,' like 'paribus nodis,' E. 5. 90, symmetrical. Virg., in his love of poetical surplusage, has left it doubtful whether he means 'lita corpora' to be acc. in construction with 'ardentes' or nom. in apposition to it. He seems to have avoided saying "lita corpora" partly for the sake of variety, partly that he might not separate 'paribus guttis' pointedly from 'auro.' For a parallel case of doubtful construction comp. A. 6. 496 (note).

100.] 'Caeli tempore,' like "caeli menses" 1. 335, "caeli tempore" 3. 327. The seasons meant are spring and autumn, v. 231.

101.] 'Prêmes:' the honey being made to run through wicker-work, before being put into jars, Col. 9. 15, Hor. Epod. 2. 15. So perhaps v. 140 below. 'Nec tantum dulcia:' Virg. apparently means not to disparage the sweetness of the honey, otherwise he would hardly have called it 'dulcia' in the first instance, but to extol its clearness and adaptability for mixing with wine, so that we shall perhaps be right in supposing him to hover between two modes of expression, "nec tantum dulcia, sed liquida," and "non tam dulcia quam liquida." This use of 'tantum' for "tam" with adjectives is not very common.

102.] The reference is to "mulsum," for

At cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt,
 Contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinunt,
 Instabilis animos ludo prohibebis inani. 106
 Nec magnus prohibere labor: tu regibus alas
 Eripe; non illis quisquam cunctantibus altum
 Ire iter aut castris audebit vellere signa.
 Invitent croceis halantes floribus horti,
 Et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna 110
 Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi.
 Ipse thymum pinosque ferens de montibus altis

which see note on l. 344, and Dict. A. 'vinum.'

103—115.] 'If your bees are given to flying far rather than working in the hive, the remedy is to clip their chief's wings. There should be a garden to attract them, and you should not grudge planting near the hive the herbs and trees they like, nor yet tending and watering them.'

103.] 'Incerta,' vaguely, without an object, as opposed to their issuing forth to collect honey. So 'ludunt,' of expatiating idly in the air, as explained by v. 105. ['Examina' Med. originally, whence Ribbeck reads 'exagmina.'—H. N.]

104.] 'Frigida:' opp. to the warmth imparted to the hive by their presence ("fovere" v. 43) and their labour ("fervet opus," v. 169) ['Relinunt' Med., 'relinquunt' Pal. 'relinquunt' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

105.] 'Instabilis animos,' like *κουφονόων ἀνρίθων*, Soph. Ant. 343, where there seems a mixture of moral and physical lightness. Comp. also Aristoph. Birds 169, *ἄνθρωπος ὄρνις ἀσάδμητος, πετόμενος, Ἀτέκματος, οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε ἐν ταύτῃ μένων*.

106.] 'Tu' gives force to the precept, as in 2. 211, 3. 163. In the former passage, as here, there may be a contrast between human labour and the natural result, 'do you act thus: nature will do the rest.' 'Alas eripe:' this is to be done, according to Col. 9. 10, by first rubbing the hand with balm, which will prevent the bees from flying off. Didymus (in Geop. 15. 4) and Pliny (11. 54) speak merely of clipping the wings, which is all that Virg. need have meant, though Col. (9. 10) says "spoliandus est alia."

107.] 'Altum,' like 'caelo ludunt,' as opp. to flying near the flowers. The rhythm and language of this and the

next line are an echo of l. 456, 457, "Non illa quisquam me nocte per altum Ire, neque a terra moneat convellere funem," though there is no similarity in the subject.

108.] 'Vellere signa' may refer to a battle like that described above, which the bee-keeper might wish to prevent; but it seems simpler to suppose that he is merely speaking of an ordinary flight in military terms.

109.] Another way of keeping bees near the hive is to provide a garden for them. 'Croceis:' "coloured [and perfumed] flowers, the def. for the indef." (Keightley.)

110.] 'Let there be a garden, placed under the guardianship of Priapus,' seems to mean, 'Let there be a regular garden, complete in its appointments,' the following verses also directing that no labour is to be spared. At the same time the bees are of course meant to share in the protection extended to the garden, whatever that may have been worth. The thieves might have an eye to the honey as well as to the fruit, and the birds might carry off the bees, v. 16. 'Custos' here with a gen. of the thing guarded against, like *φυλακῇ κακοῦ*. The 'falx saligna' was carried in the hand of the figure. Med. a m. p. has 'frugum' for 'furum.'

111.] 'Hellespontiaci:' comp. Catull. fragm. ii (Ellis).

"Hunc lucum tibi dedico consecroque,
 Priape,
 Qua domus tua Lampsaci est, quaque
 silva, Priape,
 Nam te praecipue in suis urbibus colit
 ora
 Hellespontia, ceteris ostreosior oria."

112.] 'Ipse' is meant to emphasize the importance of the direction given, and to keep up the general tone of the Georgics,

Tecta serat late circum, cui talia curae;
 Ipse labore manum duro terat, ipse feracis
 Figat humo plantas et amicos inriget imbris. 115

Atque equidem, extremo nī iam sub fine laborum
 Vela traham et terris festinem advertere proram,
 Forsitan et, pinguis hortos quae cura colendi
 Ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria Paesti,
 Quoque modo potis gauderent intiba rivis 120
 Et virides apio ripae, tortusque per herbam

enforcing the necessity of personal labour, and the dignity arising from it. So 'de montibus altis,' a picture perhaps intended to remind us of the arrival of Peneus the river god at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Catull. 64. 285 foll.) with trees plucked up by the roots, which he plants round the bridal dwelling. Comp. also 1. 20. For the pine on the mountains see A. 5. 449, for the pine in the garden E. 7. 65, and below, v. 141. ['Tinos' Pal., a reading mentioned by Philarg., who explains 'tinus' as "laurus silvestris caerulea baca." Comp. v. 141 below.—H. N.]

113.] Pal. has 'circum late.' ['Quoi' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

114.] Forb. comp. Lucr. 5. 1359 foll., "Atque ipsi pariter durum sufferre laborem, Atque opere in duro durarent membra manusque." 'Feracis plantas,' 2. 79.

115.] 'Inriget imbris:' like "quietem inrigat," A. 1. 691. Keightley, comparing Col. 10. 147, "Primitiis plantae modicos tum praebeat imbris Sedulus inrorans holior," argues that the watering-pots of the ancients had probably roses like ours.

116—148.] 'Were my space less confined, I would gladly treat gardens as a separate branch of my subject, telling of the cultivation of roses, of endive and parsley, of gourds, of narcissus and acanthus, of ivy and myrtle. I remember seeing an old man in southern Italy, who had turned an otherwise impracticable spot into a garden, rearing his herbs and flowers, as happy as a prince, and living on his produce. Every thing was in season with him, nay, he would anticipate the season: his honey was ready the first: the blossoms on his trees all came to fruit: his largest trees were transplanted with success. But I must leave the theme to other pena.' A graceful

interposition, sketching the plan for what might have been a fifth Georgic, and connecting the subject with his own personal observations.

116.] He recurs to the metaphor of 2. 41 foll. 'Equidem' refers to the precept just given. 'As I recommend the bee-keeper to cultivate flowers, I should myself write on the subject.'

117.] 'Trahere,' of furling the sails, like "contrahere." For the confusion of tenses, 'traham . . . canerem,' Forb. comp. Tibull. 1. 8. 22, "et faceret, si non aera repulsa sonent." The force of the present seems to be to bring out more vividly the clause containing the condition, by representing the conditioned action as having anticipated that on which it depends, and so being prevented when it has already begun.

118.] 'Colendi' is almost pleonastic. Virg. probably intended to combine the phrases 'quae cura hortos ornaret' (comp. "omni cura ornabat" A. 7. 488), and "quae esset cura horticorum colendorum," or "hortis colendis."

119.] The rosaries of Paestum are a commonplace among the Latin poets. Ov. M. 15. 708, Prop. 5. 5. 61. Tenore, quoted by Keightley, says that as he has never met with any twice-blowing roses in the country round Paestum, it is probably of cultivated roses that Virg. speaks. 'Rosaria' may depend either on 'ornaret' or on 'canerem.'

120.] 'Intiba' here is not succory, *σέπης ἀγρία*, as in 1. 120, but endive, *σέπης κηνευτή*, as being a garden plant.

121.] 'Apio,' E. 6. 68. The endive rejoices in the water it drinks, the banks of the stream rejoice in the parsley. Wund. comp. 2. 112. "litora myrtetis laetissima." 'Tortus per herbam,' winding along the grass. From this and from 'cresceret in ventrem' Tenore (in Keightley) supposes that Virg. refers not to the common cu-

Cresceret in ventrem cucumis ; nec sera comantem
 Narcissum aut flexi tacuisssem vimen acanthi
 Pallentisque hederas et amantis litora myrtos.
 Namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus altis, 125
 Qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus,
 Corycium vidisse senem, cui pauca relictī
 Iugera ruris erant, nec fertilis illa iuvençis,
 Nec pecori opportuna segēs, nec commoda Baccho.

cumber, but to the "cocomero serpentino" which is twice its length, has a crooked neck and swollen belly, and tastes like the melon. Virg., it should be observed, does not talk of growing the 'cucumis' amid the grass, but of its spreading so far from the place where the root is as to ramble any where beyond bounds.

122.] With 'cresceret in ventrem' Forb. comp. *Ōv. M. 2. 479*, "crescere in unguēs," of Callisto's hands in her transformation into a bear; *ib. 5. 547*, "inque caput crescit," of Ascalaphus when changed into an owl. 'Sera comantem:' in a favourable climate the narcissus flowers about the autumnal equinox: *μετὰ ἀπρὸς τοῦτον . . . καὶ περὶ ἰσημερινῶν*, Theophr. *H. P. 6. 6*.

123.] Comp. *E. 3. 45* (note), "mollī acantho."

124.] 'Pallentisque hederas,' *E. 3. 39* note. 'Amantis litora myrtos,' *2. 112, 113*.

125.] 'Oebaliae,' a name of Laconia, usually derived from a mythical king Oebalus is given here, as in *Claud. Prob. et Ol. Cons. 260*, to Tarentum, which was founded by a Laconian colony. There is however considerable doubt about the reading, as 'arcis' is found for 'altis' in *Pal.* and an erasure in one of Ribbeck's cursives, as well as in a quotation in *Arusianus Messius* (*p. 245 Lindemann*), and was probably read by *Philarg.*, *Probus*, [and the *Berne scholia*,] while *Gud.* has the second and third letters of 'altis' in an erasure. 'Oebaliae arcis' would then be the citadel of Tarentum, an expression more in keeping with the ordinary limits of Virgilian licence. *Brunck* and *Heyne* introduced this reading, and *Ribbeck* recalls it. But as 'altis' is read by *Med.* (which originally had 'aut is', *fragm. Vat.*, and most *MSS.*, and supported by *Serv.*, not to mention other authorities, it seems safest to retain it, though it might have been introduced from such passages as *A. 10. 121*.

126.] 'Niger:' "Though the course of
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the Galaesus is short, it is of some depth, and its waters are clear: hence he calls it 'dark,' in opposition probably to the 'flavus' *Tibris*, and other rivers of Italy which were usually turbid" (*Keightley*). A contrast is of course intended between 'niger' and 'flaventia.' Some of the old editions read 'piger,' from a correction of *Scopa*. *Propertius* apparently refers to this passage, *3. 26. 67*, where he describes *Virg.* himself as producing his *Eclogues* "umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi," an epithet which may partially account for 'niger' here, though *Forb.* thinks otherwise.

127.] 'Corycium' from *Coryceus* in Cilicia, which was famous for saffron (*Hor. 2 S. 4. 68*), as Cilicia was for the art of gardening ("Cilicium pomaria," *Mart. 8. 14. 1*). This old man may have been a freedman, or one of the Cilician pirates whom *Pompey* transplanted into *Calabria* (*Suet. ap. Serv.*). 'Relicti,' not inherited (*Burm.*), which would not agree with the old man's being from Cilicia, but land unappropriated marked out in the assignments, either from its undesirableness, as here, or for some other reason. *Forb.* refers to *Frontin. de Limit. p. 42, Goes.*, and quotes *Cic. Agr. 1. 1*, "Utrum tandem hanc silvam in relictis possessionibus, an in censorum pascuis invenistis?" where see *Long's* note.

128.] Contrast *2. 221* foll., which *Virg.* may have had in mind, and for the general characteristics of the country about *Tarentum*, *ib. 197*. 'Fertilis iuvençis' is perhaps to be explained like *Hor. 2 Od. 15. 8*, "olivētis . . . Fertilibus domino priori," yielding produce to or under; but 'iuvençis' may be virtually equivalent to "arando" (as *Heyne* takes it, though apparently regarding it as an ablative, explaining it 'iuvençorum labore, aratione'), 'fruitful for purposes of ploughing.'

129.] 'Commoda,' if not 'opportuna,' may be transferred from human qualities: see on *2. 223*, "facilem pecori et patientem

Hic rarum tamen in dumis holus albaque circum 130
 Lilia verbenasque premens vescumque papaver,
 Regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens
 Nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.
 Primus vere rosam atque autumnop carpere poma,
 Et cum tristis hiemps etiamnum frigore saxa 135
 Rumperet et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum,
 Ille comam mollis iam tondebat hyacinthi,

vomeris unci." 'Seges' is equally applicable to land sown and land intended for sowing. Here it will mean the latter, being applied properly to 'juvencis' and 'Baccho,' as corn-land and vineyard, improperly to 'pecori,' as pasture-land. Ribbeck however reads 'Cereris opportuna,' from a conj. of Salmasius. For the aptitude of the neighbourhood of Tarentum in general for pasturage and vines see Hor. 2 Od. 6. 10, 18.

130.] 'Hic' seems to be the pronoun rather than the adverb. 'Rarum;' 'pangtilo' (pango), Serv.; 'planted in rows or drills,' Keightley. 'In dumis' is probably an exaggerated expression, showing the tendency of the soil against which he had to struggle. 'Holus' is the garden-plants that were used for food, 'garden-stuff' in the language of our peasantry (Keightley). 'Circum,' round the beds of garden-stuff (Heyne).

131.] 'Verbenas,' E. 8. 65, perhaps used here especially of vervain, as Pliny 25. 105. It would then be planted for the sake of the bees (Heyne), and also for medicinal purposes (Martyn). 'Premens,' 2. 346 note. 'Vescum;' see on 3. 175. The reference here is probably to the smallness of the poppy's seeds.

132.] 'Animis,' the reading of the great majority of MSS., including all Ribbeck's, though in one cursive 'is' is written over an erasure, should be retained, as against 'animo,' the sense being, not, as Wagn. supposes, 'he matched in his own imagination the wealth of kings' = he thought himself as rich as a king, but 'he matched the wealth of kings by his spirit' (for 'aequare' with abl. see A. 3. 671, and probably A. 2. 362), i.e. he was as proud of his riches as a king, or his spirit was as high as if he had a king's wealth (Hor. 2 Od. 10. 20, "rebus angustis animosus atque Fortis appare"). Ladewig keeps 'animis,' but connects it, very unnaturally, with 'regum,' 'he thought his wealth as great as the pride of kings,' i.e. as that

which kings are proud of.

133.] 'Dapibus inemptis' is imitated by or from Hor. Epod. 2. 48, "dapes inemptas apparet." 'Onerabat' is to be noted, as expressing the abundance of the produce.

134.] The infin. is not historical, as Heyne and Forb. take it, but depends on 'primus,' as in Sil. 1. 160 (quoted by Forcell.), "Primus inire manu, postremus ponere Martem."

135.] 'Etiamnum' is restored by Wagn. from Med., Pal., and originally Gud., for 'etiam nunc.' Various accounts are given of the distinction between them: Wagn. thinks 'etiam nunc' refers to present, 'etiam num' to past time: Forb., following Kritiz, on Sall. Cat. 2. 1, says that in 'etiam num' the stress is laid on 'etiam,' 'num' being enclitic, while in 'etiam nunc' both words have their proper force; an explanation which, though advanced against Wagn.'s, seems virtually coincident with it; while Hand, Tursell. 2. 580 foll., considers them to be used indiscriminately.

136.] 'Rumperet;' Voss. comp. Afran. (fr. Epistula) v. 106, "silices cum findit gelus." Virg. is thinking rather of the effect of the cold in other places than at Tarentum, where the winter was unusually mild (Hor. 2 Od. 6. 17), as Keightley observes. 'Glacie . . . aquarum;' Germ. comp. Lucr. 6. 530, "Et vis magna geli, magnum duramen aquarum, Et mora, quae fluvios passim refrenat euntis."

137.] The old reading, found in two of Ribbeck's cursives, though in one of them 'hyacinthi' is a second reading, was 'iam tum tondebat acanthi,' which would hardly suit the sense, the 'acanthus' being "semper frondens" (2. 119), whereas the point here is that the old man got his plant to flower before the season. This was pointed out by Heyne, who restored 'iam tondebat hyacinthi' from Med. and some others, a reading previously maintained by Achilles Tatius, Pal. has 'iam

Aestatem increpitans seram zephyrosque morantis.

Ergo apibus fetis idem atque examine multo

Primus abundare et spumantia cogere pressis

140

Mella favis; illi tiliae atque uberrima pinus;

Quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbor

Induerat, totidem autumnio matura tenebat.

Ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos

tum,' though retaining 'hyacinthi,' and so Gud., where 'tum' is inserted above 'iam tundeat' (sic), a spelling which may perhaps help to account for the insertion, though supposed metrical reasons and the variety of ways of spelling 'hyacinthi,' which appears in one of Ribbeck's cursives as 'iachinti' or 'iachinhi,' doubtless contributed to produce the pre-Heynian reading. The commentators explain 'comam' of the flower and 'tondebat' of gathering ("nunc violas tondere manu" Prop. 4. 13. 29).

138.] 'Taunting the spring for its laziness,' as a master might a dilatory servant, whose work he had been obliged to do himself.

139.] 'Fetis' may be either pregnant or just delivered (see on E. 1. 50). Either way the sense is the same, the old man having a swarm of young bees before his neighbours, and either way Virg. is inconsistent with what he says afterwards of the generation of bees. 'Examine multo' is explained by 'fetis.' Pal. has 'idemque.'

140.] 'Pressis favis' would naturally denote squeezing the combs: but the reference may be to straining the honey, v. 101. 'Cogere' v. 231.

141.] [For 'illi' Pal. has 'illic,' a variant recognized in the Berne scholia.—H. N.] The lime-tree is known to be a favourite with bees: Col. (9. 4) recommends it among other trees, as also the pine. For 'tiliae' Med. gives 'tilia,' which hardly seems worth adopting on its single authority. 'Uberrima' might refer either to the luxuriance of the individual trees, or to the numbers in which they grew; but the use of the sing. seems to point rather to the latter. Philarg. says that Virg. left a choice of two readings, 'pinus' and 'tinus,' the latter being a kind of wild bay-tree.

142, 143.] It seems more idiomatic to take 'in flore novo' of the tree than of its fruit. 'Matura' accordingly will belong to 'arbor,' not to 'poma,' the tree being

called ripe in respect of its fruit. 'Tenebat' means 'retained,' 'kept possession of,' not a single blossom being lost, but all turning to fruit in due time. The author of the reading 'legebat,' which appears in one MS., meant the old man to be the subject of the verb, understanding 'matura' as an acc. The tree is said 'inducere se poma,' the fruit being regarded as there potentially, that the reader may understand that the promise was fully given and fully redeemed. At the same time 'in flore novo' serves to explain in what sense 'poma' is used, while it also is virtually equivalent to 'vere novo,' and so answers to 'autumno' as well as to 'matura.'

144.] 'Differo' as applied to trees, plants, &c. means to plant out, implying a removal from a confined space, such as a nursery garden, to a more open one where there is room for growing. Thus it is virtually synonymous with "transfere," though in strictness it has a different sense. See Col. 11. 3, where the word frequently recurs, and comp. the use of "digere," G. 2. 54. 267. Hence it appears that Serv. and Philarg. are right with Martyn and others against Wagn. and Forb. in understanding Virg. to be speaking of transplantation here, a sense which accords admirably with the epithets attached to the several trees, 'searas,' 'eduram,' 'iam pruna ferentia,' 'iam ministrantem,' &c. The peculiarity was that he could remove trees and plant them out when they had arrived at maturity, from which we may infer that in such cases they had been transplanted once already. Wagn.'s objection that we want to know not what the old man did but what he had is frivolous, as the former implies the latter and something more, and his doings have been already spoken of vv. 133, 137, while the counter interpretation, which takes 'distulit' = "dilatatus habuit," and supposes the meaning to be that the gardener had trees in his garden arrived at maturity which

Eduramque pīrum, et spinos iam pruna ferentis, 145
 Iamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.
 Verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis
 Praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.
 Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse

he had planted in his youth, by no means comes up to the studied force of the poet's expressions. (Wagn. apparently now follows the ordinary explanation, rendering 'seras' "quas in aliud solum transferre serum esse videri posset aliis.") 'In versum' = "in ordinem," like, "versu" A. 5. 119, quoted by Serv. 'Versus' is said to be properly a furrow, "a vertendo aratro," whence it comes to be used of a written line. In two of its senses at any rate it answers to *στίγες*. ['In ventum' Pal.—H. N.]

145.] ['Etduram' Pal., whence Ribbeck reads 'eoduram,' which is given in the lemma of the Berne scholia.—H. N.] 'Spinos:' whether the 'spinus' is the thorn, or, as Martyn takes it, the plum-tree, and if the former, whether the 'pruna' are sloes, or plums engrafted on it, seem to be doubtful points. Pal. has 'spinus.'

146.] So Ov. (M. 10. 95) calls the plane-tree "genialis."

147.] Cic. 2 Verr. 1. 56 has "angustiis temporis excluduntur" of persons prevented from doing a thing by the short time allowed, and Caesar B. G. 7. 11 says, "diei tempore exclusus, in posterum opugnationem differt." In the same way Virg. here complains of being cut off by the narrowness of his limits from dilating or expatiating. "Spatio iniquo" occurs A. 5. 203 of sailing, so that we need not suppose the metaphor of the chariot-race to be resumed, unless the plural be thought to make a difference. 'Iniquus' here of injustice by defect, as in l. 164 of injustice by excess. ['Ipsa' Med. originally.—H. N.]

148.] The reading here is not quite certain, some M^{SS}., including one of Ribbeck's cursives, though in an erasure, giving 'post me memoranda,' others 'post haec memoranda,' others 'post commemoranda,' which was adopted by the older editors; others again, including Med., Pal., and Gud., 'post memoranda.' It seems probable that the first is right, as 'me' might easily slip out before 'memoranda,' and those who had the imperfect text before them would supply the missing word

"ex ingenio." The reference in Col. 10 praef. proves nothing, except that he read 'memoranda,' not 'commemoranda.' Serv. says that in 'aliis' Virg. pointed to Gargilius Martialis, who however is quoted by no earlier writer than Palladius, so that, as Martyn remarks, he can hardly have been intended unless Virg. were prophet as well as poet. The task was undertaken by Columella, who accordingly wrote the tenth book of his *De Re Rustica* in verse, at the instance, as he tells us, of his friend Silvinus; but though his prose often runs into poetical phraseology, his poetry is apt to be prosaic. A later writer, the Jesuit Rapin, made a similar attempt at greater length, and so far as can be judged from a quotation in Martyn's note, with greater success, though Heyne, after mentioning Columella with apparent respect, says, "Nam Rapini haec de re insipidum opus in hunc censum non venit." (Mr. Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, vol. 3, pp. 481, 482, judges very favourably of Rapin's work.) Pliny (14. 7) intimates that the real reason why Virg. did not write on flowers was the humbleness of the subject; but this seems a mere arbitrary guess. It is at least as likely that he thought a rural poem could not be extended beyond four books without weariness to himself and his readers, or that he recoiled from the difficulty of minute botanical description. A model he might apparently have found in Nicander: see Introduction to the *Georgics*.

149—169.] 'The nature and habits of bees are unique—a privilege which they owe to their ancient services to Jupiter. With them, and with them alone, the community is every thing. Hence their division of labour, some seeking food abroad, some at home making combs, some training the young, some storing honey, some keeping watch, some taking in burdens, some expelling drones—all working to one end.'

149.] 'Nunc age;' a Lucretian formula of transition (c.g. 1. 265, 921). 'Naturae' of the natural constitution, as in Cic. ad Q. F. 2. 16, "quos situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum," so that it is virtually

Addidit, expediam, pro qua mercede, canoros 160
 Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae,
 Dictae cœli regem pavere sub antro.
 Solae communis natos, consortia tecta
 Urbis habent, magnisque agitant sub legibus ævum,
 Et patriam solae et certos novere penates, 165
 Venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem
 Experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt.

equivalent 'to "indoles," "mores," or "ingenium." The plural is probably used because the word is meant to be taken distributively, as in the passage just cited, though from Cic. N. D. 2. 57, "quod his naturis relatus amplificatus sonus," it would seem that it might express natural qualities, as predicated of any one bee. 'Ipse:' see on 1. 121.

150.] 'Addidit' need mean no more than "indidit;" it seems however from the context to be used in our sense of 'add,' as if the bees had not had their nature originally, but received it afterwards as wages. So "virus serpentibus addidit" (1. 129). 'Naturas' is the object of 'expediam,' 'quas' being simply relative, not quasi-interrogative, which accounts for the indicative 'addidit.' ['Addedit' Gud., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.] On 'pro qua mercede,' for which in more simple writing we should have had "mercedem, propter quod paverant," or something of the kind, Keightley well remarks, "He makes the bees, like men, with whom all through he assimilates them, to labour with a view to the reward, instead of the reward being a thing of which they had no previous conception, and which was given in consequence of their labours."

151.] The story is told by Callimachus, Hymn to Zeus, v. 50, and is referred to by Col. 9. 2, who, in discussing the origin of bees, says "An, ut Euhemerus poeta dicit, crabronibus et sole genitas apes, quas nymphæ Phryxoides educaverunt, mox Dictæo specu Iovis exstitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere dei sortitas, quibus ipsæ parvum educaverant alumnus." As in the next sentence he talks of Virg.'s allusion to the story, it seems possible that the words "pabula munere dei sortitas" may be founded on a misunderstanding of the present passage; but the loss of Euhemerus' work will not allow us to speak with certainty. For the 'Curetum sonitus' see Lucr. 2. 629

follow, who gives a different, but not inconsistent account of the sound, as intended to drown the cries of the infant Jupiter. So Hygin. Fab. 132. For the effect on the bees, see v. 64 above. The office of feeding Jupiter was by others attributed to doves, which carried him ambrosia, and were as a reward turned into stars, the Pleiades. See Od. 12. 63, and the commentators there.

153.] The reference is to a community of children, like that desired by Plato in his Republic, to which Serv. appositely refers. This is accounted for by the fact that the ordinary bees are not parents, as will be seen below. Wagn. restores the form 'natos' for 'gnatos' from Med. a m. sec. and the rest of Ribbeck's MSS. 'Consortia tecta urbis' seems to mean dwellings united into a city, the latter being the emphatic word. Technically 'consortes' mean co-heirs (Festus s. vv. 'disertiones,' 'sors'), though Mr. Long thinks they were so called when they did not divide the "hereditas," but kept it in common. Keightley observes that Virg. in his anxiety to exalt the bees must have forgotten the ants, which the ancients, though erroneously, thought no less examples of social prudence. See on 1. 186.

154.] 'Magnis,' ornamental, like τῶν μεγάλων θεσµῶν Soph. Ant. 797, "magnum fas nefasque" Hor. Epod. 5. 87. 'They live under the majesty of law.' 'Agitare ævum,' A. 10. 235. See on 2. 527 above. Pal. omits 'que.'

155.] "Certi penates," A. 8. 39, like "certa domus" A. 6. 672. Thus 'novere' is more than a mere synonym of "habuere," like "norunt" A. 6. 641, apparently including both the recognition of the principle of patriotism and domestic life, and familiarity with the things themselves.

156.] 'Hiemis memores,' A. 4. 403.

157.] 'In medium:' apparently with 'quaesita,' as 1. 127 would seem to show,

Namque aliae victu invigilant et foedere pacto
 Exercentur agris; pars intra saepta domorum
 Narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten 160
 Prima favis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis
 Suspendunt ceras; aliae spem gentis adultos
 Educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella
 Stipant, et liquido distendunt nectare cellas.
 Sunt, quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti, 165
 Inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,

though it might also be constructed with 'reponunt.'

158.] So Aristot. H. A. 9. 40, διήρηνται δὲ τὰ ἔργα . . . καὶ αἱ μὲν κηρία ἐργάζονται, αἱ δὲ τὸ μέλι, αἱ δ' ἐριθάκην καὶ αἱ μὲν πλάττουσι κηρία, αἱ δὲ ὄσων φέρονσιν εἰς τοὺς κυττάρους καὶ μυχρούσι τῷ μέλιτι, αἱ δ' ἐπ' ἔργον ἔρχονται. The division of labour is of course a clear proof of a common purpose, consciously or unconsciously realized. So 'foedere pacto.' "Venatu invigilant," A. 9. 602.

159.] 'Exercentur agris,' like "exercentur equis," A. 7. 163, except that the ablative here seems to be local. 'Saepta domorum,' like "tuta domorum," A. 11. 882. So perhaps "tectā domorum," A. 8. 98, 12. 132. See Madv. § 284, obs. 5, who rightly observes that the neuter in such expressions is sometimes used partitively, sometimes denotes the quality, if indeed it is not better to say generally that the shades of meaning are nearly as various as in the other uses of the genitive after a substantive.

160.] See on v. 39. 'Lacrimam' is used like δάκρυον in Aristot., there quoted, of that which exudes from flowers, as in Pliny 11. 14, 21. 24, 23. 3, of the exudations of trees, lilies, and vines. Pliny 11. 24 and Theophr. Caus. Pl. 1. 4 (referred to by Keightley) assert that lilies are propagated by these tears. There may be also a reference, as Serv. and Cerda think, to the fate of the mythological Narcissus. Martyn compares Milton's "daffodillies fill their cups with tears," where however the tears, if not a mere development of the image of the cup, may refer to rain or dew.

161.] 'Fundamen' is a variety for "fundamentum," like "augmen" for "augmentum," &c. It is twice used by Ovid.

162.] 'Suspendunt:' "This term is properly used; for bees commence their work in the top of the hive" (Sheridan).

The latter part of this line, the two which follow, and vv. 167—169, are repeated with two or three slight changes A. 1. 431, foll.

163.] 'Educunt,' lead out, teach to fly, to gather honey, &c. It can hardly be, as Heyne understands it, to lead out swarms (Keightley). Serv. explains it "educendo adultos faciunt," which would be quite possible in itself; but the context seems to point to some single act rather than to a long-continued process. ['Durissima' Med. originally for 'purissima.'—H. N.]

164.] The honey is called 'nectar,' like the sweet wine E. 5. 71.

165.] 'Sorti' is probably the archaic form of the ablative, like "parti," "ruri," &c., as "sorti evenisset" is quoted from Livy 29. 20, "sorti victus" from Plaut. Cas. 2. 7. 6. Otherwise, as Heyne remarks, it might very well be the dative, 'as their charge.' Cerda finds fault with the word, which of course cannot strictly be applied to the bees, alleging that the Roman sentinels were not appointed by lot, but succeeded by rotation; but Emm. shows in reply that both principles were observed. If Virg. has any distinct meaning, he may probably intend that the sentry-work falls by lot to the class, but is taken in turn by the individuals ('in vicem'). There may however be a distinction intended between the "custodes," who watch against enemies (such as those mentioned vv. 13 foll.), and the "speculatores," who look out for showers, perhaps flying abroad for the purpose.

166.] See v. 191. The bees always contrive to avoid rain, scarcely any of them being ever caught in a shower, unless from some accidental disablement (Lond. Enc.). 'Aguas' with 'caeli,' like "aquas caelestis," Hor. 3 Od. 10. 19, 2 Ep. 1. 135. Aristot. l. c. says προγινώσκουσι δὲ καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ ὄσων αἱ μέλιτται.

*Aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
Ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent.*

Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.

Ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis

170

Cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras

167.] Virg. may mean, as Keightley thinks, that the sentinels have also the charge of receiving the burdens and driving away the drones; but this looks too like refining. 'Aut . . . aut' doubtless belongs grammatically to "sunt qui," inferred from 'sunt quibus;' but the most natural sense is, that while some are keeping watch, others are receiving, others again expelling.

168.] 'Ignavum pecus,' like "mutum et turpe pecus" Hor. 1. S. 3. 100, "servum pecus" 1 Ep. 19. 19, possibly suggested here, like 'praesepibus,' by the subject of the preceding book. The drones are not expelled, but massacred after the swarms have left the hive. Varro however (3. 16) and Col. (9. 15) agree with Virg.; and Aelian (1. 10) says that the drone is first chastised gently for stealing honey, and afterwards, on repetition of the offence, put to death. With the order of the words in the line comp. v. 246 below, and E. 3. 3.

169.] This sums up the description, directing the attention from the various parts to the whole effect. So at the conclusion of the similar description of the ants, A. 4. 407, "opere omnis semita fervet." With 'redolent . . . mella,' we may compare the concluding clause of other descriptions, e.g. the similes A. 7. 466, 590, 701, where a fact of sight or hearing, as here of smell, is singled out and briefly specified as indicative of the general result. For 'fervet' [fragm. Vat. has 'fervit,' and so Philarg. The Berne scholia say "in Ebrii *fervit*." The form is discussed at great length in Nonius p. 502. —H. N.]

170—196.] 'Like the Cyclopes in Aetna, some blowing the bellows, some tempering the metal, each bee is zealous in his own work; the old stay at home, building up the combs, the younger fly abroad, gather honey all day, and return laden at night: all rise together to work: all return together, and sleep simultaneously. In stormy weather they do not fly as usual, but remain about the hive or try short flights, ballasting themselves with little pebbles.'

170.] This simile is defended against the charge of exaggeration by Pope (Postscript to *Odyssey*) on the ground that the sense of disproportion is moral as well as intellectual, and so is applicable only to the inflated vanity of rational beings, not to irrational animals, which cannot be made objects of censure; by Heyne, with the remark that the point of the simile lies in the work done, and that the bees are intended to gain by the juxtaposition. Neither criticism appears satisfactory: the first seems to assume, what is certainly not the case, that in order to condemn the poet we must feel a personal resentment against the objects which he exaggerates, as being "participes criminis;" the latter ignores the fact that it is the comparison of bees to Cyclopes under any circumstances that is objected to, because the sense of what they have in common is borne down and overwhelmed by the sense of their utter difference. It is true that the similarity of bees and men is a thought which, judiciously or injudiciously, is made to run throughout the poem; but the step from human labour to the gigantic exertions of demigods is a considerable one, and is to be excused only by supposing, as has been already intimated on v. 86, that Virg. here and elsewhere is more or less consciously mock-heroic. 'Massa' seems to be the lump of ore, including both metal and slag. "Stringere venas Ferventis massae crudo de pulvere iussit," Pers. 2. 68. The thunderbolts here seem to be formed of iron or some other metal, not, as in A. 8. 426 foll., which should be compared, of less ponderable materials. Pal. has 'lente.'

171.] 'Properant:' because unremitting industry is part of the point of the comparison. We may suppose the Cyclopes to be labouring to meet a sudden demand from Jupiter. The rest of the line and the four that follow are repeated almost verbally A. 8. 449 foll., where the Cyclopes set themselves to making armour for Aeneas with unusual speed, dividing the labour. ['Properent' with acc. is illustrated by Philarg. from Plautus, "pro-

Accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
 Aera lacu; gemit inpositis incudibus Aetna;
 Illi inter sese magna vi braccia tollunt
 In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum : 175
 Non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis,
 Cecropias innatus apes amor urguet habendi,
 Munere quamque suo. Grandaevis oppida curae,
 Et munire favos, et daedala fingere tecta :
 At fessae multa referunt se nocte minores, 180

perant prandium."—H. N.] "Conclusas hircinis follibus auras," Hor. l. 8. 4. 19.

172.] Perhaps from Od. 9. 391, ὥς δ' ὄτρ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἢ ἐσκέπαρνον εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτει μεγάλα ἰδχοντα. Forb. refers to Lucr. 6. 148, where the phenomenon is described.

173.] It seems better to understand "lacus" of a trough standing by for the purpose than to suppose it with Heyne to be used poetically for "aqua," like "fons." See Forcell., who shows that it was used not only in the vineyard but in the oliveyard. But Ameis may be right in giving it its ordinary sense, as if nothing smaller than a lake or pool would suit such gigantic operations. 'Inpositis' is explained by Voss, placed on the block, ἀκρόβητον, but it is far better and simpler to suppose Virg. merely to mean that the mountain groans beneath the weight of the anvils. For 'Aetna' Pal., fragm. Vat., and several MSS. give 'antrum,' seemingly from A. 8. 451.

174.] The description seems to be from Callim., Hymn to Artemis, vv. 59–61, where the Cyclopes are represented σιδηρον Ἀμβολαδὸς τετυπόντες. The appropriateness of the rhythm need hardly be adverted to.

175.] 'In numerum,' "We not only seek to gratify [the ear] when bent on recreation, but even in the midst of the hardest labour we gratify it if we can. . . . Two paviors driving down stones bring down their mallets alternately, and so do working engineers when they are forging a bar." Wilson's Five Gateways of Knowledge, quoted in Bull's Sense Denied and Loet, pp. 32, 33. Dict. A. 'Mal-leus,' speaks of striking in turns as a matter of necessity when several men are employed at the same anvil. [The Berne scholia mention a variant 'forcipe' for 'forcipe': "forcipe in Ebrii, et forcipe in Cornelian. Forcipes dictus a forno

(forno?) id est calido." As Paulus has a similar gloss (Fest. p. 84 M.) which recurs in Nonius p. 531, Philarg. here, and Charis. p. 94 (Keil), we may again perhaps infer that 'Ebrii' stands for 'Verrii.'—H. N.]

176.] Comp. E. 1. 23.

177.] 'Non aliter urguet,' acts similarly as a stimulus, i.e. makes them work as hard. 'Cecropias' is a literary epithet, but it is applied intentionally, to invest the bees with the dignity of the old mythical and historical associations of one of the chief honey-making countries, the reference being to Hymettus, and so to show that the comparison, for which an apology has just been made, is not altogether extravagant. 'Amor habendi' again exalts the bees by attributing to them a human passion, though one which is more generally blamed than praised (A. 8. 327). ['Urguet' Med.—H. N.]

178.] 'Munere suo' seems to be a modal abl., belonging not so much to any thing expressed in the sentence as to the notion of working implied in 'non aliter urguet.' 'Grandaevis:' the same division is noticed by Aristot. l. c. τῶν δὲ μελιτῶν αἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεραι τὰ εἶσω ἐργάζονται, καὶ δασεῖαι εἰσι διὰ τὸ εἶσω μένειν· αἱ δὲ νέαι ἐξωθεν φέρουσι, καὶ εἰσι λεϊότεραι. There is also a reference, as Serv. remarks, to the custom of setting the old men to man the walls while the young go out and fight.

179.] 'Munire' for "fabricari," keeping up the image of a town. This seems simpler than to suppose the reference to be to the fencing of the hive, or to the closing of the cells with wax so as to preserve the winter-stores. For 'fingere' one MS. has 'figere:' see on v. 57. The epithet 'daedala' is well known to the readers of Luor.

180.] 'Multa nocte' must mean when the night is far advanced, an inappro-

Crura thymo plenae; pascuntur et arbuta passim
 Et glaucas salices casiamque crocumque rubentem
 Et pinguem tiliam et ferrugineos hyacinthos.
 Omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus:
 Mane ruunt portis; nusquam mora; rursus easdem 185
 Vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis
 Admonuit, tum tecta petunt, tum corpora curant;
 Fit sonitus, mussantque oras et limina circum.
 Post, ubi iam thalamis se composuere, siletur
 In noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus. 190
 Nec vero a stabulis pluvia inpendente recedunt

priate expression here, as the bees, like all other animals, hasten home before it is dark. Keightley. Stat. Ach. 1. 555, quoted by Cerda, expresses himself more accurately, "quales iam nocte propinqua E pastu referuntur apes;" and so Virg. himself v. 186. Mr. Blackburn however replies that Virg. need only mean 'late' relatively to the bees.

181.] 'Plenus' has here rather the force of "repletus," as Keightley remarks, comparing Hor. 1 Ep. 20. 8., 2. 1. 100. 'Pascuntur,' 3. 314. 'Pascuntur' in order of time would precede 'referunt.' The sense is merely that the old bees stay at home, the young gather honey abroad.

182.] 'Salices,' E. 1. 55. 'Casiam,' 2. 213. 'Crocum,' called 'rubentem' here, χρυσάυρης by Soph. Oed. C. 685, referred to by Cerda. The three divisions of the style, Martyn remarks, are of the colour of fire. Col. (9. 4) directs it to be planted near the hive to colour and scent the honey. [Nonius p. 202 observes that Sallust in the second book of the Histories used 'crocum' as a neut., and quotes this line of Virg. as an instance of the masc. This note is repeated in Serv. and the Berne scholia on this passage.—H. N.]

183.] 'Tiliam,' v. 141, here called 'pinguem' from the gluten on its leaves. 'Ferrugineos,' note on l. 467.

184.] Some MSS. connect 'operum' with 'labor,' but 2. 155, A. 1. 455, where the combination occurs, are, as Forb. remarks, not in point. "Mors laborum ac miseriarum quies est." Cic. 4. Cat. 4.

185.] 'Ruunt portis' again recalls military associations. Jacobs comp. Livy 27. 41, "equites peditesque certatim portis ruere." ['Numquam' Pal. for 'nusquam.'—H. N.]

186.] 'E pastu decedere,' 1. 381.

187.] 'Corpora curant,' referring to the evening refreshment, A. 3. 511, Hor. 2 S. 2. 80: "curare corpora cibo somnoque," Livy 3. 2. Serv. observes that as applied to men it includes bathing as well as eating; as applied to bees, only the latter.

188.] 'Musso,' the frequentative of "mutio," a verb formed from the sound, like the Greek μύζω, is here applied to the humming of bees, as in A. 11. 454 to the murmuring of the old men of Latium. In A. 11. 345, 12. 657, 718, it has the notion of hesitation, the implied contrast being with articulate utterance, and as such it takes in the former passage an infinitive, in the two latter a subjoined clause. [See Nonius p. 427 and Philarg. here.—H. N.] 'Oras' of the entrances: see on v. 38. Aristot. l. c. adds a circumstance to Virg.'s description: ἐλθοῦσαι πάλιν θορυβοῦσι τὸ πρῶτον, κατὰ μικρὸν δ' ἤττον, ὥς ἂν μία περιπετομένη βομβήσῃ, ὥσπερ σημαίνουσα καθεῦδεν· εἰτ' ἐξαπίνης σιωποῦσιν.

189.] 'Thalamis:' Jacobs comp. Anti-phil. Ep. 29, μελισσῶν αὐτοπαγῆς θαλάμῃ: Nicias Ep. 7, κηροπαγῆς θάλαμος.

190.] 'Sopor suus' is probably to be explained like "vere suo," v. 22, 'the sleep they need,' 'kindly sleep,' the chord being as it were struck by the epithet 'fessos,' though it is conceivable that 'suus' may have a distributive force, as if it had been "cuique suus." With the former interpretation Forb. well comp. Ov. M. 6. 489, "placido dantur sua corpora somno," where the relation is reversed.

191.] 'Nec vero' seems to mark a transition, as in 2. 109, there being no particular connexion of this and the following notices of the habits of bees with

Longius, aut credunt caelo adventantibus Euris;
 Sed circum tutae sub moenibus urbis aquantur,
 Excursusque brevis temptant, et saepe lapillos,
 Ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante saburram, 195
 Tollunt, his sese per inania nubila librant.
 Illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,
 Quod neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes
 In Venerem solvunt, aut fetus nixibus edunt;
 Verum ipsae e foliis natos et suavis herbis 200
 Ore legunt, ipsae regem parvosque Quirites
 Sufficiunt, aulasque et cerea regna retingunt.

the preceding description, or with each other. 'Stabulis,' v. 14. Aratus (Dioscor. 296) mentions the indisposition of bees to fly far among the signs of rain.

192.] 'Credere' is understood by Serv. and Keightley as if it were "se credere," like "ausus se credere caelo," A. 6. 15; "dubio se credere caelo," Quint. Decl. 13. 17; but it is simpler to understand it in the ordinary way, of trusting to the aspect of the sky, like "caelo et pelago confisae sereno," A. 5. 870.

193.] 'Circum,' round the hive, explained by 'sub moenibus urbis.' ['Totae' Pal. for 'tutae.'—H. N.] Some MSS. of Priscian 8. 79 read 'pro moenibus,' but 'sub' is given from others by Keil, and is supported by Non. p. 87, an older authority.

194.] The fact of bees ballasting themselves with stones is mentioned by Aristot. H. A. 9. 40, and other ancient writers.

195.] Med. originally had 'stabiles.'

196.] The spondee 'tollunt,' followed by a pause, expresses the difficulty of rising into the air so ballasted, as Wagn. remarks. 'Inania' is an ordinary epithet used here to account for the need of ballast. Voss well compares "nubes et inania capiet," Hor. A. P. 230, though he erroneously understands the epithet here to mean rainless clouds.

197—209.] 'Bees do not generate like other animals, but find their young among the flowers. Their ardour in their honey-getting work is such, that they often expose themselves to accidental death while engaged in it. In any case they are short-lived, seven years being their limit, yet the race ever goes on.'

197.] This or a similar opinion on a very vexed question was held by others

of the ancients: see Aristot. H. A. 5. 21, Pliny 11. 46. 'Adeo' apparently emphasizes 'illum:' see on E. 4. 11.

198.] 'Quod neque' is restored by Wagn. from Rom., Pal., and other MSS. for 'Quod nec,' as more in accordance with Virg.'s usual practice in the latter part of the first foot of a hexameter, the only undoubted instance on the other side being A. 5. 783, "Quam nec longa dies, pietas nec mitigat ulla," where, as he thinks, the slowness of the measure suits the feeling of the passage.

199.] For 'nixibus' Ribbeck's MSS. generally give 'nexusibus:' 'nixibus' however was read by Serv., and is identical with the corrected reading of Gud., 'nisi-bus,' and Wagn. rightly observes that Virg. is speaking in this clause of the female alone. We shall find a similar variety in A. 1. 448.

200.] 'Ipsae,' without the male. 'Suavis,' the plants from which they gather honey. Aristot. (l. c.) says that of those who held this opinion some said the young bees were found in the cerintha, some on reeds, some on olive-blossoms. Pal. leaves out 'e,' and with Med. gives a second 'e' for 'et,' which Ribbeck adopts.

201.] 'Quirites' is a step farther than the poet has yet taken, investing the commonwealth of bees not merely with the dignity of men, but with the glories of the Roman people. Seneca (Thyest. 396) makes his chorus of Argives speak of a country life as "nullis nota Quiritibus."

202.] 'Sufficiunt,' 3. 65. 'Refringunt' is the reading of Med., and other MSS., perhaps Serv. [and Philarg., and certainly the Berne scholia], but 'refringunt' is read by Rom. and confirmed by Pal.

Saepe etiam duris errando in cotibus alas
 Attrivere, ultroque animam sub fasce dedere :
 Tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis. 205
 Ergo ipsas quamvis angusti terminus aevi
 Excipiat (neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas),

'relingunt,' and seems intrinsically the better word, though Forc. gives only one other instance of its use, from Apuleius. The preparation of new cells or renewal of the old ones seems to be mentioned as a natural pendant to the renovation of the race, so that the process which brings about the latter is associated with the former also.

203—205.] Sir Daniel Molyneux suggested to Martyn that these three lines ought to follow v. 196, and Schrader, Heyne, Forb., and Keightley incline to agree with him. Wagn. thinks they did not belong to the original draught, but were written afterwards; a theory which he applies to other passages in the Georgics. There is certainly great apparent awkwardness in the present passage as it stands; but either of the two hypotheses would be very hazardous. Wagn.'s other instances appear to break down, the only cases made out as probable being such as 2. 171 foll., 3. 32, where the insertion, if it be an insertion, is not an excrescence on the poem, but carefully rendered homogeneous with it: while it may be doubted whether there is any other instance in Virg., the general integrity of whose text is quite beyond suspicion, where it can be shown to be really likely that lines have been transposed. Perhaps we are wrong in seeking for any close connexion in a context like this, where, as has been remarked on v. 191, the various notices of the habits of bees seem to be rather isolated from each other. If it is necessary to discover a link, it may be suggested that the mention of the constant succession reminded Virg. of the accidents which carry off bees before their time, in themselves a proof of the energy of the race, and that thence he was led to observe that in spite of the frequency of such accidents and the scanty lives enjoyed by individuals in any case, the line was inextinguishable. Bryce supposes the connexion to be, that though they have not the ordinary inducement to provide for their young, they still work indefatigably, risking and even sacrificing their lives, a thing only to be explained

by their love of their occupation. But Virg. evidently supposes them to rear their young, whether they generate them or no; and moreover the interpretation is confessedly open to the objection that it supposes vv. 206 foll. to be unconnected with what precedes. 'Errando,' so Chapman's Homer, II. 2. 401: "thick as swarms of flies Throng then to sheep-cotes, when each swarm his erring wing applies To milk dew'd on the milkmaid's pails."

204.] 'Ultro' is explained by Wagn. as = "insuper" or "adeo," a sense easily reconcilable with its etymology, and applicable to its use elsewhere. But it may be doubted whether it is not rather to be understood here, as in E. 8. 52, and many other passages in Virg., 'gratuitously,' 'of their own accord,' which is as readily connected with the derivation from the supposed "ulter," the action being beyond what was expected. The death of the bees may be considered as gratuitous, or what is the same thing, generous, being encountered in the public service. (So also Ameis.) The death is doubtless meant to be the result of the injury to the wings, so that 'sub fasce' may express not only the effect of the load in helping to destroy life, but the constancy of the sufferer in refusing to part with his burden. 'Fasce,' 3. 347. 'Animam dedere': "vitam dare" occurs A. 9. 704, "edere animam" Cic. Pro Seest. 38.

205.] Comp. 2. 301, 3. 112.

206.] 'Ergo' seemingly calls back the mind to the main thought of the preceding context, the propagation of the race of bees. See instances of a similar use of the word in Hand, Turs. 2. 462, 463. 'Ipsas' distinguished from 'genus.' A former reading 'angustus' has little or no authority. [Pal. gives 'anguste terminus aevi.'—H. N.]

207.] 'Excipiat' is explained by Heyne, probably enough, after the analogy of λαβείν and λαχέειν used of fortune as befalling a person, the force of the preposition being that the fortune in question succeeds to some supposed previous state;

At genus immortale manet, multosque per annos
 Stat Fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum.
 Praeterea regem non sic Aegyptos et ingens 210
 Lydia, nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes
 Observant. Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est;
 Amisso rupere fidem, constructaque mella

but it may have a distinct reference to the term of their life as receiving them at their birth, a sense illustrated in note on 2. 345. In A. 3. 317, 318, to which Heyne refers, the succession is not implied, but expressed in the words "delectam coniuge tanto." Aristot. (H. A. 5. 22) gives six or seven years as the ordinary limit of their life, nine or ten as the extreme. 'Plus septima:' it seems doubtful whether the omission of the comparative particle, which is as common in Greek as in Latin, is an abbreviation arising from constant colloquial use, or a relic of a time when comparison may have been expressed by simple juxtaposition. This latter view may seem to have some probability, if we consider what is the meaning of the various forms by which comparison is expressed in some of the best known languages. 'Quam' means in such a way as; 'minor est quam tu,' he is less viewed in reference to you, judged by your standard. So 'als,' 'wie,' in German, *als* in such phrases as *μᾶλλον ὥς ἐμὸν γὰρ*. Our 'than,' as Latham says, is 'then'—'he is less, then you.' With *ἤ* the solution would seem to be 'he is less, viewed as an alternative to you.' The genitive and ablative are cases of reference.

208.] For 'at' Rom has 'et,' and so apparently Philarg.

209.] 'Fortuna domus' was a favourite expression in the imperial period for the destiny or star of the reigning family; a notion which, as Heyne remarks, may illustrate Virg.'s use of the words, though to suppose any connexion between the two would be an anachronism. The word 'Fortuna' was already in use to express the destiny of the Roman people; and to this at any rate Virg. may very well be supposed to allude, as in A. 1. 454, "quae Fortuna sit urbi;" 11. 345, "quid Fortuna ferat populi." 'Stat Fortuna' may be further illustrated by A. 3. 16, "dum Fortuna fuit;" 7. 413, "sed Fortuna fuit," where the destinies of the cities Troy and Ardea are respectively spoken of. 'Avi numerantur avorum'

expresses retrospectively what is expressed prospectively by 'genus immortale manet.'

210—218.] 'Their submission to their monarch is more than oriental. Social order with them is bound up with his life: they guard him, carry him, and die for him.'

211.] The older Romans, like the Greeks (e.g. Aesch.), draw their notions of absolute monarchy from the eastern nations. The selection of 'Aegyptos' will need no comment to one who recollects that the battle of Actium was fought about the time that Virg. was finishing the Georgics. 'Ingens Lydia' is doubtless meant to recall the *μεγάλη ἀρχή* of Croesus, as the epithet, inapplicable to a later period, might be sufficient to show. ['Ludia' Rom.—H. N.]

212.] The Parthians kissed the ground when approaching their king. Cerda refers to Marcial 10. 72. 5, "Ad Parthos procul ite pillesatos, Et turpes humilesque supplicesque Pictorum sola basiate regum," where the whole epigram illustrates the antipathy to despotism as oriental and un-Roman. 'Medus Hydaspes' is another geographical inaccuracy, voluntary or involuntary, on Virg.'s part (see on E. 1. 63, 66, 2. 24), as it is evidently the word 'Medus' which gives the point, suggesting the associations of Persian royalty, so that even if it could be shown, as has been attempted, that the river rises within the limits of Persia, it would not make the expression a proper one. With the substitution of the river for the nation Cerda comp. Lucan 1. 19, "Sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes," where "Hydaspes" is actually read by Bentley. Comp. also 2. 225, 226, "Talem arat . . . Clanius."

213.] Germanus sees in this line a direct allusion to a Persian custom of allowing an interregnum of eight days between the death of a king and the accession of his successor, that the nation might taste the evils of anarchy. Whatever may be thought of this, the language of Virg. may be illustrated by

Diripuerunt ipsae et cratis solvere favorum.

Ille operum custos, illum admirantur, et omnes 215

Circumstant fremitu denso stipantque frequentes,

Et saepe attollunt umeris, et corpora bello

Obiectant, pulchramque petunt per volnera mortem.

His quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti

Esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus 220

Aesch.'s description of the dissolution of order impending on Xerxes' overthrow, Pers. 591, Οὐδ' ἐτι γλώσσα βροτοῖσιν 'Εν φυλακαῖς· λέλυται γὰρ λαὸς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν, 'Ὅς ἐλύθη (ὅγν) ἀλκᾶς. 'Constructa' seems to refer rather to the honey-combs than to the honey, the same thing which is expressed immediately afterwards by 'cratis favorum.'

214.] 'Cratis' from the resemblance of the holes in the comb to wicker-work, as Pind. Pyth. 6. 54, quoted by Cerda, talks of μελισσᾶν τρητὸν πόνον. There may perhaps be a reference to Eastern armies, on the death of their leader, plundering their own camp, as Keightley suggests, citing however no instance of the fact.

215.] 'Operum custos:' other writers speak of the queen bee as regulating the work of the others. Cerda cites Xen. Oec. 7. §§ 33 foll., Aelian 5. 11, and Pliny 11. 53. Comp. the description of Dido A. 1. 507, "operumque laborum Partibus aequabat iustis, aut sorte trahebat." The occupations of the Carthaginians had been compared to those of bees in a previous passage, so that if Virg. had been aware of the sex of the monarch, he would perhaps have made it a point in the comparison. The first reading of Med. was "ille admiratur."

217.] Δέγεται δὲ καὶ φέρεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱσμοῦ, θναὸν πέτεσθαι μὴ δύνηται, Aristot. H. A. 9. 40. This takes place, according to other rustic writers, when the monarch is sick, aged, or tired. Cerda, who refers to them, compares the custom of the Roman soldiers taking up their commander on their shields and proclaiming him emperor. 'Bello' with 'obiectant.' Pal. has 'pectora' for 'corpora.'

218.] 'Pulchram . . . mortem' repeated A. 11. 647. 'Per' apparently signifies not by means of, but, as we should say, through a shower of wounds.

219—227.] 'These human qualities have led some to think that bees are in-

spired by the "anima mundi," which runs through all creation, animal life, when apparently extinguished, being really transferred to the stars.'

219.] Virg. seems to confuse, rather characteristically, two classes of thinkers, those who from the special qualities of the bees consider them to be specially gifted with divine wisdom, like Aristot. de Gener. Anim. 3. 10 (quoted by Cerda), who says of wasps and hornets οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲν θεῖον, ὥσπερ τὸ γένος τῶν μελιττῶν, and those who believe them in common with all the rest of creation, animate and inanimate, to be inspired by the "anima mundi." The former doctrine seems to be that which he rejects l. 415, as applied to the rejoicing of rooks after a storm, at least if we may press the word "maior" there, which seems to discriminate it from the "anima mundi" view, though he may very well have confounded the two there as here. The latter doctrine, which, as Heyne says was originally Pythagorean, and was accepted with different modifications by the Platonists and Stoics, is the same which Anchises is made to expound A. 6. 724 foll. Here Virg. merely mentions it, neither adopting nor disapproving. The union of the instrumental or modal ablative 'his signis' with the participle 'haec exempla secuti' is illustrated by Wund. from the union of the abl. abs. with the participle, in such sentences as 'Hannibal . . . obsidibus acceptis et commentu usus . . . sequitur.' Livy 21. 34, a usage, as he remarks, found in Greek no less than in Latin.

220.] 'Partem divinae mentis,' as Hor. 2 S. 2. 79, comp. by Cerda, calls the human soul "divinae particulam auras." This Virg. goes on to express further by saying that they breathe not merely common air, but pure ether, which was supposed to be liquid flame, the essence of the human soul,—"purum . . . Aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem," A. 6. 746.

Aetherios dixere; deum namque ire per omnis
 Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
 Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
 Quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere vitas;
 Scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri
 Omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
 Sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.

225

Si quando sedem angustam servataque mella
 Thesauris relines, prius haustu sparsus aquarum

221.] Cerda comp. Arat. Phaen. 2. μέσση δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγνῳαί, Πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μυστή δὲ θάλασσα καὶ λιμένες, where however the divine spirit is said to permeate not so much all parts of nature as all parts of the inhabited globe. Ribbeck reads 'omnia' from a conj. of Peerlkamp's, approved by Lachm. on Lucr. 1. 1106.

222.] Repeated from E. 4. 51. For 'terrasque' Med. a m. s. has 'terrarum,' which might be urged in support of 'omnia.'

223.] "Inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum," A. 6. 728. ['Hic' Rom. for 'hinc.'—H. N.]

224.] 'Tenuis vitas:' "animos, quippe aetheriae naturae" (Heyne). ['Accersere' Rom.—H. N.]

225.] 'Scilicet' seems to continue the explanation.

227.] The commentators can scarcely be right in taking 'sidus' as a kind of noun of multitude, so as to interpret 'sideris in numerum,' 'joining the number of the stars.' The nearest parallel to such a use would be "corporis augebit numerum" Lucr. 1. 436, where see Munro: there however "corpus" is used abstractedly, as we might talk of 'the sum of Body,' which cannot be the case with 'sidus' here. But 'numerus' is not unfrequently used as i. q. "locus," being joined in this sense with a singular as well as with a plural genitive, as in Cic. Div. in Caec. 19, "cum is tibi parentis numero fuisset." See also on A. 7. 211. Thus the meaning would be, 'each flies up into the place of a star,' the reference being partly to the Pythagorean doctrine that each planet was animated by an individual soul (Plato, Timaeus 38, E), partly to the mythological belief that human beings and other animals were changed into constellations. But it would be simpler if we could accept one of the glosses of Philarg.

"in numerum: id est, in modum" (another gives "sideris: prosiderum"), taking 'numerus' to signify part or function, a sense which might be illustrated, if not established, by the expression "omnes numeri," so as to make Virg. mean no more than that the departed life flew to heaven like a star or meteor. For 'succedere' Rom. has 'se condere,' of which Heyne thought the common reading might possibly be an interpretation; but the variation is easily accounted for as a transcriber's error.

228—250.] 'When you want to take the honey, disarm the bees, which will otherwise be violent and dangerous, by personal cleanliness and the application of smoke to the hive. There are two times for this, in spring and in autumn. If you wish to spare them, at all events fumigate the hive that you may remove the useless combs, and so preserve them from vermin. Taking the honey will stimulate them to repair the loss.'

228.] It is difficult to decide between 'angustam,' the reading of Rom., and 'augustam,' which is supported by Serv., and by Med., Pal., and Gud. The latter is to a certain extent confirmed by 'thesauris,' though scarcely, as has been thought, by the latter part of the sentence, where there would be no relevancy between the grandeur of the abode of the bees and the means recommended for storming it. If it be adopted, a mock-heroic contrast must be supposed between the assumed importance of the bees and the easiness of their capture, like that in vv. 86, 87. But on the whole Wagn. and Forb. seem right in preferring 'angustam,' which suits best with the simplicity of a practical precept, and is not irrelevant to the process of rifting the hive.

229.] 'Relino' is the technical word for opening casks by undoing the pitch with which they were fastened. "Relievi

Ora fove, fumosque manu praetende sequacis.
 Bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis,
 Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum

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colia omnia, omnes serias," Ter. Haut. 3. 1. 51. The removal of the honey from the cells is supposed to be an analogous process, on account of the sticky nature of the wax and gluten (vv. 39 foll.). 'Thesauris' with 'servata.' Pal. gives 'thensauri,' which Ribbeck adopts.

230.] Col. (9. 14) says that the person who is to take the honey ought to have bathed, and to have abstained from any thing that would taint the breath. It is natural then with Wund. to take 'ora fove' of rinsing the mouth, the process being the same as would take place in fomentation, though the object is different. We have already had "ora foveat" (2. 135) of cleansing the breath, without any reference to ablution, the force of the word there, as is remarked in the note, being that of medical application; while both are combined in A. 12. 420, "Fovitea volnus lymphæ." Virg., we may remember has other uses of 'fove,' which may be characterized as rather strained or indefinite (e.g. 3. 420, and v. 43 above), and a certain circumlocution is natural in a poet speaking of a somewhat undignified action. 'Sparsus,' which has occasioned some difficulty, has doubtless a quasi-middle force, while its application is limited by 'ora' and 'haustu.' The mouth of course would be sprinkled in squirting out the water or in taking the mouthful. The old reading before Heins. was 'haustus . . . ore.' Gud. has 'haustus,' Rom. and Pal. 'ore;' but the latter need only point to a variant, 'ore fave,' read by Med. a m. p., and Canon., and by Philarg., noticed by Serv. [and the Berne scholia], and in later times adopted by Brunck, as if the poet had meant to invest his precept with a ritual air. 'Ora fove' is the corrected reading of Med., found also in one of Ribbeck's cursives and in another over an erasure, and, as explained above, seems satisfactory. Yet Ribbeck may be right in recalling 'ore fove,' which was certainly read by Serv. [and the Berne scholia], who supply, as the subject of 'fove,' "ipsos haustus." Neither this interpretation of the words, however, nor any other that has been suggested, carries conviction with it, as Ribbeck admits. 'Fumos:' the smoke seems to have been intended not to

stupefy the bees, but to drive them away, as appears from Col. 9. 15 and other writers on the subject, as well as from Virg.'s own simile A. 12. 587. This gives force to 'sequacis.' Pal. has 'sinu' for 'manu.'

231.] This and the four following lines are thrown in as it were parenthetically, but that is no reason for changing the arrangement of the passage with Schrader and Keightley, the former of whom would place them after v. 238, while the latter accepting this, would also transpose vv. 239—247 and vv. 248—250. 'Bis gravidos cogunt fetus' is rightly explained by Serv. "gemina est fecunditas mellis," 'fetus' being used generally for produce of all sorts, and 'gravidos' coupled with it as with "fruges" (2. 143, 424), while 'cogere' is used of gathering and collecting, like "cogere oleam," Cato 65, 66, of gathering olives, perhaps with a further sense of squeezing the combs, as in v. 140. Pal. reads 'flores' for 'fetus,' a variant noticed and approved by Philarg., but apparently introduced by some one who mistook the sense, supposing 'cogunt' to be said not of the bee-keepers but of the bees. Virg. calls the gathering of the honey, the technical term for which, "vindemiatio," itself contains a metaphor, 'messis': as in 2. 410 he uses "metere" of gathering the grapes. Aristot. (H. A. 9. 40) and other rustic writers agree with Virg. in fixing two seasons for collecting the honey; but Varro (3. 16) makes three, one at the rising of the Pleiades, a second just before the rising of Arcturus, a third after the setting of the Pleiades, and so Didymus in Geop. 15. 5.

232.] The heliacal rising of the Pleiades is the one intended, supposed to be about the beginning of May: see Geop. 1. c. Wund. says it is now generally understood that the Pleiades are invisible from the end of April to the middle of June, a fact which he supports by Hesiod, W. and D. 385, where however Götting, after Ideler, makes the forty days spoken of extend from the second week in April, when they are said to set heliacally, to the third week in May, when they rise again. Taygete, one of the Pleiades, stands for the rest, and is described as a nymph, as the Bull and Dog are described as animals 1. 217.

Plias et Oceani spretos pede reppulit amnis,
 Aut eadem sidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi
 Tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas.
 Illis ira modum supra est, laesaeque venenum
 Morsibus inspirant, et spicula caeca relinquunt
 Adfixae venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.
 Sin duram metues hiemem parcesque futuro,

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[‘Taugeto’ Pal. and Rom.—H. N.] ‘Os honestum,’ like “caput honestum,” 2. 392. ‘Os ostendit honestum,’ like “extulit os sacrum caelo,” A. 8. 591, of the morning star.

233.] ‘Plias’ (Med. Gud.), or ‘Pleas’ (Pal.), is the correct orthography, ‘Pleias’ (Rom.) being a trisyllable. ‘Oceani amnis:’ Homer’s Ὠκεανὸς ποταμός. ‘Pede reppulit’ is the action of a person springing into the air from the ground, as in Ov. M. 4. 711, comp. by Burm., “pedibus tellure repulsa Arduus in nubes abiit.” With ‘spretus,’ which seems here to have a half-physical sense, like our ‘spurn,’ comp. Hor. 3 Od. 2. 24, “Spernit humum fugiente penna.”

234.] The reference is to the morning setting of the Pleiades, already mentioned 1. 221, where see note. The ‘sidus Piscis aquosi’ seems rightly explained by Wund. and Voss, after Cerda and Catrou, not of the star called the Southern Fish, a notion which has led several writers on the passage into error and perplexity, nor, as others have thought, of the Dolphin, Scorpion, or Hydra, but of the zodiacal sign ‘Pisces’ (comp. Ov. M. 10. 165, “Piscique Arias succedit aquoso”), ‘sidus Piscis’ being put generally for the winter, which is just coming on when the Pleiades set, though actually the sun does not enter Pisces till the latter part of the winter. With the expression ‘sidus Piscis’ comp. “sub sidere Caneri,” E. 10. 68. This rainy season the Pleiades are said to avoid by disappearing under the sea, ‘tristior,’ an epithet applied to bad weather (e.g. v. 135 above), being meant also to indicate that they depart as it were disconcerted.

236.] He speaks of the danger in taking the honey from the anger of the bees, which is to be avoided by the precautions mentioned above. So in the simile above referred to from A. 12. 589, “Illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra Discurrunt, magnisque acunt stridoribus iras.” ‘Modum supra:’ “praeter” and “extra modum” are also used.

237.] ‘Morsibus’ used improperly for

the stings. ‘Inspirant venenum’ like “inspires ignem,” A. 1. 692.

238.] The meaning is, as Mr. Munro observes, they fasten on the veins so firmly that to get away they are forced to leave their stings behind them. Virg. however has chosen by the order of the words to remind us of ‘adfixae venis’ (itself read by some MSS., including originally one of Ribbeck’s cursives). The expression is doubtless borrowed, as Heyne remarks, from Lucr. 5. 1322, “Morsibus adfixae validis atque unguibus uncis,” though the construction is different. ‘In vulnere’ is read by Rom., Gud., &c. [‘in vulnere’ by Nonius p. 232, Asper here as quoted by the Berne scholia, Serv. and Med.] ‘In vulnere’ seems better, whether it be understood ‘in the act of wounding,’ or literally ‘in the wound,’ a view confirmed by Sil. 12. 386 (quoted by Cerda), “Alternique animas saevo in mucrone relinquunt,” where it is doubtless meant that the life, like the blood, is left on the blade.

239.] ‘Metuens’ was restored by Heyne from Rom., Gud. originally, &c.; but ‘metues’ is better, as there is no colour for joining ‘parces’ and ‘miserabere’ by ‘que . . . que.’ Priscian, who supports ‘metues,’ wrongly makes ‘parces . . . miserabere’ the apodosis. Virg. means, ‘if your consideration for them keeps you from taking the honey, you need not hesitate about cutting away the combs.’ Virg. may almost seem to have versified a passage in Varro 3. 16, though the apparently corrupt state of the text makes it hard to speak with any confidence, “si fecunda sit alvus, ut ne plus tertia pars eximatur mellis, reliquum hibernationi relinquatur: si vero alvus non sit fertilis, ubi quid eximatur, exemtio cum est maior (?), neque universam, neque palam (?) facere oportet, ne deficiant animinum. Favi qui eximuntur (non eximuntur?), si qua pars nihil habet, aut habet inquinatum, cultello praeseccatur (“praeseccetur” or “praeseccatur?”).” This passage, compared with similar precepts in the other rustic writers, may show that

Contusosque animos et res miserabere fractas, 240
 At suffire thymo cerasque recidere inanis
 Quis dubitet? nam saepe favos ignotus adedit
 Stelio, et lucifugis congesta cubilia blattis,
 Immunis sedens aliena ad pabula fucus;
 Aut asper crabro inparibus se inmiscuit armis, 245

Virg. does not think of absolutely sparing the honey, but only of leaving a greater or less portion. In that case, the pity expressed in the next line may be for the injury already done by depriving them of a part of their store; in the other, and perhaps in any view, it will be for mischief not done but only contemplated, this prospective pity acting as a restraining power. 'Metues:' the bee-keeper fearing not for himself, but for the bees: comp. note on 2. 419. 'Parces futuro:' 'deal gently with their future.'

240.] With 'contusos animos' comp. 'deficiant animum,' Varro l. c., and the words of Didymus, Geop. 15. 5, *ὅττω γὰρ ὅττω ἀδουμήσουσι, καὶ τροφὴν ἔχουσιν*: with 'res fractas,' 'trepidæ rerum,' cited on v. 236.

241.] 'At' as in v. 208. Med. erroneously has 'aut,' and goes on to read 'sufferre thymos.' 'Sufferre' is also read by Rom.; but Gnd. has 'suffire,' and so Serv. 'Thymo:' fumigation is prescribed by Varro l. c. and Col. 9. 14, in connexion with precepts about cleansing the hive. The latter recommends cow-dung, whence Schrader very plausibly conjectured 'fimo' here: 'thymo' however may stand, as Florentinus in Geop. 15. 3 speaks of fumigation with thyme and *κνέμων* as a means of attracting them back to the hive. From the two former writers it would appear that fumigation is recommended partly as a means of purification, partly as grateful to the bees, not, as some have thought, with a view to expelling or destroying the vermin.

242.] 'Dubitet:' with reference to the hesitation implied in vv. 239, 240, which, Virg. says, need not extend farther. 'Ignotus adedit,' *ἔλαβε τρώγων*. Heyne. With the following enumeration comp. 1. 181 foll. Pal. has 'iam saepe,' Rom. 'adhaesit.'

243.] 'Stelio et,' the reading of most, if not all MSS., was regarded by the early editors as a cretic foot, and restored as such even by Heins., for the old text 'stellio,' which Heyne retained. The synizesis is of course easily paralleled from

such instances as l. 482, v. 297 below. ['Stelio' Med. and Rom., 'stellio' Pal.—H. N.] It is doubtful whether 'cubilia' is to be taken with Wagn. as one of the subjects of 'adedit,' the lurking-places of the moths being put for the moths themselves, as Forb. thinks, a bold expression, scarcely covered by Keightley's reference to the use of "nidus," v. 17, or 'congesta' constructed as a verb, the grammatical connexion being temporarily interrupted and immediately returned to in the next line. 'Lucifuga' or 'lucifugus' is an old word used as a term of reproach by Lucil. 14. 3, "fuit lucifugus, nebulo." 'Solifuga' is mentioned by Solinus, c. 4, as the name of an insect; but the word is probably an error of his for "solipuga" or "salpuga." [The 'solifuga' is described by Solinus l. c. as "animal perexiguum aranei forma": the 'solipuga' or 'salpuga' by Pliny 29. 92. as a venomous ant.—H. N.] Keightley thinks it clear from Pliny 11. 99 that the 'blatta' was the black-beetle.

244.] 'Immunis' is used similarly as a term of reproach, Plaut. Trin. 2. 2. 69, "civi immuni scin quid cantari solet?" of a citizen who has no public spirit. The word is a compound of the old adjective "munis" (i. q. "officiosus"), used by Plautus, Merc. prol. 104, and Lucilius, and recognized by Festus [p. 143 M.] and Nonius [p. 23]. Hence Plaut. Trin. 1. 1. 2 has "immune" or "immoene facinus" in the sense of "ingratum." The drones have not performed their "munus" of labour, and so, as Hesiod expresses it (W. and D. 304), *μελισσῶν κάματον τρήχουσιν ἀεργοί* "Εσθόντες (comp. Id. Theog. 598). The language may be from Od. 1. 160, *ἀλλότριον βίον νήποιον ἔδουσι* (spoken of the suitors), as Germ. remarks. 'Sedens ad pabula,' like "sedere ad focum," "ad gubernacula," &c. So Eur. Hel. 295, *πρὸς πλουσίων τράρε(αν) ἵκον*. Med. originally had 'ad pocula.'

245.] 'Armis' is not, as seems to be generally thought, the abl., but the dative, as appears from A. 10. 796, 11. 815, where the words "se inmiscuit armis"

Aut dirum, tiniae, genus, aut invisa Minervae
 Laxos in foribus suspendit aranea casses.
 Quo magis exhaustae fuerint, hoc acrius omnes
 Incumbent generis lapsi sarcire ruinas,
 Complebuntque foros et floribus horrea textent. 250
 Si vero, quoniam casus apibus quoque nostros
 Vita tulit, tristi languebunt corpora morbo—
 Quod iam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis :
 Continuo est aegris alius color ; horrida voltum
 Deformat macies ; tum corpora luce carentum 255

occur again. 'Inparibus' then refers to the army of the bees, which cannot cope with a hornet. 'Paribus armis' is used A. 5. 425 of equal weapons.

246.] See on v. 168. 'Tinae' are coupled with 'blattae' again Hor. 2 S. 3. 119. For 'dirum' the early editors gave 'durum' after some MSS., including one of Ribbeck's cursives. 'Invisa Minervae' refers to the legend of Arachne, given Ov. M. 6. 1 foll.

247.] The early editors read 'in foribus laxos,' and so Gud. [On 'aranea' Serv. remarks "sciendum maiores animal ipsum masculino genere appellasse, hic araneus, retia vero quae faciunt, feminino." Nonius p. 192 gives instances of the masc. from Plautus.—H. N.]

248.] These words, as Forb. remarks, contain a precept, which the rustic writers sanction, not to leave too much honey, lest the bees should become idle. Cerda comp. a similar precept (Aristot. H. A. 9. 40), not to kill all the drones. ['Fuerunt,' Med. originally.—H. N.]

249.] 'Incumbo' used here with inf., as elsewhere with an object clause; see Forcell. 'Lapsi generis' recalls the notion of a human family, as in v. 208. 'Sarcire' seems to be a metaphor from building, as in the phrase "sarta tecta." ['Labsi' Pal.—H. N.]

250.] 'Fori' probably signifies a row or rows of cells, this being the only place where it has this transferred sense, just as it is used of a row or rows of seats in a theatre. In Col. 10. 92 it seems to mean a narrow trench or path in a garden, apparently from the resemblance to the 'fori' of a ship. 'Floribus,' the pollen: see on v. 38. 'Textent' perhaps is used to recall the image of weaving actual flowers, though of course the meaning is that they construct their cells with pollen.

251—280.] 'The symptoms of sickness

among bees are change of colour and appearance, lassitude, and a peculiar buzzing. Its remedies are fumigation with galbanum, honey mixed with pounded galls or dried rose-leaves, wine boiled down, raisins, thyme, centaury, and the flower called "amellus" boiled in wine.'

251.] The apodosis would naturally have begun after v. 252, but the clause speaking of the easiness of prognostication leads to an enumeration of the symptoms, which swells into an independent sentence, so that Virg. has to give the real apodosis in a separate form, v. 264. 'Apibus quoque:' there is perhaps a touch of pessimism here, as if diseases might be expected to be peculiar to humanity, "mortalibus aegris;" perhaps also a compliment to the bees, whose good fortune in other respects might have been supposed to exempt them from casualties. Rom. has 'nostris.'

252.] 'Vita:' regarded as including men and bees alike. 'Corpora' may be nom. or acc.: but the former is more like Virg.'s general usage, e.g. A. 4. 523.

253.] 'Iam' seems to point to the time when the disease has made some progress, and the symptoms are consequently explicit.

254.] 'Continuo,' as in l. 356, where it introduces the signs of wind. 'Alius' is explained by what follows. 'Horrida' is illustrated by Varro 3. 16, "minus valentium signa si sunt pilosae et horridae, ut pulverulentae, nisi officii eas urget tempus; tum enim propter laborem asperantur et macescunt."

255.] The carrying out of the dead can hardly be called a symptom of disease, but it finds its place as a part of the description, and as one of the things which would strike an observer looking at the hive. 'Luce carentum;' from Lucr. 4. 35. So "cassum lumine," A. 2. 85, light being

Exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt;
 Aut illae pedibus conexae ad limina pendent,
 Aut intus clausis cunctantur in aedibus, omnes
 Ignavaeque fame et contracto frigore pigrae.
 Tum sonus auditur gravior, tractimque susurrant, 260
 Frigidus ut quondam silvis inmurmurat Auster;
 Ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undis;
 Aestuat ut clausis rapidus fornacibus ignis.
 Hic iam galbaneos suadebo incendere odores,
 Mellaque harundineis inferre canalibus, ultro 265

virtually synonymous with life, as in A. 4. 31, 6. 721.

256.] 'Exporto,' for carrying out to burial, like "effero," used also Suet. Dom. 17. So Aristot., speaking of the same thing, uses ἐξάγειν and ἐκκομίζειν. 'Funus ducere' is a phrase, e.g. Juv. 1. 146, like "pompam ducere."

257.] 'Pedibus conexae pendent' would certainly seem to refer most naturally to bees hanging in a cluster, "pedibus permutua nexis," A. 7. 66. So it appears to have been understood by Sil. 2. 221. "densoque volatu Raucum conexae glomerant ad limina murmur" (of bees returning to the hive). This however is said not to be a symptom of disease in bees, so that Wagn. understands 'conexae' of the individual insect drawing up its legs in death, while Heyne suggests 'conixae.' But the common interpretation is supported by Aristot. H. A. 9. 40, *ὅταν δὲ κρέμονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ σμήνῃ, σημεῖον γίνεταί τοῦτο ὅτι ἀπολείπει τὸ σμήνος. ἀλλὰ καταφυσῶσι τὸ σμήνος ὀνυγλυκεῖ οἱ μελιττοῦργοί, ὅταν τοῦτ' αἰσθωνται.*

258.] 'Clausis' is merely an ordinary epithet, carrying out the sense of 'intus' and opp. to 'ad limina.'

259.] Aristot., quoted by Cerda, says *ἄλλο δὲ νόσημα ὁὖν ἀργία τις γίνεταί τῶν μελιττῶν.* Virg. intimates apparently two causes of this lassitude, want of food in winter, and cold. Rom. and Pal. have 'ignava.' 'Contracto,' congealed: applying however also to the effect of the cold on the bees, as if the reading had been 'contractae,' so that we may compare with Emm. Phaedr. 4. 23. 19, "Mori contractam tunc te cogunt frigora," speaking of a fly. Mr. Blackburn thinks it means the cold they have caught, like "contrahere morbum," "pestilentiam" &c. (comp. "frigus collegit" Hor. 1 Ep. 11.

13), and this may possibly be included in Virg.'s notion.

260.] 'Tractim' occurs Lucr. 3. 530 of death creeping gradually through the frame. Here it evidently signifies a prolonged and continuous sound.

261.] These three similes are supposed to be from Il. 14. 394 foll., where the shout of the contending armies is compared to waves breaking on the shore, to fire in a mountain glen, and to wind among the trees, each comparison occupying the same space of two lines. 'Quondam,' indefinite, 'at some time or other.' It appears to stand in much the same relation to "quidam" as "olim" to "ille." Comp. our use of 'some time' in the sense of 'formerly,' of 'one day' in a definite or indefinite sense, &c.

262.] 'Stridit,' the archaic form, is the reading of Med. and Pal., 'stridet' of Rom. 'Refluentibus,' retiring after having broken on the coast.

263.] 'Clausis' accounts for the sound. 'Rapidus:' see on E. 2. 10.

264.] 'Hic' of time is frequent in Virg. Instances are collected by Wagn., Q. V. 23. 2. 6, all of them, with the exception of the present, from the Aeneid. 'Galbaneos odores,' like "croceos odores," 1. 56. For 'galbanum' see on 3. 415. 'Suadebo:' the first person, as in 3. 295, 300, the fut. ind. as in 3. 100, 409 foll. See also 3. 329.

265.] There seems to be an allusion to the troughs from which cattle drank, called 'canales,' 3. 330. 'Harundineae canales' then will be reeds used as troughs. It may be a question whether 'inferre canalibus' means 'to introduce into troughs,' or 'to convey (to the hives) by troughs,' 'canalibus' being in the one case the dative, in the other the ablative. Here again 'ultro' has its sense of 'gratuitously,' or 'going further' (see on

Hortantem et fessas ad pabula nota vocantem.
 Proderit et tunsum gallae admiscere saporem
 Arentisque rosas, aut igni pingua multo
 Defruta, vel Psithia passos de vite racemos,
 Cecropiumque thymum et grave olentia centaurea. 270
 Est etiam flos in pratis, cui nomen amello
 Fecere agricolae, facilis quaerentibus herba;
 Namque uno ingentem tollit de caespite silvam,
 Aureus ipse, sed in foliis, quae plurima circum
 Funduntur, violae subluet purpura nigrae; 275
 Saepe deum nexis ornatae torquibus arae;

v. 204), the bees being not merely allowed to drink, but invited, without any overture made on their part.

266.] 'Fessas': of sickness, as in Hor. Carm. Saec. 63. Forb. comp. the use of "laboro" (*καμνω*) and "langueo."

267.] Galls are given as astringents, as bees suffer from looseness in consequence of their diet (Col. 9. 13). 'Tunsum' of course properly refers to 'gallae.'

268.] Dried roses, like galls, are mixed with honey: wine not mixed, but given as an alternative, as appears from Col. 1. c.

269.] For 'defruta,' see on 1. 295: for 'Psithia' on 2. 93. 'Racemos' is probably to be understood of the wine, not of the grapes themselves, as Col. 1. c. prescribes "passo et defruto vetere fessas sustinere."

270.] Centaury, so called from its legendary use by Chiron to heal the wound received from Hercules' arrow, is mentioned by Lucr. 4. 125 with the epithet "tristia," among the things "quaecunque suo de corpore odorem Exspirant acrem."

271.] The 'amellus' is generally agreed to be the Attic aster, which is found in the north of Italy, and also in the neighbourhood of Athens (Keightley). It is mentioned as the best specific of all by Col. 1. c., who indeed follows Virg. closely throughout this part of the subject.

272.] 'Facilis quaerentibus' is the same construction with "facilem pecori" 2. 223, 'compliant to those who seek it,' i.e. easily found.

273.] 'Uno de caespite' seems rightly taken by Philarg. as a poetical equivalent to "una de radice," as the stalks of the plant all spring from one root. 'Silvam' of a growth of leaves, 2. 17. For 'uno' several MSS. (none of Rib-

beck's) and early editions give 'imo,' a constant variation, the words being frequently undistinguishable in cursive copies.

274.] 'Ipse,' the centre or disc of the flower as distinguished from its petals, as in 2. 297 of a tree distinguished from its branches, ib. 131 of a plant from its leaves. Voss. comp. a similar description of the narcissus, Ov. M. 3. 509, "croceum pro corpore florem Inveniunt, foliis medium cingentibus albis."

275.] 'Violae subluet purpura nigrae' seems rightly explained by Forcell. s. v., "apparet nitor purpurae sub nigrore violae." Germ. comp. similar uses of *δωρόφυρος* and *ἐπαλαμής*. [Pliny 9. 126 (liquor) "nigrae rosae colore sublucent."—H. N.]

276.] Weichert, with whom Forb. and Keightley agree, brands this line as spurious. The conclusion is a most hazardous one, as all the MSS. contain the verse, and there appears to be no instance in which a line resting on the unvarying testimony of the MSS. of Virg. has been condemned by the consent of the best critics: while, on the other hand, the reasons alleged against its genuineness are precisely such as might appear to other judges evidences of the Virgilian manner. The reference to sacrifices, irrelevant as it may seem, is just one of those artifices by which Virg. is apt to exalt or relieve a trivial subject (comp. e.g. 2. 192 foll.); the structure of the line, unconnected with the context by any relative or other particle, is what we constantly find elsewhere in his descriptions, e.g. A. 1. 12, where the inserted clause actually interrupts a sentence which is resumed immediately afterwards; the omission of the verb substan-

Asper in ore sapor; tonsis in vallibus illum
 Pastores et curva legunt prope flumina Mellae,
 Huius odorato radices incoque Baccho,
 Pabulaque in foribus plenis adpone canistris.

280

Sed si quem proles subito defecerit omnis,
 Nec, genus unde novae stirpis revocetur, habebit,
 Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri
 Pandere, quoque modo caesis iam saepe iuvencis

tive is also a common feature in such descriptions, as in the very next line: 'torquis' has already been used with some want of strictness §. 168, of twisted osiers put round a beast's neck, while here any association foreign to the nature of a fillet is at once corrected by 'nexus'; nor can it be fairly urged that the number of the peculiarities itself is sufficient to bring the line into suspicion. [It should be added that although Serv. and Philarg. do not mention the line, the Berne scholia do, interpreting 'torquibus' as 'coronis flexuosis.'—H. N.]

277.] With the structure of this and the following line comp. 2. 134, 135. 'Tonsis' is explained by 'pastores.' There seems no need to give with Wagn. a present sense to the past participle, which here seems to have that aoristic sense so common in the perf. indic. as used in the Georgics, 'which cattle have been known to graze,' or 'are in the habit of grazing.' The 'valles' are doubtless meant to be in the Mantuan region.

278.] The introduction of 'Mella' is a domestic touch. [Med. corrected and the Berne scholia read 'Amellae.' Philarg. says "Mella amnis in Gallia Cisalpina, vicinus Brixiae, oritur ex monte Brenno;" and so Serv., though less explicitly. The Berne scholia add that Amella was also the name of a town or a river ('civitas vel fluvius') in Campania.—H. N.] For 'prope' Rom. has 'per.'

279.] 'Odoratus' merely expresses the scent or 'bouquet' of generous wine, like *οἶνος ἀρωγμύλας*, which Germ. compares. So *εὐώδης* Theocr. 14. 16, referred to by Heyne. Columella's precept is (l. c.), "ex (amelli radix) cum veteri Aminneo vino decocta exprimitur, et ita liquatus eius succus datur."

280.] Rom. has 'expone.' Mr. Blackburn thinks the word 'canistris' is chosen to elevate bees to the dignity of human beings.

281—294.] 'If the stock of bees should die out altogether, there is a mode of repairing the loss which involves a long story. I will tell it, for the remedy is one in which the eastern nations repose unbounded faith.'

282.] 'Genus novae stirpis' is apparently pleonastic, as either "novum genus" or "nova stirps" might have expressed the meaning. With 'revocetur' comp. A. 1. 235, "revocato a sanguine Teuceri." Strictly speaking it is inconsistent with 'novae.' The second stock might be either called new or a restoration of the old; Virg. mixes the two conceptions. 'Habebit:' the fut. ind. is joined with the so-called fut. "exactum" to indicate a difference in the time of the two actions, as in speaking of present time we might have "proles eum defecit, nec habet," &c. Comp. 3. 327, 328.

283.] It seems doubtful whether 'et' here means 'both,' referring to 'que' following, or 'also,' i.e. in addition to the previous precepts and descriptions. 'Tempus pandere:' see on l. 213. 'Arcadii magistri:' Aristaeus (l. 14) is said by Justin (13. 7) to have been king of Arcadia. He is called 'magister' either as a shepherd (E. 2. 33, 3. 101) or bee-keeper, or as a teacher (E. 5. 48, A. 5. 391), the word in the latter sense being explained by 'inventa.' This plan is called his 'inventum' apparently because he was the first who made it known to the world, though it was communicated to him by Proteus, as we shall see in the sequel. His honours as an inventor are greatly increased by other writers (e.g. Apoll. Rhod., and a scholiast on the Argonautics referred to by Cerda), who make him the first that got honey from bees, caused milk to curdle, produced oil from the olive, bred cattle, and hunted with dogs, the introducer in short of most of the arts commemorated in these last two books of the Georgics.

284.] 'Pandere,' as Forb. reminds us,

Insincerus apes tulerit cruor. Altius omnem 285
 Expediam prima repetens ab origine famam.
 Nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
 Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum
 Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,
 Quaque pharetratae vicinia Persidis urguet, 290

is a favourite word with Lucr., e.g. 1. 55. 'Iam saepe' with 'tulerit.' 'Caesis' is said generally, the particular mode of slaughter being explained below, v. 301.

285.] 'Insincerus' is a rare word, the only two instances given by Forcell. being from late writers, Gellius and Prudentius. 'Sincerus' is used of things in a normal or healthy state, as in Ov. M. 1. 190, "immedicabile volnus Ense recidendum, ne pars sincera trahatur." This notion of the generation of bees from putrid oxen was common among the ancients, having doubtless arisen, as Heyne remarks, from bees having chosen the hollow of the body (as in other cases the hollow trunks of trees, 2. 453) as a convenient place for hiving. Varro (2. 5) mentions it among the glories of oxen, "denique ex hoc putrefacto nasci dulcissimas apes, mellis matres, ex quo illas Graeci *Βουγύνας* (*Bougyneis*, Scaliger) appellant," and in his chapter on bees (3. 16) cites a line from Archelaus calling them *βοὺς φθιμένης πεποτημένα τέκνα*, and another, which in a slightly different form really belongs to Nicander (Ther. 741), *ἱππὼν μὲν σφῆκες γένετ', μόσχων δὲ μέλισσαι*. With 'altius' Forb. comp. Cic. Legg. 1. 6, "Alte et a capite repetere," where "alte" is explained by "a capite," as 'altius' here by 'prima repetens ab origine.'

286.] 'Prima repetens ab origine' repeated A. 1. 372. 'Fama' here="fabula," a sense nearly equivalent to that which it bears in such expressions as "fama est," "fama volat," &c. 'Expediam' will have its strict sense, 'unfold' or 'disentangle.'

287.] This and the five following lines are a periphrasis for Egypt. 'Pellaeus' is an epithet given to Canopus in consequence of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander and the foundation of a Macedonian dynasty. Lucan is rather fond of the epithet, applying it to Ptolemy and his family, to the crown of Egypt, and to Alexandria (5. 60, 8. 475, 607, 10. 511, referred to by Forb.). 'Fortunata,' blest in the fertility of their country, and per-

haps in the consequent diminution of labour; by no means a commonplace epithet as coming from the poet of the Georgics.

288.] 'Stagnantem,' covering the land like a lake or pool, the consequence of its overflow. Heyne comp. Lucan 2. 417, "Si non per plana iacentis Aegypti Libycas Nilus stagnaret harenas." Forb. refers to Lucan 4. 134, "Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus Navigat Oceano."

289.] These boats, according to Lucan 4. 136, were of papyrus; according to Juv. 15. 127, of earthenware. The words of the latter, "Parvula scitilibus solitum dare vela phaselis, Et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae," are evidently founded on Virg., and will illustrate 'pictis.' 'Phaselis' is the spelling of Med. here as in 1. 227. There is force in 'sua,' which calls attention to the singularity of the circumstance.

290.] The difficulty of this and the three following lines is well known. The great majority of MSS. (including Pal. and two of Ribbeck's cursives) give vv. 291—293 in the following order, 'Et viridem . . . Et diversa . . . Usque.' Rom. and one other read 'Et diversa . . . Usque . . . Et viridem.' Med., Gud., and three others, 'Et diversa . . . Et viridem . . . Usque.' This variation would seem to have arisen from the omission of one or other of these lines and its insertion in the margin, from which subsequent copyists introduced it again into the text, each following his own notion of the place which it ought to occupy. Which of the three it was that experienced this fortune external considerations give us no means of determining; nor is there any thing in the passage intrinsically to suggest an answer, though 'Et viridem' has been condemned by some of the earlier critics, Cerda, Bryant, and Heyne. Such is the hypothesis which seems most naturally to arise from the facts presented by the MSS., a hypothesis which would be consistent with the omission, on critical grounds, of any one of the three lines, but

Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
 Et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena
 Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis,
 Omnis in hac certam regio iacit arte salutem.
 Ixgiuus primum, atque ipsos contractus ad usus 295

not with the exclusion of all three (Wagn.), or even four, including v. 290 (Keightley). [Turning to the ancient commentators, we find that Serv. has a note on v. 292, only ('Et viridem Aegyptum'), Philarg. on v. 293 only ('Usque coloratis') while the Berne scholia notice both. But not one of the three commentaries takes any note of v. 291 ('Et diversa ruens'). —H. N.] The context itself does not seem to require that any thing should be left out, though as a geographical description of Egypt the passage is perhaps rather overloaded. Perhaps we may adopt a suggestion of Keightley's, though made with a different object, and conjecture that the redundancy is to be accounted for by the alteration which has been mentioned in the introduction as having taken place in this part of the poem. But it would seem unsafe to develop such a theory of revision into detail, as Ribbeck has done, supposing that Virg., having written v. 289, wished to improve upon it, but was unable to decide between vv. 291, 293 and vv. 291, 292 as possible substitutes. The mention of Persia as bordering on Egypt seems to be only one of the many instances of Virg.'s vague notion of geography, 'Persis' being here used loosely to include Arabia, as in v. 212 the Hydaspes has been called Median. The alternative is to suppose that 'the neighbourhood of Persia' is an expression for the various countries to the east of Egypt, Persia being selected as the most poetic name and most renowned nation. With regard to the true order of the lines, it is not easy to speak definitely, as the sense is the same either way, though if we follow the arrangement of Pal. and the majority there is perhaps some awkwardness in referring 'fecundat' to 'amnis' rather than to 'vicinia,' an awkwardness avoided by the early editors, who, following Julius Sabinus, erroneously supposed 'vicinia' to be the plural of a non-existent 'vicinium.' As between the other arrangements, the balance of authority seems to be in favour of that of Med., which accordingly I have adopted. With 'pharetratae Persidis' comp. Hor. 2. Od.

16. 6, "Medi pharetra decori;" with 'vicinia urguet,' where the absence of an object is to be noted, Aesch. Ag. 1004, γελῶν δούροισιν ἐπειδαι, and perhaps Hor. 2 S. 2. 64, "hac urguet lupus, hac canis, aiunt." ['Urget' Med. and Gud.—H. N.]

292.] 'Viridem' and 'nigra' are doubtless intended to be antithetical; but though the opposition is perhaps not much to be admired, especially as 'viridem' appears to be a sort of predicate, taken closely with 'fecundat,' and expressing the effect of the fecundation, that is no reason for suspecting the line. See E. 6. 54 for a similar instance. 'Harena,' of the soil of a river, 3. 350. 'Niger,' of sea-sand, A. 9. 714. Comp. generally "quae septem geminus colorat Aequora Nilus" Catull. 11. 7, which Virg. may have had in his mind.

293.] 'India,' apparently the Ethiopians, unless we are to extend Virg.'s geographical untrustworthiness further. 'Coloratis,' as we talk of men of colour, as Keightley remarks, the word itself meaning no more than coloured. Ov. Am. 1. 14. 6, referred to by Forb., applies the epithet to the Seres.

294.] 'Iacit' seems to be a synonyme for 'ponit,' derived probably from the phrase "iacere fundamentum," [Non. p. 327, and] Serv. 'Certam salutem' then will be a condensed expression for "spem certae salutis." Med., a m. p. has 'certe.' [Pal. and Rom. 'iacet.']

295—314.] 'The remedy is to kill a two-year-old bullock in a narrow chamber by beating, bruise the body, and leave it there with twigs of casia and thyme, when bees will gradually breed within it, till at last you get a large swarm.'

295.] There is perhaps something awkward in this didactic description of the process, as introduced here, after the legend accounting for it has been promised, and before it has been given, especially as the close of that legend is afterwards made to contain the same precept in two different forms. Here again we have a presumption that what we are reading is an alteration of the original draught. The precept itself is

Eligitur locus ; hunc angustique imbrice tecti
 Parietibusque premunt artis, et quattuor addunt,
 Quattuor a ventis, obliqua luce fenestras.
 Tum vitulus bima curvans iam cornua fronte
 Quaeritur ; huic geminae nares et spiritus oris
 Multa reluctanti obstruitur, plagisque perempto

300

given in detail by Florentinus in Geop. 15. 2, who professes to follow Democritus and Varro, referring to some passage which is no longer to be found in the works of the latter. On this first head he says that the chamber, *okos*, should be ten cubits high and broad, and four square, with one door and four windows, one on each side. Virg. evidently intends to give a similar direction ; but the language in which he expresses himself is not easily explicable. He apparently says that a spot is to be chosen naturally adapted for the object, narrow and confined—an injunction which Florentinus does not seem to have thought necessary, and which appears superfluous if not suicidal, as if the chamber was of the proper size it could not signify whether it was built in an open space or in a hole, while a place naturally adapted for the object would hardly need walls, and would hardly leave room for the admission of air or light through windows. Thus he can scarcely mean more than that a chamber is to be built of sufficient smallness for the purpose, though his words would certainly suggest the other interpretation. Another question arises about 'ipsos contractus ad usus,' which it seems open to us to interpret either as if 'ad usus' = 'in usus' (which is actually found in some MSS., including Pal. and the first reading of Med.), the sense being, 'narrowed (or narrow) for that very object,' or as if 'ad' expressed the standard to which the reduction was to be made, 'narrowed down,' as we might say, 'to the bare occasion.' 'Ad usus' is found nowhere else in Virg. : "in usum" or "usus" has already occurred 3. 313, and will meet us again A. 4. 647, "non hos quaesitum munus in usus."

296.] For 'imbrices,' semi-cylindrical tiles used to cover the lines of junction between the rows of flat tiles on the roof ("tegulae"), see Dict. A. s. v. 'tegula.' 'Angusti imbrice tecti' here seems merely a poetical amplification for 'angusto tecto.' [Serv. and the Berne scholia remark that 'imbrex,' though

generally masc., is more properly feminine, quoting Plaut. Mil. 2. 6. 24. Does this imply that they read '*angustaque imbrice tecti*'?—H. N.]

298.] 'Obliqua luce,' so as not to admit too much light, which would interfere with the subsequent process. How this is to be done, as Mr. Long remarks, Virg. does not explain. Mr. Yonge in his edition of Virg. takes 'a ventis' away from the winds, comparing 3. 302, and supposing that the windows are to look N.E., S.E., N.W., S.W., so that at noon the sun would strike a window obliquely. Some MSS. or editions seem to give 'adversa luce,' badly.

299.] 'Iam' may refer either to 'bima' or 'curvans,' or both. The bullock's second year is to be past, and his horns already grown. Comp. E. 3. 87, "Iam cornu petat, et pedibus qui spargat harenam." Florentinus (l. c.) says that the bullock is to be thirty months old, and very fat.

300.] 'Spiritus oris,' another amplification for "os."

301.] 'Multa reluctanti' may be, as Germ. thinks, a translation of the Homeric πᾶλλ' ἀεκαδμενος (Il. 6. 458, Od. 13. 277). 'Opsuitur,' the reading of Med., was restored by Heins. Wagn. recalls 'obstruitur,' as agreeing better with the precept of Florentinus, who orders that every aperture in the bullock's body be closed up with pitched cloths. This is not conclusive, as Virg. may have chosen to vary this point of detail ; but it does not seem worth while to depart from the reading of the majority of copies, which besides, as Wakef. remarks, is perhaps better suited to the violent measure recommended. "Obsuo" is much the rarer word, only two instances being cited by Forcell., both of them in the form "ob-sutus." [Both readings are recognized by the Berne scholia.—H. N.] Florentinus says that this closing up is to take place after the beast has been killed ; Virg. evidently means that he is to be first stifled and then beaten to death—a less likely direction. 'Plagis perempto' is probably not to be pressed, as if the

Tunsa per integram solvuntur viscera pellem
 Sic positum in clauso linquunt, et ramea costis
 Subiciunt fragmenta, thymum, casiasque recentis.
 Hoc geritur Zephyris primum inpellentibus undas, 305
 Ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus, ante
 Garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo.
 Interea teneris tepefactus in ossibus umor
 Aestuat, et visenda modis animalia miris,

action were finished before that mentioned in the next line began. The meaning seems to be "plagis perimitur et solvuntur," 'plagis' really referring to both verbs.

302.] 'Solvuntur' signifies that the body is to be crushed and mashed up, Florentinus' injunction being that the bones are to be broken up as well as the flesh, *μοῦ ταῖς σαρκὶ τὰ ὀστέα συναλοῦντες*. This line illustrates the definition of 'viscera' given by Serv. on A. 6. 253, "quidquid inter ossa et eutem est." 'Integram,' entire, unbroken, as Florentinus particularly insists that no blood is to be drawn, a prohibition which Virg. seems to have forgotten when in v. 542 he makes Proteus tell Aristaeus to cut the throats of the bullocks and heifers chosen for the purpose. 'Per' will then denote the medium through which the blows are to pass.

303.] Florentinus goes on to say that the bullock is to be laid on a heap of thyme, and the door and windows closed up with mud, so as to exclude light and air. After three weeks the chamber is to be opened, and light and air admitted, care only being taken to keep out wind. When the carcase appears to have got air enough, the place is to be fastened up again as before, and left for ten days longer. 'Clausum' is twice used by Columella of a closed place. 'Sic positum:' see on A. 2. 644.

304.] 'Recentis,' explained by Serv. "statim carptae," was restored by Heins., apparently from all the MSS., for 'virentis,' which had superseded it in most of the early editions.

305.] It is not clear whether the 'undae' meant are of rivers or of the sea, and consequently whether 'inpellentibus undas' is intended to be emphatic, 'driving the waters hitherto congealed,' or merely to be the filling up of a picture in which 'Zephyri' are the prominent object. The former may remind us of

Psalm 147, 18, "He bloweth with his wind, and the waters flow." The latter is illustrated by A. S. 69, "ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti Dant maria," comp. by Emm.

306.] 'Rubeant:' the subj. seems to be used, not, as Forb. thinks, in a sort of potential sense, "ante quam prata naturae ratione . . . novis coloribus rubere possunt," but to show that care is taken to perform the operation as early as possible, purposely as it were anticipating the full setting in of spring. With 'rubeant' comp. 2. 319, "vere rubenti."

307.] The swallow is chosen as the proverbial harbinger of spring. Pal. has 'lignis.'

308.] According to Florentinus, when the chamber is opened on the eleventh day, clusters of bees will be found, while of the bullock nothing will remain but horns, bones, and hair. He adds that the queen-bees (*βασίλειαι*) are said to be generated from the brain and spinal marrow, those from the brain being the finer, the common bees from the flesh of the carcase. He also describes the process of formation, saying that at first the bees will be seen to be small and white, imperfect and scarcely animate, motionless, yet in a state of growth; afterwards they will be observed gradually putting out their wings and assuming their proper colour, and forming round their queen, though with short and weak flights, or clustering round the windows, to get to the light. Finally, he recommends the opening and shutting of the windows on alternate days, lest the bees should be stifled by confinement. 'Umor' seems to mean the animal juices, not the blood, as Serv. and Heyne explain it. 'Teneris' probably refers to the pounding which the bones have undergone (see on v. 302).

309.] 'Visendus' = "spectandus," as we should say, 'worth seeing.' "Epulum omni apparatu ornatuque visendo," Cic.

Trunca pedum primo, mox et stridentia pinnis, 310
 Miscentur, tenuemque magis magis aera carpunt,
 Donec, ut aestivis effusus nubibus imber,
 Erupere, aut ut, nervo pulsante, sagittae,
 Prima leves ineunt si quando proelia Parthi.
 Quis deus hauc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem? 315
 Unde nova ingressus hominum experientia cepit?

Vatin. 13. "Modis miris" (l. 477) qualifies 'animalia,' as if it had been "mira."

310.] 'Trunca pedum,' like "orba pedum," Lucr. 5. 840, comp. by Cerdia. The more regular, though scarcely more usual, construction would be "trunca pedibus," which occurs in Ov. M. 15. 376, probably with reference to this passage. Sil. (10. 311), imitating Virg., has "truncus capitis." 'Et,' not only with legs, but with wings.

311.] 'Miscentur,' 'swarm.' For 'magis magis,' with which Heyne comp. Catull. 64. 274, "Post vento crescente magis magis increbrescent," some MSS., including Rom. and originally Med., give 'magis ac magis,' several of them restoring the verse by the omission of 'que' though Pierius vindicates both 'que' and 'ac,' observing that the feet in a hexameter are not necessarily confined to dactyls and spondees. *Μᾶλλον μᾶλλον* is a phrase in Greek. Rom. and one of Ribbeck's cursives have 'captant.'

313.] ['Eripuere' Rom.—H. N.] For 'aut ut' a few MSS., including two of Ribbeck's cursives, give 'vel ut.' "Hoc suavius," says Pierius, "illud vero primum numerosius." It is not easy to see why the poet should have given so slow a movement to a verse expressing the flight of an arrow; but he would naturally avoid 'vel ut,' as likely to be mistaken for 'velut.' 'Pulsante:' of the violent rebound of the string propelling the arrow. "Nervo per nubem impulsæ sagitta," A. 12. 856. Germ. comp. the Homeric ἀπὸ νευρῆφι διςτός.

314.] The Parthians are naturally chosen, as in A. 12, l. c., as the most formidable bowmen that the Romans knew. The reference here is to the shower of arrows with which they begin the battle. "*Leves nunc ad armaturam*" (Philarg.); perhaps also, as Keightley thinks, because they fought on horseback, and so could execute rapid movements.

315—330.] 'Who first showed men the remedy? Aristæus, having lost his bees,

addressed his goddess mother Cyrene in despair, complaining that he was not allowed to enjoy even the mortal honours of rural success, and bidding her ruin him at once if she were minded that he should not thrive.

315.] There is no opposition, as might appear at first sight, between this line and the next, as though the one suggested a divine, the other a human origin for the device. In other words, 'hominum' is not opposed to 'deus,' but parallel to 'nobis.' Virg. here, as at the opening of G. 1, speaks in the spirit of the old mythology, which believed that each step of agricultural progress was due to the teaching of some individual god, while in the second line, as in l. 133 foll., he dwells more on the labour of human experience in following the impulse given. 'Extudit,' for which [the Berne scholia mention a variant] 'extulit,' is, as Heyne remarks, not strictly appropriate to a god, being used l. 133 for the birth-throes of man's invention; but it is possible that Virg. may have intended to identify the god with those he benefited, especially as several of the agricultural divinities had been men in their day.

316.] 'Nova experientia:' "nullo docente, ars per usum reperta," Serv. Virg., as we have seen, probably did not mean any opposition between this and the former line, so that we must not suppose him to have had any such notion in his mind as "nullo docente;" but it is nevertheless true that 'experientia,' strictly speaking, suggests the thought of truth not communicated from without, but evolved by practice. Thus Virg.'s language is not strictly consistent, though he apparently means to combine the two views, regarding a new communication of knowledge as a new discovery, which sets in motion a fresh train of experience. [The difficulty disappears if we remember that 'experientia' does not exactly correspond to our word 'experience,' but means rather 'the act of making new

Pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe,
 Amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
 Tristis ad extremi sacrum caput adstitit amnis,
 Multa querens, atque hac adfatus voce parentem : 320
 Mater, Cyrene mater, quae gurgitis huius
 Ima tenes, quid me praeclara stirpe deorum,
 Si modo, quem perhibes, pater est Thymbraeus Apollo,
 Invisum fatis genuisti? aut quo tibi nostri

trials or ventures,' just as 'experiens' means 'bold, adventurous.' So that the line before us would mean 'What' or 'who started mankind on this new course of adventure, or experiment.' The Berne scholia say "experientia, id est industria et vere ratio" (*rerum notio?*). Hagen reads *vilas ratio*.—H. N.] 'Ingressus cepit,' like "capere initium:" comp. the use of "incipio." Some early editions have 'coepit,' a variety which may remind us of Enn. (fr. Med.) v. 207 (282 Vahlen), "navis incohanda exordium Coepisset," where Lipsius wished to read "navis incohandi exordium Cepisset."

317.] Whence Virg. derived the following story is unknown. Heyne thinks from the elaboration that it must have been closely imitated from some Alexandrian writer, possibly from a poem which was extant under the name of Eumelus, *Βουρυμλος*, as we learn from the Chronicon of Eusebius, No. 1250. A brief version of the tale is given by Ov. F. 1. 363 foll. "'Fugiens,' simpl. 'relinquens,'" Forb. Aristaeus is supposed at the time of the narrative to be still living in Thessaly.

319.] The commentators have been divided about the meaning of 'caput,' some taking it of the source, some of the mouth of the river; but opinions seem now in favour of the former view, which is that of Serv., the other having apparently been originated by Lambinus. Keightley indeed doubts whether 'caput' is ever found in the singular of the mouth; but see Lucan 3. 202. 'Extremi' too, which Burm. understands of the surface of the water, as opposed to the depth where Cyrene resided, applies more naturally to the origin of the stream. Comp. also v. 368, where 'caput' is used expressly for the source, and see note on v. 366. 'Sacrum,' which might otherwise be referred, with Burm., to the temples built at the mouth of Peneus, is as it were a perpetual epithet of the sources of rivers,

which were supposed to be the seat of the river-god or nymph, and commonly had a chapel built near them. See on E. 1. 52. The old commentator on Hor. 1 Od. 1. 22, says "omnis fons in origine sacer est." Burm. thinks that the scene below requires a much larger body of water above than could be found at a river's source; but the description is evidently not meant to be restricted by physical possibility, vistas of caverns being developed as easily as those in the Arabian Nights, or as the castle at the top of the bean-stalk in the child's tale. For 'sacrum' Med. has 'placidum,' perhaps, as Wagn. thinks, from an unseasonable recollection of A. 1. 127, "summa placidum caput extulit unda."

320.] 'Adfatus' seems evidently a verb, not a participle.

321.] It is perhaps better, with Wagn., to point after 'mater,' as is done in Med., than after 'Cyrene.' The first syllable of 'Cyrene,' as Heyne remarks, is long in Apoll. R., as here, short in Pind. and Callim. This speech is evidently modelled on Achilles' complaint to Thetis, II. 1. 349 foll. Rom. and Gud. have 'a stirpe.'

323.] Virg. imitates Od. 9. 529, *εἰ ἐρεβν γε σὸς εἴμι, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς εὐχεται εἶναι*, as Heyne remarks, and is himself imitated by Ov. M. 1. 760, "At tu, si modo sum caelesti stirpe creatus, Ede notam tanti generis, meque adscere caelo," comp. by Taubm. 'Si modo' expresses qualification, as in Cic. 2 De Or. 38, "in hac arte, si modo est haec ars, nullum est praeceptum." 'Thymbraeus' (from Thymbra, a district in the Troad), A. 3. 85.

324.] 'Invisum fatis,' like "invisus caelestibus," A. 1. 387; "invisus divis," A. 2. 647, 'fatis' being perhaps chosen here to mark that it is a demigod that is speaking. With 'aut . . . amor' Heyne comp. A. 2. 595, "Aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?" where, as here, 'aut'

Pulsus amor? quid me caelum sperare iubebas? 325
 En etiam hunc ipsum vitae mortalis honorem,
 Quem mihi vix frugum et pecudum custodia sollers
 Omnia temptanti extuderat, te matre, relinquo.
 Quin age, et ipsa manu felices erue silvas,
 Fer stabulis inimicum ignem atque interface messis, 330
 Ure sata, et validam in vitis molire bipennem,
 Tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis.
 At mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti

simply introduces a new question, connected with the former, not in any sense an alternative to it.

325.] 'Caelum sperare:' so Aeneas, as the son of a goddess, looks forward to deification, A. 1. 250, 12. 795, cited by Forb. Burma. comp. Sen. H. F. 438, "quo patre genitus caelitem speret domum," spoken by Lycus of Hercules.

326.] 'This crown of my mortality,' i.e. this thing which gave a dignity to my mortal existence, the praise of rural success, which falls within a mortal's sphere, and is his natural solace under the limitations of humanity. This seems better than to suppose with Keightley that he is speaking of the act of keeping bees in particular, which would give an air of triviality to the passage. Even if we should accept this interpretation, however, we need not fall into the further flatness of taking 'pecudum' of bees, as some ancients and moderns have done. 'Frugum et pecudum custodia' is the poetical expression for a farmer's life: and of a farmer's life bee-keeping is a part.

327.] 'Pecudum' Med., Gud. corrected, 'pecorum' Pal., Rom., Gud. originally, [and so apparently the Berne scholia.—H. N.] The former is the common reading, and the slight preponderance of authority for the latter is hardly enough to warrant a change. The MSS. of Non. pp. 158, 460 give 'pecudum:' but this is not conclusive, as Non. treats the two forms as one, his object in citing the passage being to show that 'pecus' can be used of bees, a notion in which later lexicographers have followed him, though it is obvious that neither this line nor v. 168 can be said to prove it. [With the notes in Nonius comp. those of Philarg. on G. 4. 168, and Serv. on A. 1. 435, which probably come from the same source.—H. N.] See on the preceding

verse.

328.] 'Omnia temptanti extuderat' is illustrated by 1. 133, "Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artia." The experiments are of course in husbandry, of one sort or another. "Te matre, relinquo: ac si diceret: Sub ea perdo usum laboris, sub qua augere debueram." Serv.

329.] 'Ipsa manu,' with thine own hand, as probably in A. 2. 645. 'Felices silvas,' plantations of fruit trees.

330.] 'Fer . . . ignem,' like "ferre flammam," A. 4. 594. With 'inimicum ignem' Mr. Blackburn comp. *ἄλιον πυρ*. With 'interface messis' Ursinus comp. a quotation from Cicero's *Oeconomies* in Nonius p. 330, "Nullo modo facilius arbitror posse neque herbas arescere et interfici."

331.] 'Sata,' as Martyn observes, coming after 'messis,' probably refers to young plants. 'Molire:' see on 1. 329. For 'validam' the first reading of Med. gives 'duram,' which Ribbeck adopts, apparently supposing 'validam' to have been introduced from A. 11. 651. But the alliteration is in favour of the old reading, besides its external authority. ['Bipennem' Rom.—H. N.]

332.] 'Taedia ceperunt,' like "dementia cepit," E. 2. 69, as we might talk of a fit of weariness and disgust.

333—347.] 'His cry reached his mother as she sat in her cavern under the river with nymphs round her listening to a song.'

333.] The following passage is imitated from Il. 18. 35 foll., where Thetis hears the cries of Achilles, though the Nereids there enumerated are not sitting with her, but are summoned by her shrieks. 'Sonitum sensit,' heard the sound. It would seem from v. 353 foll. that she did not distinguish the words. 'Thalamo' is explained by v. 374 to be the chamber in which Cyrene was sitting, which is sup-

Sensit. Eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae
 Carpebant, hyali saturo fucata colore,
 Drymoque, Xanthoque, Ligeaque, Phyllodoceque,
 Caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla,

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posed to be what we by the same metaphor call the bed of the river, though from the subsequent description it appears to widen into a subterranean region, containing the sources of all the waters on earth. Cerda comp. Soph. O. T. 195, where the sea is called *θάλαμος* 'Amphitruus.' 'Sub' then will mean under the roof of the chamber. The picture, as Heyne observes, is drawn from the manners of the heroic age, when royal ladies sat in their chambers spinning with attendants about them.

334.] ['Sentit' Rom.—H. N.] The finest of earthly wool (3. 307) is chosen, with Virg.'s characteristic love of local epithets, as fit material for the work of these goddesses.

335.] "Carpentes pensa puellae" 1. 390. "Aeternumque manus carpebant rite laborem," Catull. 64. 310. The word does not seem to denote any thing more definite than the rapid passing of the wool through the fingers. 'Hyalus,' *θαλος*, like its adjective "hyalinus," is a very rare word, only found in two or three passages of later authors. A green colour, like that of glass, would be naturally appropriate to the sea-nymphs. So certain garments were called "thalassina," Lucr. 4. 1127. 'Saturo' would be a more proper epithet of the thing dyed than of the dye, just as Sen. Thyest. 955 talks of "saturae vestes ostro Tyrio;" it occurs however as an epithet of a full deep colour, Sen. Q. N. 1. 5, "purpuram quo melior saturiorque est;" Pliny 37. 170, "ion apud Indos violacea est, rarum ut saturo colore luceat;" [9. 138 of the *conchyliata vestis*, "laudatur ille pallor saturitate detracta." It should be noticed that in all these passages 'satur' is used of a purple or crimson colour. Hence perhaps the fact that the Berne scholia give two explanations of it here, 'rubeo' and 'largo, abundanti.' Probably the last is right. Philarg.'s note as it stands seems corrupt: "saturo ebrio et per hoc presso colore." (Rubeo et per hoc pretioso?)—H. N.]

336.] This muster-roll is studied after the list of Nereids in ll. 18. 39 foll., though the names are different in Virg., who, with rather questionable judgment, includes

land-nymphs as well. A longer list of Nereids is given Hes. Theog. 243 foll., but Virg. does not seem to have borrowed anything from it. Such enumerations, as Heyne says, are common in the old poets and in their Roman imitators, especially Ovid. In the former they mark the simplicity of the chronicler: in the latter they are doubtless designed to produce an appearance of verisimilitude, at the same time that Heyne may be right in speaking of them as an intentional display of learning, while the imagination is naturally captivated by the mere sound of a long succession of harmonious names belonging to mythic antiquity, as any reader of Milton can bear witness. The present line, if not actually taken from the Greek, is obviously modelled on it.

337.] 'Caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla' is like "perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis," A. 2. 273, both being instances to which the common solution of the construction, as if the accusative denoted the extent to which the subject of the verb or participle is affected, cannot be applied without harshness. The hair is so distinguishable from the person that it requires nearly as great a licence to speak of the unbinding of the one as an unbinding of the other, as to say that a man is passed through his feet because thongs are passed through them, the strangeness of expression in the latter case being moreover modified by the double sense of "traiecio," which takes an accusative indifferently of the person pierced and of the thing driven through, just as in A. 4. 137, "chlamydem circumdata limbo," the application of "circumdatus" to a person enveloped in a robe mitigates, not logically but rhetorically, the harshness of saying that Dido is surrounded by an embroidered border in respect of her mantle. The truth of the explanation, however, is not impeached by a few extreme instances, especially in a writer like Virg., so that there seems no call to follow Madvig, § 237 b, in placing these and similar instances under a separate head with a rule that "the participle perf. of the passive . . . is used of a person who has done something to himself, as an active verb,

[Nesae, Spioque, Thaliaque, Cymodoceque,]
 Cydippeque et flava Lycorias, altera virgo,
 Altera tum primos Lucinae experta labores,
 Clioque, et Beroe soror, Oceanitides ambae,
 Ambae auro, pictis incinctae pellibus ambae,
 Atque Ephyre, atque Opis, et Asia Deiopea,

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with an accusative,"—a rule to which A. 2. 273 is admitted to be an exception. In such cases however it is hazardous to dogmatize either for or against an explanation, as it is often conceivable that two expressions which can be reduced without violence under the same rule were not really dictated by the same feeling, so that of two or more possible solutions each may be good for what it will most naturally explain, and no further. For the insufficiency of grammatical analysis to express the shades of meaning that may occur to a writer, see note on 3. 506. [It has occurred to me that the simplest explanation of this construction may be obtained by supposing that the accusative is simply the accusative of the object governed by the verb, which still retains its active force, though itself put into a passive form. Thus in the line before us 'Caesariem' is governed by 'effundo,' as if the sentence had run "quae caesariem suam effuderant." The case is harder in "perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes." But this might also be written out in the active form thus, "Quem Achilles lora traiecerat per pedes:" literally "through whom Achilles had passed thongs, through his feet," the double acc. being like that in "transmittere naves flumen," and the like. The principle underlying all such sentences is this, that the active verb, though accidentally thrown itself into a passive form, still retains its governing power, and retains the acc. which it would have taken had the sentence been cast in an active form. Just so in English we can say "I am asked a question," "I am told a story," where "question" and "story" are accusatives after "ask" and "tell:" "he asked me a question," "he told me a story" being the active forms of the sentence.—H. N.]

338.] I have retained this verse in brackets, on account of the convenience of preserving the ordinary numeration, though it is probably a copyist's insertion from A. 5. 826. Ribbeck's MSS. omit it,

with the exception of the margin of Gud. and the text of another cursive, and the context may be said to repudiate it, as the names mentioned are all of them taken from Homer's Nereids (Π. 18. 39, Ὀδυσσεύς τε Κυμοδόκη τε, Νησαίη Σπείω τε), whereas in the rest of the list Virg. does not borrow from Homer at all, with the exception of Clymene, whose name occurs separately from the rest, and none of the others appear to be Oceanides, except the two expressly named as such in v. 341.

339.] Med., Pal., Gud. corrected, and two other of Ribbeck's cursives omit 'que' after 'Cydippe,' but Wagn. seems right in supposing that Virg. would have avoided the concurrence of the same vowels in a hiatus. 'Flava,' yellow-haired, like "Ganymede flavo," Hor. 3 Od. 4. 4.

340.] Germ. comp. Π. 17. 5, *πρωτοτόκος, κυνή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδύια τόκοιο*.

341.] 'Oceanitides' (*Ὠκεανίτις*). The only other instance of this word in Latin mentioned by Forc. is in Hyginus' preface. The rhythm of the line, of which Wagn. complains, will be somewhat mended by making a pause after 'Clioque,' where accordingly I have placed a comma.

342.] These nymphs are described as in huntress costume (comp. A. 1. 323), as Serv. says, huntresses frequently becoming water-nymphs and vice versa. Heyne refers to Callim., Hymn to Artemis, v. 42, where the goddess chooses nymphs for the chase out of the Oceanides. There is no need to restrict 'auro' to the zone with Forb., as these huntresses may have been equipped like Dido, A. 4. 138, "Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum, Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem."

343.] ['Ephyra' Med.—H. N.] 'Opis' is one of the companions of Diana, A. 11. 532, 'Deiopea,' one of the train of Juno, A. 1. 72. 'Deiopea,' the spelling of Med. and other good MSS., is the proper Latin form of *Δηϊόπειρα*. 'Asia,' from the Asian meadow, 1. 383.

Et tandem positis velox Arethusa sagittis.
 Inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem 845
 Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta,
 Aque Chao densos divom numerabat amores.
 Carmine quo captae dum fuis mollia pensa
 Devolvunt, iterum maternas impulit aures
 Luctus Aristaei, vitreisque sedilibus omnes 850
 Obstipuere; sed ante alias Arethusa sorores
 Prospiciens summa flavum caput extulit unda,

344.] The simplest way of understanding 'tandem positis sagittis' seems to be that Arethusa had just left her hunting, in which she delighted, after a long chase, and joined the company in the cavern, she being river-nymph and huntress at once. The interpretation of the Dresden Serv., "quae ex venatrice in Nympham versa fuerat," if it could be established, would only make the passage less picturesque. 'Velox,' for example, is forcible when it designates a quality still called into play; tame if applied to one no longer in use. It would be possible indeed to understand it of her as a river-nymph; but the context pleads strongly for referring it to her hunting.

345.] 'Clymene' is named Il. 18. 47, near the end of the list. The custom of singing during spinning or weaving is as old as the *Odyssey* (5. 61, 10. 221); and in *Theocr.* 24. 76 foll. Teiresias tells Alcmena that the Argive women shall sing of her as they sit spinning in the late evening. See *Forb.* on l. 293, where these and other instances are collected, and comp. *Eur.* *Ion* 196, 506 *Paley*. In 'curam inanem' Serv. finds "definitio amoris:" but the next clause seems to refer it to Vulcan's guardianship of his wife, which Mars contrived to elude. If we take 'curam' of love, 'inanem' must be understood of the requital which the husband's affection found. The reference cannot be to Vulcan's stratagem against the adulterous pair, as that was not fruitless but successful, unless 'inanem' could be made to signify the invisible nature of the net. But *Virg.* doubtless meant to give merely the beginning of the story, not its sequel.

346.] [*Pal.* has 'matris.'—*H. N.*]

347.] For 'Aque' *Med.*, *Rom.*, and the *St. Gall* fragm. have 'Atque,' a common error.

348—386.] 'Learning from one of her

attendant nymphs the cause of the noise, she bade the waters retire, that he might pass to her chamber. He walked through the caverns, and saw with wonder the sources of all the great rivers of earth. When he had reached her presence and told his grief, she ordered the feast to be spread, and after making a libation to the ocean-god, began her counsel.'

348.] 'Carmine quo' like "quo motu," 1. 329 note, the song not having been expressly mentioned in the previous words. *Med.* and *Gud.* have 'fuis dum,' [the *St. Gall* fragm. 'dum fusi.'—*H. N.*]

349.] 'Devolvunt' apparently expresses the carrying down of the thread by the weight of the spindle as it was formed (*Dict. A. s. v.* 'fusus'). The author of the *Ciris* (v. 445) says "Non licuit gravidos penso devolvere fusos?" With 'impulit auris' *Forb.* comp. "aurem impellere," *Pers.* 2. 21; "sensus impellere," *Lucr.* 1. 303. 'Iterum:' the sound had already reached *Cyrene*, v. 333, and we are left to infer that she did not take notice at once, while the description in the intermediate lines as it were fills up the interval between the first and second appeal.

350.] 'Vitreis' prob. includes both glass-green colour (above, v. 335) and glassy brightness. *Ovid* (*M.* 5. 48) speaks of the "vitrea antra" of the nymphs. *Heyne* and *Voss* are clearly wrong in scanning it as a spondee by synizesis. ['Amnes' *Med.* originally for 'omnes.'—*H. N.*]

351.] 'Sorores,' as *Heyne* remarks, is used rather widely, the nymphs being, as we have seen, of various kinds, while in v. 341 two seem discriminated from the rest as sisters.

352.] A line nearly repeated *A.* 1. 127, from which 'placidum' was introduced by some of the early editions into the present passage instead of 'flavum.'

Et procul: O gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto,
 Cyrene soror, ipse tibi, tua maxima cura,
 Tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam 355
 Stat lacrimans, et te crudelem nomine dicit.
 Huic percussa nova mentem formidine mater,
 Duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina divom
 Tangere, ait. Simul alta iubet discedere late
 Flumina, qua iuvenis gressus inferret; at illum 360
 Curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda,

353.] 'Et procul' is similarly placed without a verb A. 2. 42. The chamber of Cyrene was in the depth (vv. 322, 333, 361, 362), so that Arethusa, having emerged from the water, had to call from a distance. The use of the vocative of the participle, designating a person by a merely temporary attribute, is to be remarked, as being akin to those in A. 2. 283, 12. 947.

354.] 'Ipse,' as Aristaeus was the first object with his mother. 'Tibi' referring generally to the sentence. Cyrene had virtually asked "Quis stat lacrimans?" Arethusa replies "Aristaeus tibi stat lacrimans" acknowledging Cyrene's interest in the answer. 'Tua maxima cura': "tua cura," E. 10. 22; "mea maxima cura," A. 1. 678. Comp. Aesch. Cho. 749, φίλον δ' Ὀρέστην, τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς τριβήν.

355.] 'Penei' is the Latinized gen. of the form Πηνεός, a form apparently existing only in a doubtful reading of Theocr. 25. 15, where Meineke, after Herm., gives Μηνίον, but sufficiently supported by the analogy of such words as 'Εκτόρειος, 'Εκτόρεος, &c. 'Genitoris' probably is merely a constant epithet of a river (comp. the Greek feeling for rivers as *κουροτρόφοι*), as in A. 8. 72, "tuque, O Thybri, tuo genitor cum flumine sancto." If we could suppose Peneus to have been the father of Cyrene, there would be more reason why Aristaeus should go to the source of the river to make her hear, just as Achilles cries to Thetis, stretching his hands to the deep, and is heard by her as she sits below by the side of her old father (Il. 1. 350, 358, 18. 36, where, as here, the old god takes no part in the action): but there is no authority for such a parentage but Hyginus Fab. 161, while Pind. (P. 9. 13) makes Cyrene the daughter of Hypseus. We must suppose then that this chamber, being the abode of the river-nymphs, was figured by Virg. as accessible from the

source of any river, and that Aristaeus naturally betook himself to Peneus as the river of Thessaly. This will account also for the supposed distance of the chamber from the top of the water, and for Arethusa's specification of the place where Aristaeus is standing, by the stream of Peneus.

356.] 'Crudelem' is a predicate, as in E. 5. 23, where see note. Aristaeus' cry is supposed to be "Crudelis mater Cyrene," which is in fact the substance of what he has already said. 'He is crying on thee by name for thy cruelty.'

357.] 'Nova' is not to be understood like 'iterum,' v. 349, of a fresh access of terror, but simply of terror as a new feeling succeeding a more ordinary state of mind. So A. 2. 228, "Tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis Insinuat pavor." It will then be rhetorically equivalent to "subitus" or "repentinus," by which Heyne translates it, though it may also have a sense of 'unusual,' the fear in this case being a feeling alien to a goddess, as in the passage from A. 2 it appears to have been somewhat preternatural.

359.] Ursinus comp. Il. 24. 96, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα σφί λιάζετο κύμα θαλάσσης.

360.] 'Gressum ferre' occurs A. 6. 377, 11. 99.

361.] The image here is from Od. 11. 243, as Macrob. (Sat. 5. 3) points out, Πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κύμα περιστάδῃ οὐρεῖ Ἴσον Κυρτωθέν, κρύψεν τε θεόν. In that passage the water is represented as deranged in order to provide concealment, so that the sense evidently is that a wave is formed swelling to the height of a mountain (a picture which we have already had in the case of the sea 3. 240), and furnishing, by the displacement occasioned by its rising, a cavity beneath its surface in which a person might hide himself. Applying this to the present context, we

Acceptique sinu vasto misitque sub amnem.
Iamque domum mirans genetricis et umida regna,
Speluncisque lacus clausos, lucosque sonantis,
Ibat, et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum
Omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra
Spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque, Lycumque,
Et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus,
Unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluente,
Saxosusque sonans Hypanis, Mysusque Caicus,
Et gemina auratus taurino cornua voltu

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must suppose that the waters first separate on each side (v. 359) to make a dry way for Aristaeus, and then, when he has set his foot on the bottom, close over his head, and allow him to walk under them till he comes to the place where his mother is. The mountainous aspect of the water has reference then to its appearance from the outside. For 'faciem' Med. has 'speciem,' probably from a gloss. [Pal. has 'circumspicit,' a corruption probably for 'circumstitit.'—H. N.]

362.] "Accipere nos dicitur locus, quem ingredimur: *millere*, dum per eum transimus," Heyne.

364.] These pools closed in with caves seem to be the sources of the rivers. Heyne comp. A. 8. 74, "quo te cumque lacus . . . Fonte tenet, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis." 'Sonantis,' probably with the noise of the water. Comp. A. 3. 442, "Averna sonantia silvis." 7. 83, "nemorum quae maxima sacro Fonte sonat." Serv. has a story, to which he thinks Virg. refers, of an Egyptian custom of dedicating certain youths to the nymphs: "qui quum adolevisset, redditi narrabant lucos esse sub terris et immensam aquam omnia continentem, ex qua cuncta procreantur." With the picture generally comp. Plato's description (Phaedo, p. 112) of the great chasm piercing the earth from end to end, into which and out of which all the rivers flow.

365.] 'Motus aquarum' would naturally mean the heaving of water as in a storm, as in Prop. 4. 15. 31, "magnum cum ponunt aequora motus." Here however the sense seems to be 'the mighty flow of waters,' 'ingenti' apparently referring as much to the number of the streams as to the size of any particular river. Possibly 'motus' may also be meant to convey a notion of sound.

366.] Perhaps it would be most accordant with the context to suppose that Aristaeus sees not the rivers themselves, but their sources, as vv. 361, 368 seems to imply, though there is no necessity to limit the size of the cave.

367.] "*Diversa locis pro diversis locis*," Philarg. 'Diversus' however is frequently used as an epithet of things locally separated, as in l. 446. Phasis and Lycus are mentioned together as both belonging to Colchis. Cerdà quotes Strabo 11, p. 801 B, *ποταμοὶ δὲ πλείους μὲν εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, γνωριμώτατοι δὲ Φάσις μὲν καὶ Λύκος*.

368.] 'Enipeus:' Od. 11. 238, spoken of as *ὁ πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμὸν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἔχων*. For 'primum' Med. gives 'primus.' Other MSS. omit or transpose 'se,' or read 'rumpit' (Rom.), 'rupit' (Pal.), or 'erupit.' With 'se erumpit' Forb. comp. Lucr. 5. 596, where he understands 'erumpit' actively.

369.] 'Aniena fluente,' like "Tiberina fluente," A. 12. 35. Schrader, followed by Ribbeck, transposes this and the following line, so as to bring the Italian rivers together.

370.] 'Saxosus' is restored by Wagn. from all Ribbeck's MSS. for the common reading 'saxosum.' The sibilant, as he remarks, was doubtless intended by Virg., as in A. 5. 866, "Adsiduo longe sae saxa sonabant." The authority of the grammarians is divided: Philarg. recognizes both readings; the Dresden Serv. supports 'saxosus,' saying "nomen pro adverbio," while in the ordinary copies that commentator expressly recommends 'saxosum,' "ne sint duo epitheta, quod apud Latinos vitiosum est," from which Wagn. suspects that he was the introducer of that reading. For the expression comp. "inexpletus lacrimans," A. 8. 559.

371.] So Aeneas (A. 8. 77) addresses the Tiber, "corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum." The origin of this

Eridanus, quo non alius per pingua culta
 In mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis.
 Postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta
 Perventum, et nati fletus cognovit inanis
 Cyrene, manibus liquidos dant ordine fontis

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ancient mode of representing rivers is disputed, some thinking that rivers are compared to bulls for their violence (comp. the combat of Achelous with Hercules, Soph. Trach. 507 foll., others for their bellowing, as Hom. (Il. 21. 237) makes Xanthus attack Achilles *μεμυκώς ἤντε ταύρος*, while others find the special similarity to horns in the spreading branches of the river, a view which is perhaps supported by the metaphor of the head of the stream, though we conceive of them more naturally as arms. There is a further question why the horns of Eridanus should be called gilded. The primary reference is doubtless to the custom of gilding the horns of oxen, e.g. for sacrifice (Keightley refers to l. 217); the secondary is probably, as Cerda thinks, to the particles of gold found in the river or its Alpine affluents. Ausonius however (Mosell. 471), in an obvious imitation of Virg., attributes the same honour to the Moselle. The Eridanus is introduced here as in A. 6. 659, where his course is supposed to be in the Elysian fields.

373.] 'Mare purpureum:' Byron's 'dark-blue sea,' Homer's *ἄλα πορφύρεσσαν* or *πορφυρέην* (Il. 16. 391, &c.). It would seem from Cic. Acad. prior. 2. 33, "Mare, Favonio nascente, purpureum videtur," and from a line of Furus Antias quoted by Gell. 18. 11, "Spiritus Eurorum virides cum purpurat undas," where Gell.'s explanation is "ventus mare caeruleum crispicans nitefacit," that the Romans, in applying the epithet to the sea, thought of its brightness when flushed by the wind, a picture which would agree with Catull. 64. 274, 275. "Post, vento crescente, magis magis increbrescent, Purpureaque prouol nantes a luce refulgent." In Greek the epithet appears rather to be applied to the darkness of the troubled sea, the *ἐρεβος ὄψαλον*: comp. the transferred use of *πορφύρεα*, and see Liddell and Scott s. v. There is however a passage referred to by them where the colour is discriminated as a medium between darkness and strong light: *φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἡ θάλαττα πορφυροειδής, ὅταν τὰ κύματα μετακρίζεμενα κατὰ τὴν ἑγκλισιν σκιασθῇ πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ταύτης*

κλισμὸν ἀσθενεῖς αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαὶ προσβαλοῦσαι ποιοῦσι φαίνεσθαι τὸ χρῶμα ἀλουργές . . . ἐλάττονος δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς προσβάλλοντος, ὁφερόν, ὃ καλοῦσιν ὀρφνιον (Aristot. de Coloribus, c. 2, §§ 4, 5). 'Violentior:' comp. 2. 452. Keightley asserts that this is not the character of the Po of the present day, suggesting that the elevation of its bed may have diminished its velocity; but Lord Dudley, in his "Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff," p. 61, says of the Po, "It is very broad at Piacenza, and pours along with tremendous rapidity." Mr. Long says it is violent when flooded, not so when low. For 'effluit' Philarg. notices a variant 'influxit,' which is found in one of Ribbeck's cursives.

374.] It may be doubted whether 'pendentia pumice tecta' means 'a hanging roof of stone,' or 'a roof from which masses of stone hang,' like stalactites. Martial (2. 14. 9) has "centum pendentia tecta columnis," apparently for a roof supported on pillars, and in Lucr. 6. 195, "speluncas . . . saxis pendentibus structas," the reference seems to be to hanging stones composing the roof of the cave, so that perhaps the balance is in favour of the former view, which is also confirmed by two passages from Seneca, quoted respectively by Taubm. and Heyne, "Et si quis specus saxis penitus exasis montem suspenderit" (Ep. 41), and "hic vasto specu Pendent tyranni limina" (Herc. Fur. 719). There is the same doubt about Ov. Her. 15. 141, "Antra vident oculi scabro pendentia tofo."

375.] 'Inanis' is commonly explained vain, because easily remedied; but the context shows no such confidence on the part of Cyrene, and the construction of the episode seems intended to exalt the dignity of the remedy, as only to be obtained from a god, and that with difficulty. It seems rather a customary epithet, 'idle tears,' which have no end, and do not cure distress. So "laorimae inanes," A. 4. 449, 10. 465. 'Cognovit,' as we should say, learnt the history of.

376.] 'Manibus,' for the hands, as if it had been "manibus lavandis." The entertainment is after the manner of the heroic

Germanae, tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis ;
 Pars epulis onerant mensas, et plena reponunt
 Pocula ; Panchaeis adulescunt ignibus arae ;
 Et mater, Cape Maeonii carchesia Bacchi :
 Oceano libemus, ait : simul ipsa precatur
 Oceanumque patrem rerum Nymphasque sorores,
 Centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant.

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age, e.g. *Od.* 1. 136 foll. (Heyne). Parts of this and the two next lines are repeated *A.* 1. 701 foll. 'Ordine' apparently means in the course of their duty, as distinguished from the others who spread the table. So perhaps *A.* 1. 703, 5. 102. 'Fontis' need mean no more than spring water, as in *A.* 2. 686, 12. 119; but there may be some special propriety in the use of the word here, in the chamber of waters, where the offices of the table are done by water-nymphs.

377.] Yates (*Dict. A.* 'mantele') agrees with Heyne in supposing that these napkins were woollen, with a soft and even nap.

378.] ['Aras' *Pal.* for 'mensas.'—*H. N.*] 'Reponunt': see on 3. 527.

379.] The kindling of altars to the gods was part of a solemn banquet, *A.* 1. 704. For 'ignibus' *Med. a. m. s.* has 'pinguibus,' which *Wagn.* approves, regarding 'Panchaeis' as a substantive, on the analogy of the names of wines, ointments, &c., and questioning the Latinity of 'Panchaeis ignibus.' But this use of 'Panchaeis' would require something stronger than analogical confirmation, and there seems no reason why 'Panchaeis ignibus' may not stand for fire fed with Panchaeian spices as well as "Herculeis ignibus," *A.* 8. 542, for fire on the altar of Hercules. 'Adulescunt': this seems a solitary instance of 'adulescere' used in a sacrificial connexion. Whether it had really acquired the sense of "adoleri" (see note on *E.* 8. 65), or whether its application here is a mere extension by *Virg.* of its ordinary meaning, advantage being taken of the similarity of the two words (see on 3. 560), is a question which it is perhaps impossible to settle.

380.] 'Carchesia,' *A.* 5. 77. "It was slightly contracted in the middle, and its two handles extended from the top to the bottom." See *Dict. A. s. v.*, where authorities are referred to and a woodcut given. 'Maeonii,' Lydian, perhaps Tmo-

lian (2. 98).

381.] The libation comes after the meal, *A.* 1. 723, 8. 274.

382.] *Virg.* translates *Il.* 14. 246, 'Ὠκεανὸν, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται,' giving the words however a physical sense found not in the original, which speaks of the mythological descent of the gods, but in later philosophy, such as that of *Thales*. *Segaar* and *Royaards*, who seem first to have adduced this passage from *Hom.*, needlessly suppose *Virg.* to have misunderstood *πάντεσσι* as if it were a neuter. The structure of the verse seems modelled on another line in the same episode, *v.* 201, 'Ὠκεανὸν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.' There is something strange in the injunction to offer libation to the nymphs, addressed to one who had just been receiving quasi-mental ministrations from some of their number. It matters little whether we understand by 'sorores' sisters of *Cyrene*, as the nymphs have been apparently called *vv.* 351, 377, or simply a sisterhood, as in 2. 494, there being a further reference here to their relation to *Oceanus*.

383.] 'Servant' here combines the notion of tutelar presidency (*l.* 499) with that of constant tenancy (*v.* 459 below). 'Centum' can hardly be used for an indefinite number, as both the repetition of the word and the tone of the passage, which expresses solemnity of enumeration, such as was usual in prayer, show that the specification of the number is an important ritual point; but there was no occasion for *Virg.* to tie himself to any tradition fixing the number of *Dryads* or *Naiads*, except so far as it might happen to suit his purpose; so we need not be surprised that no evidence has been quoted to show that 100 was the recognized sum of either. *Virg.* is followed by *Gratius* (*Cyn.* 17), "tuo (*Diana*) comites sub nomine divae Centum omnes nemorum, centum de fontibus omnes." [*Rom.* has 'silvas et centum.'—*H. N.*]

Ter liquido ardentem perfundit nectare Vestam,
Ter flamma ad summum tecti subiecta reluxit.

385

Omine quo firmans animum sic incipit ipsa :

Est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite vates,
Caeruleus Proteus, magnum qui piscibus aequor
Et iuncto bipedum curru metitur equorum.

384.] Wine was poured on the altar apparently towards the end of a sacrifice, partly, it would seem, with a view of quenching the fire (comp. "reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam," A. 6. 227 with, Aesch. Ag. 597, *θυηράγων κοιμῶντες εὐάδη φλόγα*), but partly to create a momentary blaze, which was regarded as auspicious (Soph. Ant. 1006, E. 8. 106, &c.), a result also promoted by flinging incense on the fire (Ov. F. 1. 75 foll.). EMIN. refers to Ov. Her. 13. 113, "Tura damus lacrimamque super: qua sparsa relucet, Ut solet adfuso surgere flamma mero." 'Nectar,' of wine, E. 5. 71. 'Vesta' of a sacrificial hearth, as 'Volcanus' of fire generally, a use of which no other instance has been found. Med. corrected, Gud., and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'perfudit.'

385.] For 'subiecta' Med. a m. pr. and perhaps originally Gud. have 'sublata,' while two MSS. have 'subvecta.' The latter variety has already met us 3. 241, Med. also has 'flammam' and 'tectis.'

386.] 'Firmans animum' is explained by the later editors 'reassuring herself,' a view not very consistent with their interpretation of "fletus inanis," v. 375, and not supported by vv. 353, 357, as Cyrene's fear was before she knew what had happened to her son. The old explanation seems better, referring 'animum' to Aristaeus, who stood in need of encouragement: comp. v. 530, "namque ultro adfata timentem," and for the language A. 3. 610, "dextram . . . dat iuveni, atque animum promisso pignore firmat." This view will also, as has been remarked to me, give a force to 'ipsa,' distinguishing the comfort she has to offer from the comfort suggested by the omen. [Nonius, p. 357 and] Gud. originally read 'formans,' a variety which may support Bentley's conj. "firmandae" in Hor. 3 Od. 24. 54.

387—414.] 'She bade him go to Palene with her, and find there Proteus, the prophetic old man of the sea, who would tell him the cause and cure of the evil, but only under the stress of persevering vio-

lence, as he would endeavour to elude the pressure by exercising his power of transforming himself into any kind of material form.'

387.] Cyrene's speech is imitated from two by Eidothea to Menelaus, Od. 4. 384 foll. Keightley takes 'Neptuni' with 'vates;' but the order is against this, and though the words might mean that Proteus is the *προφήτης* of Neptune (see v. 394, and comp. A. 3. 251), that would hardly be the rendering of the Homeric *γέρον ἄλιος νημερτής*, or even of *Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδάμης*. 'Neptune's Carpathian gulf' is a natural expression in poetry for the Carpathian sea, even if we do not say that 'Neptuni' = "maris" and the epithet 'Carpathio' properly belongs to it. The geography as usual is vague, the Carpathian sea being strictly between Rhodes and Crete. ['Carphatio' Med., 'Carphalio,' Pal., 'Carpatho' Rom. Ribbeck spell, 'Carphatio.'—H. N.]

388.] The sea-gods were actually represented as green: comp. Vell. Pat. 2. 83, where a man representing Glaucus pantomimically is "caeruleatus." In the post-Homeric legends of Troy, Proteus is a king of Egypt, who detains Helen on her way to Troy (see Hdt. 2. 112 foll.). Taubmann collects a number of interpretations which have been placed on the story by various authors, ancient and modern, Plato finding in the versatility of the old god an allegory of sophistry; Caesar Calpurnius, on the contrary, seeing in it the inscrutability of truth; Diodorus Siculus referring it to the changes in the shape of the diadem of the Egyptian kings; Lucian making him a stage-player; Melancthon thinking of the self-transforming power of intelligence; Natalis de Comitibus of the operations of the atmosphere; while various unnamed writers talk of the manifoldness of nature, the ideal of the wise man, and the variety of garments worn by the countrymen of Proteus:—"tot autem fere allegorias huius figmento induerunt, quot Proteus ipse formas."

389.] "Eodem et pisces et equos dicit"

Hic nunc Emathiae portus patriamque revisit 390
 Pallenen; hunc et Nymphae veneramur et ipse
 Grandaevus Nereus; novit namque omnia vates,
 Quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur;
 Quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius
 Armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas. 395
 Hic tibi, nate, prius vinclis capiendus, ut omnem
 Expediat morbi causam, eventusque secundet.

(Philarg.) "Equi enim marini prima parte equi sunt, postrema resolvuntur in pisces" (Serv.). This accounts for 'bipedum'; but the hendiadys is rather a strange one. 'Metitur' is doubtless, as Heyne says, from the Homeric *ἐλα μετρήσαντες*: but it receives force as applied to a sea-god from the contrast of the expression "immensum mare," well adduced by Cerda.

390.] This points to a legend unknown to Hom., but referred to by Lycophron 115 foll., and variously given by Serv. and Philarg., one version being that Proteus fled from Egypt to escape from the tyranny of Busiris, and came to Pallene: another that he originally lived in Pallene, where he had a wife Torone, whence the name of the town, and two sons, Telogonus and Polygonus or Tmylus, who used to wrestle with and kill all comers, till at last they were themselves wrestled with and killed by Hercules, when Proteus in his grief removed to Egypt, through a sea-cavern made for the purpose by Neptune.

391.] ['Pellenen' Med. originally.—H. N.]

392.] 'Grandaevus Nereus,' frequently called *γέρον* by Hom., e.g. Il. 1. 358.

393.] *ὅς ᾔδη τά τ' ἔδοντα, τά τ' ἐσόμενα, πρὸ τ' ἔδοντα* (Il. 1. 70), of Calchas: a comprehensive conception of a prophet, which became afterwards narrowed to a simple knowledge of the future, as divination degenerated into a trick. Comp. Apollo's knowledge of the present as shown in the answer of the Delphic oracle to Croesus, Hdt. 1. 47, and the wonder of the Chorus in Aesch. Ag. 1119 that Cassandra knows the old stories of Argos as if she had lived there at the time. The same breadth of knowledge is attributed to the muses by Hes. Theog. 38, where Homer's line is almost repeated. Wagn., reads 'sunt . . . fuerunt . . . trahuntur' on very slender authority ('fuerunt'

being found in no MSS. whatever, though it occurs in the Dresd. Serv., 'trahuntur' originally in Gud., Med. originally having 'trahentur'), alleging that the ind. is required, as the relative clause contains a description of 'omnia,' and citing other passages where a similar construction is found. But the subj. may stand either by supposing a repetition of 'novit,' as Wagn. admits, or as making a hypothetical assertion, 'every thing which may be present, or past, or future,' where it is not said that there is anything answering to any of these classes, but that if there is anything, he knows it. 'Mox' with 'ventura,' 'trahantur' (which may be explained either of distance, as in l. 235, though the notion here is coming from the distance, there of stretching into it, or, with Wagn., of delay, which is another aspect of the same thing, or of the drawing of the thread by the Fates) being a poetical equivalent for "sint." The MSS. of Macrob. Sat. 1. 20 generally give 'sequentur,' which supports a variant in Gud., 'sequantur.'

394.] Hom. does not say that Proteus owed this knowledge to Neptune; but Virg. may have been thinking again of Calchas, who received his prophetic power from Apollo, Il. 1. 72.

395.] 'The herds of the sea-god' is an expression found in the old Latin poets. Forb. comp. Liv. And. (fr. Aegisthus) v. 5, "lascivum Nerei simum pecus:" Pacuv. (fr. inc.) v. 408, "Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus." 'Turpis,' 3. 52.

397.] It is not clear, and it does not much signify, whether 'eventus' is to be taken of what has happened or of what will happen, the expression in the one case being explained with Wund. "quae acciderunt mala in melius mutet," in the other with Keightley, "det eventus secundos."

Nam sine vi non ulla dabit praecepta, neque illum
 Orando flectes; vim duram et vincula capto
 Tende; doli circum haec demum frangentur inanes. 400
 Ipsa ego te, medios cum sol accenderit aestus,
 Cum sitiunt herbae, et pecori iam gratior umbra est,
 In secreta senis ducam, quo fessus ab undis
 Se recipit, facile ut somno adgrediare iacentem.
 Verum ubi correptum manibus vinclisque tenebis, 405
 Tum variae eludent species atque ora ferarum;
 Fiet enim subito sus horridus, atraque tigris,
 Squamosusque draco, et fulva cervice leaena,

398.] For 'illum,' a variant in Gud. has 'ipsum.'

399.] For 'flectes' some MSS., including one of Ribbeck's cursives, have 'vinces,' which Burn. prefers: but Wagn. rightly urges that the concurrence of 'vinces . . . vim . . . vincula' would be an objection.

400.] 'Tende vim' may be explained like "tendere retia," "insidias," or we may make 'vim et vincula' a hendiadys, though even then we should have to seek for some plausible explanation of the combination of the verb with the substantive, as such things are not effected arbitrarily. For 'vincula tende' see note on A. 2. 236. 'Circum haec' seems to give a sort of physical image, combined with 'frangentur.' 'Against these barriers his craft will break.' 'Inanes' with 'frangentur,' proleptic. Pal. and Rom. have 'franguntur,' [and Rom. has 'dolis'.—H. N.]

401.] In Od. 4. 407 Eidothea promises to conduct Ulysses to Proteus ἔμ' τοῖ φαινομένηφιν. ['Accenderet' Pal.—H. N.]

402.] 'Cum sitiunt,' &c. is not co-ordinate with 'cum accenderit,' but defines and explains it, as if Virg. had said "simul ac venerit tempus cum sitiunt." The clause seems not very appropriate, being intended apparently to speak of the habits of land cattle as if they held equally good of the seals.

403.] 'Secreta,' the retreat, like "secreta Sibyllae" A. 6. 10, "Aeneae secreta" 8. 463. Proteus is supposed to sleep at mid-day, like Silenus (E. 6. 14) or Pan (Theocr. 1. 17, Nemes. Ecl. 3. 3), as if they were earthly shepherds. Λέγεται ἐν μέσσησι, νομεῖς ὡς πάσι μῆλων, Od. 4. 413.

405.] 'Manibus vinclisque:' Hom. makes no mention of fetters, speaking merely of manual restraint, μελέτω κάρτος τε βλή τε . . . ἀστεμφώς ἐχέμεν μᾶλλον τε πιάσειν . . . ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρας βάλλομεν.

406.] "Tum variae inludent pestes," 1. 181. Rom. has 'ludent,' a natural error.

407.] In Hom. the transformations of Proteus are summed up hastily by Eidothea, enumerated in greater detail by Menelaus when they actually occur: in Virg. the manners of description are reversed. There is nothing unnatural in either course: Menelaus, in speaking of what he had actually gone through, would naturally be particular: Virg. has no such reason for detailing what actually happened to Aristaeus; while, independently of a desire for variety, he might think precision of detail especially suited to Cyrene's speech, as tending to reassure Aristaeus, who would wish to know all that was likely to happen. 'Sus horridus:' "horrens Arcadiae sus," Lucr. 5. 25, the 'bristled boar' of Gray. Hom. has μέγας σὺς. 'Atra,' which is designated by Heyne as "mirum epitheton," must be explained with him 'deadly.' See on 1. 129. There are, I believe, black tigers: but Virg. is not likely to have thought of them. Homer's beast is πέρδαλις.

408.] ἄλλ' ἦτοι πρόωιστα λέων γένετ' ἡγυγένης, Od. 4. 456. The lioness, Wagn. remarks, has no mane, so that Virg. in his love of poetical variety has gone dangerously near to an error in natural history, besides the awkwardness of turning a god into a female animal. Val. Fl. 3. 740 talks of a lioness' mane. [Rom. has 'leaenae'.—H. N.]

Aut acrem flammæ sonitum dabit, atque ita vinclis
 Excidet, aut in aquas tenuis dilapsus abibit. 410
 Set quanto ille magis formas se vertet in omnis,
 Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla,
 Donec talis erit mutato corpore, qualem
 Videris, incepto tegeret cum lumina somno.
 Haec ait, et liquidum ambrosiæ diffundit odorem, 415

409.] *θεοσιδαὶς νῆρ* is mentioned by Eidothea among the shapes which her father assumes, but is not found among those enumerated by Menelaus. Med. has 'sonitum flammæ;' but the separation of the adj. and subst. is far more Virgilian.

410.] 'In aquas abibit,' like "fructus prædiorum abeunt in sumptus," Cic. Att. 11. 2, though the image here seems purely physical. 'Tenuis,' 3. 335. The Homeric epithet is *ὄργον*. The St. Gall palimpsest has 'elapsus,' [Pal and Med. 'dilapsus.—H. N.] Med. originally had 'habebit,' just as in A. 5. 136 'habet' and 'abit' are confused in the MSS.

411.] Pal. has 'veritit,' and so one or two of Ribbeck's cursives. ['Set' Med. and the St. Gall fragm.—H. N.]

412.] 'Contende tenacia vincla' is Virg.'s equivalent for Hom.'s *μᾶλλον πείσιν*. Serv. on v. 400 gives an allegorical explanation of the binding of Proteus, ending with these words: "unde sacerdotem hunc dicit posse vaticinari, et suscipere divinitatem, cum religata in eo fuerint ignea cupiditas, silvestris asperitas, lapsusque animi, aquarum mobilitati similis." Pal. and originally Gud. have 'tantu,' which is also the original reading of Med., except that there a mark over the last letter seems to show 'tantum' to be meant. Serv. mentions 'tantum' as a variety. Ribbeck however interprets 'tantu' as 'tam tu,' which he supposes to have been read by Donatus on Ter. Hec. 3. 4. 3. But Donatus' language is not clear, and it is possible that he may have quoted Virg. not as a parallel but as a contrast to the passage in Ter., which moreover I suspect him to have misunderstood.

413.] Eidothea tells Ulysses to loose Proteus *ὅτε κεν δὴ σ' αὐτὸς ἀνείρηται ἐπέεσσιν, τοίους δῶν, οἷόν κε κατευνηθέντα ἴδῃσθαι*. Ovid (M. 11. 253), in a passage which has been studied after Virg. and Hom., makes Proteus himself, "Carpatrius medio de gurgite vates," give

similar advice to Peleus about gaining possession of Thetis, "Nec te decipiat centum mentita figuras, Sed preme quidquid erit, dum quod fuit ante reformet."

414.] 'Tegeret lumina somno' is a variety for "somnia tegeret lumina," with the additional notion of the sleeper closing his eyes.

415—452.] 'Having anointed him with ambrosia, she then took him to a sea-cave which Proteus haunted, and placed him in the shade, being herself invisible. At mid-day Proteus came there from the sea, and having counted his seals, laid himself down, when Aristaeus rushed on him, and in spite of his transformations, succeeded in making him resume his natural shape. The old god asked why he had come. Aristaeus replied that there was no need to tell him what he knew already. Then Proteus at last began to tell him the cause of his trouble.'

415.] In this paragraph, as in the last, Virg. follows Hom., though with some variety in the circumstances. Menelaus has an application of ambrosia, not to his whole body, but to his nostrils, and that for a homely matter-of-fact reason, to overpower the smell of the sea-calves. In Virg. the object of the ambrosia seems to be to invigorate Aristaeus for his struggle. What Virg.'s conception of ambrosia was is not clear. In Hom. it is a substance which the gods eat (Od. 5. 93), and with which they purify their bodies (Il. 14. 170). Virg. talks of its odour in A. 1. 403, where though 'ambrosiæ' is an adj., the meaning is not, as in Hom.'s *ἀμβροσίος*, 'immortal,' but 'ambrosial,' while in 12. 419 we have its juice brought by Venus to be used medicinally. In the present passage, as in the former of the two just referred to, an impalpable perfume would be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the context, as it would seem the most natural way of explaining the present line in particular. If the word 'perduxit' and the authority of Hom. be held to prove that it must have been

Quo totum nati corpus perduxit; at illi
 Dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura,
 Atque habilis membris venit vigor. Est specus ingens
 Exesi latere in montis, quo plurima vento
 Cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos, 420
 Deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis;
 Intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi.
 Hic iuvenem in latebris aversum a lumine Nympha
 Collocat; ipsa procul nebulis obscura resistit.
 Iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos 425

something which could be actually rubbed on the person, we must choose between regarding 'liquidum diffundit odorem' as equivalent to "diffundit odoratum liquorem," 'diffundit' being nearly the same as 'perduxit,' which seems to be the common interpretation, and supposing that Cyrene is said to make the air fragrant with the ambrosia with which she proceeds to anoint her son, as if she had opened some casket, which sent forth a perfume at once before its contents were touched. [Rom. has 'ambrosia.'—H. N.] Ribbeck reads 'defundit' from the St. Gall palimpsest. Pal. has 'perfundit,' Rom. 'depromit,' reading 'perfudit' in the next line for 'perduxit,' a curious variety. Corrections in Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives give 'diffudit.'

416.] With 'quo totum nati corpus perduxit' comp. Pers. 2. 56, "auro sacras quod ovato Perducis facies," cited by Taubmann.

417.] 'Compositis' is not an ordinary epithet, but seems to imply that his hair was arranged at the time when the perfume was imparted, if not by the same process. Rom. has 'auras,' which might just be construed, 'dulcis' being taken as acc. pl.

418.] 'Est specus ingens' probably imitated from Il. 13. 32, *ἐστὶ δὲ τι σπέος ἐνὸρ*.

419.] 'Exesus' frequently occurs as a descriptive epithet of a cave. "Cyclopus exesa caminis Antra," A. 8. 418. Comp. v. 41 above. 'Quo' refers to 'specus,' as the waves flowing into the cove would flow into the cave at the end of it.

420.] 'Sinus reductos' seems evidently to mean the depth of the bay, the plural perhaps denoting the various indentations. 'Scindit sese' then will be used as implying motion. This passage helps us to understand A. 1. 160 foll., where

the present line is almost repeated: see the note there.

421.] The bay, like that in A. 1. l. c., is from time to time ('olim,' which may also be understood with Forb. 'from long time') used as a shelter for ships. Comp. A. 2. 23, "sinus, et statio male fida carinis." 'Deprensus' of men overtaken in a storm. So "prensus" Hor. 2 Od. 16. 2.

422.] There is a rock in or near the entrance of the cave, behind which Proteus retires that he may sleep undisturbed. 'Tegit' expresses habit. The clause is introduced to complete the description and prepare us for what follows, while the mention of his concealment apparently accounts for the fact that the same place is a roadstead for ships and a retreat for the sea-god.

423.] Aristaeus is placed in a dark corner. Rom. and one of Ribbeck's cursives omit 'a.' 'A limine' is an ingenious variation in Gud.

424.] ['Conlocat' Pal., Rom., and Gud.—H. N.] 'Resistit' may mean no more than "stat;" but it seems possible that it may have the force of 'standing off,' with reference perhaps to the cloud into which Cyrene may be said to retire, just as A. 1. 588 it seems to mean 'stands out,' being applied to Aeneas emerging from the cloud. So where 'resto' means 'to remain,' the sense seems to be that of independent standing. The early editions read 'recessit,' which however has scarcely any MS. support.

425.] In order that the mid-day heat may be intensified to the utmost, it is made to occur at the time of the domination of the dog-star. 'Rapidus,' E. 2. 10 note. 'Sitientis Indos,' like "sitientis Afros" E. 1. 65. The Indians are here mentioned not of course as having any topographical relation to the scene of action, but to remind us of the star in

Ardebat caelo, et medium sol igneus orbem
 Hauserat; arebant herbae, et cava flumina siccis
 Faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant:
 Cum Proteus consueta petens e fluctibus antra
 Ibat; eum vasti circum gens umida ponti 430
 Exultans rorem late dispergit amarum.
 Sternunt se somno diversae in litore phocae;
 Ipse, velut stabuli custos in montibus olim,
 Vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit,
 Auditisque lupos acuunt balatibus agni, 435
 Considit scopulo medius, numerumque recenset.
 Cuius Aristaeo quoniam est oblata facultas,

his fiercest operation. It matters little whether or no 'rapidus' be taken as qualifying 'torrens.' ['Torpens' Pal.—H. N.]

426.] 'Ardebat' is erroneously taken by Philarg. and Cerda as active. Heins. connected 'caelo' with what follows; but the latest editors rightly return to the old punctuation as more natural. 'Orbis' of the path through the sky, A. 3. 512, 8. 97.

427.] 'Hauserat' expresses the absorption, as it were, of the space by motion over it: see on 3. 104. Forb. comp. Stat. Theb. 1. 369. "vastum Haurit iter." 'Arebant herbae,' A. 3. 142. 'Cava flumina,' l. 326 note. ['Hausserat' Pal.—H. N.]

428.] 'Faucibus' is explained by 'cava' to mean the channel of the stream. There is rhetorical iteration in the expression, but not idle tautology, as Ameis objects, understanding 'faucibus' of the river's mouth. 'Ad limum,' down to the mud at the bottom, constructed apparently with 'tepefacta coquebant,' which seems = "tepefaciebant et coquebant."

429.] 'E fluctibus,' from its position, seems to go with 'petens' rather than with 'ibat,' though of course either construction is tenable.

430.] Med. has 'circum vasti,' an obviously inferior order.

431.] The bounding of the sea-calves, which is not mentioned in the passage from the Odyssey, is perhaps from Il. 13. 27, ἀραλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 'Rorem,' l. 385. 'Dispergit,' the reading of Med. and Rom., seems slightly better than 'dispersit,' on account of 'ibat' preceding, which would have led us to expect 'spar-

gebat,' if the past had been retained, unless there had been any intention to mark a difference of time by the perfect, which can hardly have been the case. Pal. has 'discepsit,' which is in favour of 'dispersit.' 'Amarum' is the sole reference to the πικρὸν ἄλδος πολυβενθέος ὀδμήν on which Menelaus dwells so feelingly.

432.] 'Stratus somno' occurs twice in Livy (7. 36, 37. 20), where Döring rightly takes 'somno' as the dative, 'laid down for (or to) sleep.' For 'diversae' the old editions give 'diverso.'

433.] 'Stabulum' is applied both to herds and flocks. 'Olim' seems here to mean at one time or other. ['Stabulis' Pal.—H. N.]

434.] 'Vitulos' is perhaps introduced on account of the comparison with "vituli marini." 'Ad tecta reducit' like "redeunt in tecta" of the goats, 3. 316. Pal. has 'vespere.'

435.] The lambs bleat as they are being driven home and folded. The image is perhaps varied from Il. 4. 435, where the sheep are described as standing to be milked, ἀγῆχες μεμακύναι, ἀκούουσαι ὕπα ἀρνῶν. The early editors read 'auditi,' which is found in Gud. and one or two other of Ribbeck's cursives.

436.] "Solio medius consedit avito." A. 7. 169. [Med. has 'consedit' here.—H. N.]

437.] 'Cuius facultas,' like "si facultas tui praesentis esset," Planc. to Cic. Ep. 10. 4, 'cuius' being Proteus. 'As soon as Proteus gave him the opportunity,' i.e. by lying down. "Quoniam pro postquam l'acuvius [(fr. inc.) v. 392], 'Quoniam ille interit, imperium Calefo transmissum est,'" Philarg. This use of 'quoniam,'

Vix defessa senem passus componere membra,
 Cum clamore ruit magno, manicisque iacentem
 Occupat. Ille suae contra non immemor artis 440
 Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,
 Ignemque, horribilemque feram, fluviumque liquentem.
 Verum ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia, victus
 In sese redit, atque hominis tandem ore locutus :
 Nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras 445
 Iussit adire domos? quidve hinc petis? inquit. At ille:
 Scis, Proteu, scis ipse; neque est te fallere quicquam;

which is recognized by Fest. p. 260 M. and by Donatus on Ter. Adelph. prol. 1, is not uncommon in Plautus, e.g. Trin. 1. 2. 75, 112, and is easily understood from the parallel instances of "cum," &c., &c.

439.] This and the following line are almost verbally translated from Od. 4. 454, 455.

441.] 'Miracula,' portents: not that there is any thing portentous in the things themselves, but that the fact of transformation is portentous. So Ov. M. 3. 671, "in quae miracula, dixit, Verteris," perhaps imitating this passage. 'Miracula rerum,' probably = "miras res," like "discrimina rerum" A. 1. 204; but a comparison of this expression with those referred to on 2. 534 may perhaps strengthen the hint given there, that 'rerum' may have something of a local sense, 'in the world.'

442.] 'Horribilem feram' serves as a brief summary of those enumerated vv. 407, 408.

443.] Heins. restored 'pellacia' from various MSS., including one of Ribbeck's oursives, though there the two first letters are over an erasure; but Voss rightly remarks, after Serv. on iA. 2. 90, that the word seems restricted to blandishments and incantations. The two words are constantly confounded (see on A. 2, 1. c.), and the origin of the confusion here is shown, as Wagn. observes, by the first reading of Med., 'phallacia.' Philarg. recognizes both readings, [and the Berne scholia read 'pellacia.'—H. N.]

445.] 'Nam' here introduces a question, like γάρ: e.g. Il. 1. 122, 123, 'Ἀτρεΐδην κείδιστε, φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων, Πῶς γάρ τοι δάσσοις γέρας μεγάλῳμοι Ἀχαιοί; So A. 2. 373, Ter. Ph. 5. 1. 5, "Nam quae haec anus est examinata, a fratre quae egressa est meo?" The use of 'nam' after interrogatives ("quisnam," "quianam,"

&c.) seems to be really the same thing, as instances are not wanting where 'nam' is separated from the word with which it is supposed to cohere, such as "quid tibi ex filio nam, obsecro, aegre est?" Plaut. Bacch. 5. 1. 28. In the passage from the Odyssey, which Virg. follows rather closely in this speech of Proteus, the form of the question is τίς νῦν; [The use of 'confidens' = 'audax' is illustrated from old authors by Nonius p. 262, Philarg. here, and Donatus on Ter. And. 5. 3. 5.—H. N.]

446.] Med. has 'domus.'

447.] 'Neque—quicquam' is commonly understood 'nor is it possible to deceive thee in aught' (comp. v. 392, "novit namque omnia"), so as to continue the thought contained in "Scis, Proteu, scis ipse." But though the Homeric epithet ῥημερής (Od. 4. 384) might be quoted in support of this, the awkwardness of supplying 'fallere' with a different subject in the next line is so great, that it may be better to suppose the meaning to be 'Thou canst not deceive me by pretending ignorance, so cease to attempt it.' Comp. "fallacia," v. 443, "nequiquam fallis dea," A. 12. 632. It is true, as Wund. remarks, that in this construction the subject of the inf. is not usually expressed, but that need only be because it can usually be supplied without difficulty, whereas here the dative or accusative would be required. The parallel line in the Od. (4. 465), οἶσθα, γέρον· τί με ταῦτα παρὰρροπῶν ἐπέλεις, is in favour of this view, though not decidedly. Admitting it, we may dispose at once of the variant 'cuquam' (Pal. and one of Ribbeck's cursives), which Heins. retained. Serv. [and the Berne scholia] acknowledge both readings. Ribbeck, understanding the passage as I have done, reads 'quicquam,' making 'neque quicquam' = "et nequiquam," a suggestion which had

Sed tu desine velle. Deum praecepta secuti
 Venimus, hinc lassiss quæsitum oracula rebus.
 Tantum effatus. Ad hæc vates vi denique multa 450
 Ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco,
 Et graviter frendens sic fatis ora resolvit :
 Non te nullius exercent numinis irae.

occurred to me in considering the passage from A. 12; but the word would require to be supported by instances or grammatical testimonies, and he quotes none.

448.] Why Aristæus chooses to speak of his mother generally as 'the gods' is not clear, especially as he knows that Proteus knows all. Perhaps it is for that very reason, to intimate that it is not worth while to go into detail, just as in the next line he speaks of the death of his bees generally as 'lassis rebus.'

449.] 'Hinc' for 'huo' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS., and is confirmed by 'hinc' v. 446, to which it seems intended to refer. The MSS. are divided between 'lapsis' (Rom.) and 'lassis' (Med. and the rest of Ribbeck's copies), nor is it easy to decide between them. If the former is supported by v. 249 above, "lapsi generis sarcire ruinas," the latter receives confirmation from the parallel expression "fessis rebus," which occurs twice in the *Aeneid* (3. 145, 11. 335), in the sense of "laborantibus." ('Fessis' is actually found here as a variant in Gud., and is given as a gloss by the Dresd. Serv., "lapsis: fessis et perditis.") On the one hand Plaut. Stich. 4. 1. 16 has "si res lassa labat, itidem amici collabascunt;" on the other, "lapsae res" occurs Sen. Herc. F. 646, while there are no less than four passages in Ovid (*Trist.* 1. 5, 35, 5. 2. 41, *Pont.* 2. 2. 49, *ib.* 3. 93) where the MSS. vary as here. On the whole I have allowed the parallel of "fessis rebus" to decide in favour of 'lassis,' contrary to the opinion of most of the editors; and so Ribbeck has done. Whichever be adopted, a question will remain about the case of 'rebus,' which may be either dat. or abl. The former seems on the whole most likely, though in Tibull. 2. 3. 21, "sæpe duces trepidis petiere oracula rebus," the words appear to be in the abl.

450.] ['Et fatus' Med.—H. N.] Here again it is hard to say whether 'vi multa' refers, as the commentators seem to take it, to the violence of inspiration under which Proteus speaks, or to the pressure from without. The latter would

agree with v. 398 above, and is perhaps recommended by the position of 'denique,' 'vi denique multa' seeming as if it might have the force of "vix tandem;" the former is in keeping with the picture given in the next two lines. No help towards a solution is supplied by Hom., who says nothing further than *ὡς ἐφάμην*—*ὁ δὲ μὲν αὐτὶν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν*. *Od.* 4. 471.

451.] 'Lumine glauco' either with 'ardentis' or with 'oculos.' The passage may show us how 'lumen' came to be used for an eye. The colour of the eye is doubtless attributed to Proteus as a sea-god (v. 388); but it is worth while remarking with Cerda that the epithet in Hom. seems to go along with fierceness (the "truces et caerulei oculi" of Tac. Germ. 4), so that the mood of Proteus may be intended to be noted also. 'Intorsit,' rolled on Aristæus.

452.] Whether the gnashing of the teeth is a mark of prophetic fury or of displeasure at the violence put on him, depends on the interpretation we give to 'multa vi.' There is an ambiguity too about 'fatis,' which may be either a dative or a modal abl., but is more probably the former, though *Ov. M.* 13. 126, "expectatoque resolvit Ora sono," which Cerda quotes, is in favour of the latter. *Comp. A.* 2. 246, where there is the same question, the balance inclining towards the dative. 'Fatis' here may very well have the sense of oracles, as in *A.* 1. 382, "data fata secutus."

453—463.] *Proteus*: 'The cause of your trouble is the vengeance of Orpheus. His wife in trying to escape from you was bitten to death by a serpent. The nymphs wailed for her, and her husband was inconsolable.'

453.] An emphatic assurance that the affliction is a divine visitation. So in Greek, *οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν* (*Eur. Iph. A.* 809), *οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν* (*Aesch. Ag.* 649). *Taubm. comp. A.* 11. 725. "At non hæc nullis hominum sator atque decorum Observans oculis." The deity spoken of must be the nymphs, as appears from vv.

Magna luis commissa: tibi has miserabilis Orpheus
 Haut quaquam ob meritum poenas, ni Fata resistant, 455
 Suscitāt, et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit.
 Illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps,
 Immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella
 Servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.

532 foll., not Tisiphone, as Serv. and others have supposed. Wagn., who will not allow the lengthening of a short syllable where there is no pause in the sense, thinks there is some corruption in the early part of this line.

454.] 'The crime you are expiating is great.' For 'luis' Rom. and others have 'lues,' which Philarg. [the Berne scholia] and Cerda curiously enough interpreted as a substantive. "*Magna lues*: id est magnum scelus." Serv. mentions a question about the punctuation, whether 'tibi' should be connected with what precedes or with what follows.

455.] 'Haut quaquam ob meritum' is connected by Serv. with Aristaeus, who is told that he is punished less than he deserves; but it seems better with the later editors to refer it to 'miserabilis Orpheus.' Orpheus is the hero of Proteus' speech, which is intended to show that he suffered wrong upon wrong: his wife's death, his failure to recover her, and his own murder, and all owing to Aristaeus' original offence. But the expression in any case is harsh, if not inexcusably ambiguous. Pal. has 'ad meritum,' which was also conjectured by Reiske and Heyne. This would suit the sense as given by Serv. [and the Berne scholia, "non tales quales mereris"]. 'ad' being explained 'up to,' as in "ad unum" &c. 'Poenas,' Heyne suggests, may be the furies; but its reference hardly seems so definite, as the visitation came from the nymphs, though the common expression about rousing or evoking the furies may be allowed to illustrate 'poenas suscitāt.' This notion of the dead man constantly crying for vengeance, as if fresh inflictions were continually being summoned, explains 'ni Fata resistant,' which is a sort of pregnant expression, the meaning being that Orpheus will summon more, or that his summons will be heard, unless the Fates interpose. The Fates are perhaps those of Aristaeus, though the word may well be understood generally. [Pal. has 'haud quaquam' for 'haut quaquam,'

and] for 'ni' Med. has 'nisi.'

456.] 'Rapta,' snatched from him by death, as v. 504 shows. In Ovid's account (M. 11. 63 foll.) Orpheus and Eurydice are reunited after death: from Virg.'s language here we might almost infer that he did not mean this to be the case, though his words must not be pressed too far.

457.] Wagn. cites A. 5. 609, 12. 901, as other instances where a person is indicated by a pronoun at the opening of a sentence, and afterwards further defined by a substantive, a mode of expression which he thinks taken from Hom., e.g. Il. 1. 488, αὐτὰρ δὲ μῆνις . . . πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς. This of course does not interfere with any special propriety which may be found in the position of the substantive in that particular part of the particular sentence, as here, where the contrast between the serpent and the girl and between the thought of death and the thought of youth was doubtless intended. 'Dum fugeret,' like "dum conderet urbem," A. 1. 5, "Dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret," A. 10. 800, which Wagn. compares, the subj. expressing a connexion between the principal clause and that introduced by 'dum,' though the precise nature of the connexion seems to vary according to the context in each case. Here we may render it 'in her hurry to escape,' or 'so but she might escape' ('dum' = "dummodo"), which also seems to be nearly its sense in the passage from A. 1; in that from A. 10 it might be explained to cover the father's retreat under the protection of his son's shield. No other instance is cited of 'per flumina,' which it seems safer to understand as = "per ripas fluminis" than to give to 'per' the sense of "prope." To suppose that she was actually rushing through the river in her eagerness to escape would be rather extravagant. This story, connecting Aristaeus with the death of Eurydice, seems not to be found elsewhere.

459.] The water-snake is lying in the grass on the bank. 'Servantem,' tenant-

At chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos 460
 Inplerunt montes; flerunt Rhodopeiae arces,
 Altaque Pangaea, et Rhesi Mavortia tellus,
 Atque Getae, atque Hebrus, et Actias Orithyia.
 Ipse, cava solans aegrum testudine amorem,
 Te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum, 465
 Te veniente die, te decedente canebat.
 Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,
 Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum
 Ingressus, Manesque adiit regemque tremendum,
 Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda. 470
 At cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis
 Umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum,
 Quam multa in foliis avium se milia condunt,

ing, like "limina Vestae Servantem," A. 2. 568; but there may be also a notion of guardianship, as if it resented Eurydice's intrusion. Note the delicacy with which Virg., instead of mentioning Eurydice's death, intimates it by the single word 'moritura.'

460.] 'Aequalis,' of her mates. In Ov. M. 10. 9 she is strolling with the Naiads when she is bitten by the serpent; and Virg. may have meant her to be with them when she is pursued by Aristaeus. 'Clamore supremo,' found in Rom., Pal., and some others, is very plausible, being used Ov. 3 Trist. 3. 43 of the last call on the dead; but 'supremos' is not without significance, referring to the force of the cry which reaches the mountain-tops, and is slightly confirmed by Lucr. 1. 274, "montisque supremos Silvifragis vexat flabris," while it is supported by Non. p. 388, Serv. [and the Berne scholia].

462.] Comp. A. 3. 13, "Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis, Thraces arant." From this line to A. 1. 277 Pal. is wanting. ['Panchaea' Med., 'Panchai' Rom.—H. N.]

463.] The Getae were classed by the ancients among the Thracians, Hdt. 4. 92. 5. 3, Strabo 7. 3, p. 295 C. Comp. A. 3. 35. So we have had them coupled with 'Rhodope,' 3. 462. 'Orithyia' is mentioned as the nymph of the country. 'Actias' as the daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, Acte being the old name of Attica. 'Et' was restored by Heins. before 'Actias' from nearly all the MSS. (all Ribbeck's) for 'atque,' which had been introduced in ignorance that the

final syllable of 'Getae' is not meant to be elided.

464.] 'Cava' is a quasi-Homeric epithet, having no relation to the context, but designating the object generally, as if it were part of its name.

465.] "Sola secum spatiat" 1. 389.

466.] Forb. comp. Hor. 2 Od. 9. 10, "nec tibi vespero Surgente decedunt amores, Nec rapidum fugiente sol-em."

467—184.] 'He even went down to the shades and worked on the iron nature of Pluto. His song drew all the ghosts about him, and the doomed ones enjoyed a brief respite from torture.'

467.] The entrance at Taenarus is apparently mentioned to keep up the Greek colouring of the narrative. ['Taenarcos' Med.—H. N.]

468.] 'Lucus,' of the abode of the spirits, as in A. 6. 259 (comp. ib. 131, 154, 238, 473). With 'nigra formidine' Cerda comp. Val. F. 3. 404, "arvaque nigro Vasta metu." So Lucan 3. 411, "arboribus suus horror inest."

469.] This and the next line are meant to intimate that he preferred his request to Pluto, if not that he prevailed, while the language suggests a notion of the difficulty of the attempt.

470.] A paraphrase of Homer's epithet, ἀμείλιχος 'Atēns' (Il. 9. 154).

471.] 'Cantum' Rom. and others, 'at' being apparently taken for 'ad.'

472.] 'Simulacraque luce carentum,' from Lucr. 4. 35.

473.] For 'in foliis' Med., Gud., and another of Ribbeck's cursives give 'in silvis,' which seems to have come from a

Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber,
 Matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita 475
 Magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
 Impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum;
 Quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo
 Cocyti tardaque palus inamabilis unda
 Alligat, et noviens Styx interfusa coerctet. 480
 Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti
 Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus angues

remembrance of the parallel passage A. 6. 309 foll. We have there two comparisons of the ghosts, to leaves falling in autumn, and to birds flocking across the sea to warmer climates. Rom. actually inserts before the present line vv. 310, 311, 312 of A. 6. in a corrupt form.

474.] 'When roosting or taking shelter from a storm.' Heyne compares 1. 374, where the cranes take shelter in the valleys.

475.] This and the two following lines are repeated A. 6. 306—308. Their original is to be found in Od. 11. 38 foll. 'Corpora' is applied to the shades A. 6. 303. Here we may say that, as in v. 477, he confounds the dead body on earth with the spirit below.

476.] 'Magnanimum;' see on A. 3. 704.

477.] This addition to the picture, of young men dead in their fathers' lifetime, is Virg.'s own, unless it can be said to have been suggested by the epithet in Od. 11. 38, *νύμφαι τ', ἡῖθεοι τε, πολύτλητοι τε γέροντες*. Comp. the description of Nestor's grief Juv. 10. 252, "cum videt acris Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni Quisquis adest socius, cur haec in saecula duret." ["The filial sacrifice and burial of Antilochus were celebrated in the Aethiopis of Arktinos:" Mayor on Juv. 1. c. who gives references to other Greek poets. And from several touches in the second Aeneid it seems probable that Virg. knew Arctinus well. —H. N.]

478.] For the black water of Cocytus see A. 6. 132. 'Informis limus' is attributed to the Styx, ib. 416.

479.] 'Tarda . . . coerctet,' repeated A. 6. 438, 439, with the change of 'tarda' into 'tristi.' For the application of 'palus' to the infernal rivers see on A. 6. 323. Here it probably refers to Cocytus ("Cocyti stagna alta" A. 6, l. c.), though

it would equally designate Styx or Acheron. For 'inamabilis' some MSS. have 'innabilis,' perhaps from a recollection of Ov. M. 1. 16. "Inamabile regnum" occurs Ov. M. 4. 476, 14. 590, of the shades, as Forb. remarks. Fragn. Vat. a m. s. has 'undae' (see on A. 6. 438), retaining however 'tarda.'

480.] 'Interfusa,' because, flowing nine times round the region, it is supposed to enclose parts of it between each fold. Cerda compares Stat. Theb. 4. 524, "Et Styx discretis interflua manibus obstat." But it may merely denote separation between the two worlds, as Mr. Blackburn thinks.

481.] 'Ipsae:' not only the patients, but the agents, the prisons and torturers themselves. 'Intima Tartara' is rightly made by Wagn. epexegetic of 'domus,' like "urbem et promissa Lavini Moenia," A. 1. 258, both being constructed with 'Leti.' 'Letum:' personified as in A. 6. 277, where it appears as one of the figures at the gate of Orcus; here it seems to be the presiding genius of the whole place.

482.] 'Caeruleos' of the dark livid colour of the serpent, not unlike 'ater.' It recurs A. 7. 346, "caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem," which gives some slight support to 'caeruleis' in this passage, the first reading of Med. For 'implexae' [the Berne scholia,] Med. a m. s. and a few others have 'impexae,' which occurs in a parallel place, Tibull. 1. 3. 69, Rom. and fr. Vat. 'innexae' (comp. A. 6. 281), while others of less authority give 'amplexae.' Serv. read 'implexae,' which he explains "involutae, implicitae, *ἐμπεπλεγμέναι*." Wagn. cites Hor. Epod. 5. 15, "Candida brevisvib implicate viperis Crines et incomptum caput," where however "incomptum" might be used to confirm 'impexae.' "Capillus horrore implexus atque impeditus" is quoted by Forc. from Apul. Apol. The sense here

Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,
 Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.
 Iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis, 485
 Redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras,
 Pone sequens, namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem,
 Cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem,
 Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes:
 Restitit, Eurydicenque suam, iam luce sub ipsa, 490
 Immemor, heu! victusque animi respexit. Ibi omnis

seems to be that the Furies had snakes twisted among their hair, i.e. growing from their heads and matted or entwining themselves with the natural hair.

483.] 'Inhians,' a-gape on Orpheus. 'Tenuit ora' may include both abstinence from barking and fixedness of countenance. See on A. 2. 1, where the adverbial use of "intenti" will illustrate "inhians" here.

484.] 'Rota orbis' is difficult, as we should rather have expected "orbis rotae." We may either make 'orbis' a genitive of quality, as we might say in prose 'a wheel of circular form,' or taking 'orbis' for the wheel, suppose after Heyne that 'rota' is put for the rotation—a sense of course not inherent in the word, which would then be used improperly, and so not needing to be supported by explicit instances, such as those which Voss adduces, and Forb. controverts. Comp. E. 9. 58 (note), "ventosi . . . murmuris auræ," where the difficulty is somewhat similar. 'Vento constitit,' like "placidum ventis staret mare," E. 2. 26, where see note. The wind is supposed to be the cause, not the effect of the wheel's motion; it is charmed to rest by Orpheus' music, and its rest is made the cause of the wheel's standing still. It may have been a misunderstanding of the meaning which gave rise to 'cantu,' a variety found in some MSS. (none of Ribbeck's), as it has given rise to various conjectures by the earlier critics. [Philarg. suggests that possibly 'ventu' = 'adventu' is the true reading.—H. N.]

485—503.] He was returning, followed by his wife, and just on the point of emerging from the shades, when in a moment of forgetfulness he broke the condition imposed, and looked back upon her. She fled, complaining loudly of his madness and her fate, and he was not allowed to return to seek her.

485.] Virg. simply indicates the giving

of the consent by the epithet 'reddita,' and only mentions the condition parenthetically as an after-thought. This mode of telling the story was doubtless adopted on grounds of art, such as those which Horace (A. P. 43, 44, 136 foll.) applies to the larger question of the conduct of the plot of an epic: and it is so far successful that it keeps the mind fixed on Orpheus as the central figure, while it does not perplex those who already know the legend in its details. When he came to the composition of the Aeneid, he seems to have seen the necessity of being more explicit, though even there his narrative is sufficiently different from the naive garrulity of Homer. Ovid, whose mode of narration is more rapid, tells the whole story from first to last (M. 10. 1 foll.).

487.] 'Legem,' condition, A. 11. 322. So "leges" and "foedera" are coupled G. 1. 60. Again we are left to collect from the context that Orpheus was specially ordered not to look back. The injunction, as Cerda remarks, seems to be one of the same kind as that mentioned E. 8. 102 (note).

488.] 'Dementia cepit,' E. 2. 69, 6. 47. Rom. and others have 'subito.'

489.] 'Manes:' see on v. 505.

490.] From a gloss in the Dresd. Serv. Wagn. infers (rightly, as appears from Serv. on v. 498) that a punctuation was once current, connecting 'iam' with 'suam,' "quæ paene sibi iam erat reddita;" and this he would approve but for the injury to the rhythm. But all that could be gained from it may be extracted from the passage as it stands, where 'suam' is meant to be emphatic, 'he looked back on his recovered Eurydice, just as daylight was actually upon them.'

491.] 'Victus animi,' like "animi dubius," 3. 289. See on A. 6. 332, and comp. Munro on Lucr. 1. 136. 'Victus' apparently means 'not master of himself.'

Effusus labor, atque immitis rupta tyranni
 Foedera, terque fragor stagnis auditus Avernus.
 Illa, Quis et me, inquit, miseram, et te perdidit, Orpheu,
 Quis tantus furor? En iterum crudelia retro 495
 Fata vocant, conditque natantia lumina somnus.
 Iamque vale: feror ingenti circumdata nocte,
 Invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas!
 Dixit, et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras
 Commixtus tenuis, fugit diversa, neque illum, 500

492.] 'Effusus labor' is like "incassum fuso... labores" A. 7. 421. In both passages, or at any rate in the latter, Virg. may have been thinking of Lucr. 2. 1163, "in cassum magnum cecidisse labores," where it may be doubted whether any attempt to alter 'magnum' or separate it from 'cassum' does not rob the passage of its force, destroying the image of toil falling into a vast bottomless void. Not unlike is "effudit curas," Juv. 10. 78, though that is said of voluntary abandonment of exertion. 'Tyranus' occurs several times in Virg., in some passages (e.g. A. 7. 266) evidently without any invidious connotation, while there is perhaps none where such a meaning is absolutely required. As however the invidious sense was current when Virg. wrote (see the passages from Cic. referred to by Forc.), it seems natural to introduce it wherever, as here, the passage would be improved by it. 'Immitis' seems to imply that the condition was a cruel one, and that Pluto will not relent even thus for a second time.

493.] 'Foedera': see note on v. 487. The best commentary on 'terque fragor stagnis auditus Avernus' is Martyn's citation of Milton, Par. Lost, 9. 782: "Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat Sighing through all her works gave signs of woe, That all was lost:" and again, ib. 1000, "Earth trembled from her entrails, as again In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan: Sky lowered, and muttering thunder, some sad drops Wept at completing of the mortal sin Original." Serv. has a curious notion that the sound was one of joy among the shades, and quotes a passage from Lucan's lost Orpheus, "gaudent a luce relictam [Heyne conjectures "reductam" or "rev. clam," but "a luce relictam" may = "luce carentem"] Eurydice, iterum sperantes Orpheus, Manes." Voss's opinion that the sound is occa-

sioned by the force exerted to bring Eurydice back would surely spoil the poetry of the passage. 'Avernus,' adj., A. 6. 118. Fragm. Vat. and other copies have 'Averni.' All Ribbeck's MSS. but Med. read 'Averni,' which may be right; perhaps however it points to a further variation, 'stagni est,' found in Rom. and adopted by Ribbeck.

494.] [Med. writes 'perdidit,' and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

495.] 'Furor' is the 'dementia' of v. 488. We need not take 'iterum' in the sense of "rursus," as Forb. thinks. It is true that the Fates were not calling Eurydice a second time 'retro,' but they were calling her a second time, and there is nothing strange in supposing Virg. to have combined the two forms of expression, 'vocant retro' and 'vocant iterum.'

496.] 'Natantia lumina,' A. 5. 856. "Nant oculi," Lucr. 3. 480.

497.] 'Ingenti circumdata nocte,' a contrast to the light into which they were just emerging, v. 490, as in 'non tua' we have another contrast to 'Eurydice suam.' Virg. has been supposed to have imitated Eur. Phoen. 1453, *καὶ χαλπερὴ ἤδη γὰρ με περιβάλλει σκότος*.

498.] 'Invalidas palmas:' "in umbrae tenuitatem reductas" Serv., the Homeric *ἀνεργός*, if that is derived from *μῆνός*. With 'tendens palmas' comp. A. 6. 314, "Tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore."

499.] "Tenuis fugit, ceu fumus, in auras" occurs A. 5. 740. The comparison is from Il. 23. 100, *ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονός, ἥδ' ὅτε καπνός, ὀλιχέτο τετραγύια*.

500.] Wakef.'s doubt whether 'tenuis' ought not to go with 'fumus' will hardly be entertained by any one now. 'Tenuis' is not an idle epithet, as it marks that quality in the air which makes the disembodied spirit combine with it. 'Fugit diversa' like "quo diversus abis?" A. 5.

Prensantem nequiquam umbras et multa volentem
 Dicere, praeterea vidit; nec portitor Orci
 Amplius obiectam passus transire paludem.
 Quid faceret? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret?
 Quo fletu Manis, qua Numina voce moveret?
 Illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba.
 Septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine menses

505

166. She was flying back to night, and consequently in a different direction from him. Med. a. m. s. has 'fugit in diversa.'

501.] 'Umbras' may possibly be the shade of Eurydice, as Forb. thinks, as the pl. in the sense of a single soul is supported by A. 4. 571, if not by A. 5. 81, and illustrated by the use of "Manes," while the singular would naturally be avoided on account of 'prensantem;' but it seems better to understand it of the darkness which Orpheus clutches in the hope of embracing his wife. 'Multa volentem dicere,' A. 4. 390.

502.] 'Praeterea,' A. 1. 49. 'Portitor' of Charon, A. 6. 326, where see note.

503.] 'Obiectam' like "obiecta . . . flumina" 3. 253. 'Palus' here seems to be Styx. The object of 'passus' is probably Orpheus, who, as Keightley says, must have attempted to cross the river again. Serv. says of this passage "mysticum est: dicitur enim his eandem umbram evocari non licere," doubtless supposing the object of 'passus' to be Eurydice.

504.] 'Quo se . . . ferret' like *ποῦ ἔρρεται* in Greek tragedy. Comp. A. 4. 283. ['Erepta' Med. corrected.—H. N.]

505.] The latter part of the line seems merely to repeat the former, 'Manis' being extended so as to include the powers below as well as the shades subject to them, as in v. 489 and elsewhere. There are no traces of any thing like a popular government among the shades, though from various passages in Hom. and Aesch. there seem to have been gradations of rank and honour in the community. 'Numina' is elsewhere applied to the infernal powers (A. 6. 266, 324, 7. 571), so that there seems no occasion for variety's sake to understand it here of the gods above, who would not naturally have any jurisdiction in the matter. Here again we may perhaps infer that Orpheus made some fresh attempt, though the lines may merely be a soliloquy expressed in an oratio obliqua. Rom. reads 'quos'

for 'quo,' Rom. and Med. 'quae' for 'qua.' ['Moneret' Med. originally.—H. N.]

506.] This verse, like 3. 219, has been thought out of place, when it really adds much to the force and beauty of the passage, serving at once to complete the picture of hopelessness as presented to Orpheus' mind and to balance her fate with his, which is described in the subsequent lines. 'What should he do? even while these thoughts are passing through his mind, she is on her way back over the Styx; and so she doubtless wanders as before on the shores beyond, while he,' &c. We may conceive him (see on v. 503) as returning to the bank and being repelled by Charon, who will not admit him, or put back for him, but hurries over the river with his single passenger. The objection that 'illa' is followed not by "hunc" but by 'illum' may be met if we consider that the contrast is not meant to be so much formally expressed as suggested, her subsequent fate being left to be inferred from her being seen floating over the water. 'Iam' seems to go with 'frigida;' all the warmth of life by this time had left her, and she was a ghost again. Possibly the word may be illustrated by the reason given by Lucian (De Luctu, c. 11) for putting a robe on the dead body, viz. that it might not take cold while crossing the Styx. 'Nare' of sailing on board ship seems rare. Forc. quotes Catull. 66. 45, "iuvetus Per medium classi barbara navit Athon." 'Cumba' of Charon's boat, A. 6. 303, 413.

507—527.] 'He wandered about in wintry solitudes, lamenting his fate like the bereaved nightingale in strains that drew savage beasts and rocks after him, and never admitting the thought of another love; a slight resentment by the Thracian women, who in one of their Bacchanalian orgies tore him in pieces. As his head floated down the Hebrus, it was heard still to repeat the name of his lost wife.'

507.] 'Ex ordine' of continuous succes-

Rupe sub aëria deserti ad Strymonis undam
 Flevisse, et gelidis haec evolvisse sub antris,
 Mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus; 510
 Qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
 Amisso queritur fetus, quos durus arator
 Observans nido inplumis detraxit; at illa
 Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
 Integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet. 515
 Nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei.
 Solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem

sion in time, 3. 341, where, as probably here, it refers to the succession of days.

508.] 'Rupe sub aëria,' a picture like E. 10. 14. Comp. ib. 52.

509.] Rom. reads 'flesse sibi,' a rather remarkable variation, as being less usual than 'flevisse.' The same authority with some others gives 'gelidis sub astris,' which is exceedingly plausible, whether we interpret it of the night, when the beasts would be prowling about, or with Mr. Blackburn consider 'gelidis astris' to be merely a synonyme for "Arcto" or "Septentrione." Poets are placed in caves elsewhere, Prop. 4. 1. 5, "Dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro," and possibly Hor. I Od. 32. 1, "Si quid vacui sub umbra Lusinus," where Bentley from one MS. read "sub antro." Thus 'gelidis' would have force here as reminding us that caves are not merely 'places of nestling green for poets made,' but have their dreary and uninviting side, which was here the attraction to Orpheus. 'Evolvisse,' recounted his sufferings in order, a metaphor either from spinning or from turning over a book.

510.] The existence of tigers in Thrace is of course a fanciful or mistaken notion. Keightley reminds us that Shakspeare talks of a lioness in the forest of Ardenne.

511.] The celebrated simile which follows is compounded from Od. 19. 518 foll. and ib. 16. 216 foll., the former of which describes the nightingale singing as if in lamentation for her lost Itylus, while the latter speaks of vultures screaming for the real loss of their young. Germ. finds a possible allusion to the fact, mentioned by Pausanias, that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus were more vocal than others of their kind. The quivering motion of the poplar leaves may be intended, as Heyne thinks, to be in keeping with the

protracted melancholy singing.

512.] οἷσι τε τέκνα Ἀργῶται ἐξέλκοντο πάρος περηνά γενέσθαι, Od. 15. 217. 'Observans' is used loosely to supply the want of an aor. part., the sense being "observatos detraxit." With the fact compare E. 3. 68, which may be said to give the other side, the countryman's view of his action. 'Arator,' 2. 207, where however the word is used more strictly, as it is for ploughing that the countryman clears the land of trees, birds' nests, and all.

513.] δεινῶν ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκνοῖσι, Od. 19. 520. ['Opservans' Med. —H. N.]

515.] 'Integrat,' 'renews,' or 'repeats,' the nightingale constantly recurring to the same notes. Hom. (Od. l. c.) gives the contrary image, ἥ τε θαμὰ τραπῶσα χεῖρ πολυχέα φωνήν, thinking probably of the difference of the notes among themselves. 'Maestis . . . implet,' perhaps from Lucr. 2. 146, "liquidis loca vocibus opplent," as Cerda suggests.

516.] 'Nulla Venus,' as Eur. (Iph. A. 1264) talks of Ἀφροδίτη τις for 'a certain passion.' 'Non ulli,' the reading of Med. and others, was restored by Heins. for the common text 'nullique,' found in one of Ribbeck's cursives. 'Animum flexere' may be illustrated by Catull. 64. 330, "Quae tibi flexanimo mentem perfundat amore." The meaning then, as it would be expressed in prose, seems to be, 'no passion bowed his soul, so that he took on him the yoke of wedlock.' If we choose to press 'non ulli flexere hymenaei,' understanding it of the softening influence of marriage, we may comp. Lucr. 5. 1017, "puerique parentum Blanditiis facile ingenium fringere superbum," and the whole passage on domestic life of which it forms part.

517.] The places mentioned in this and the following line are doubtless intended

Arvaque Rhiphaeis numquam viduata pruinis
 Lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis
 Dona querens; spretae Ciconum quo munere matres 520
 Inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi
 Discerptum latos iuvenem sparsere per agros.
 Tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum
 Gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus
 Volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua, 525
 A miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat;
 Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae.

by Virg. to be in or bordering on Thrace, as Heyne remarks, as it is not likely that Orpheus should be represented as wandering far north of his own country; so that we must once more note the poet's loose handling of geography. 'Hyperboreas,' see on 3. 197. Trapp says of this and the next line, "Those verses are enough to make one shudder at Midsummer."

518.] 'Rhiphaeis,' note on 1. 240. 'Viduata' is similarly used by Lucr. 5. 840, "Orba pedum partim, manuum viduata vicissim." It is possible that Virg. may have chosen 'viduata' with reference to Orpheus' condition, but the thought even thus slightly hinted at, would be a mere conceit.

520.] 'Munus' is technically used of funeral honours (A. 4. 624, 6. 386, 11. 26, and various instances cited by Forc.), that being, according to one opinion (see Tertullian de Spect. 12), the sense which led to another technical application of the word, to games, shows, &c. It does not seem harsh to speak of Orpheus' constancy and suffering sorrow as a 'munus' to Eurydice in this sense, especially as 'quo' as it were, apologizes for the word with which it is joined, 'a tribute like this,' or, as we might say, 'this way of honouring his wife,' any more than in A. 4. 1. c., where the Tyrians are charged to be the implacable enemies of the Trojans, as a 'munus' to Dido's ashes. There would be considerable probability in the interpretation of Asper, mentioned by Philarg., "ob quam rem," οὐ χάριν ('quo munere' = 'cuius [Orpheï] munere'), if it could be supported by examples; but though such expressions as "vestro munere" (1. 7), "munere divom" (ib. 238), help us to see how the phrase might have arisen, they do not entitle us to assume its existence. [I suspect, however, that Asper read 'quo nomine,' as

the Berne scholia conclude their note by saying "numine, alii munere."—H. N.] 'Spretae munere' then will mean 'slighted by the tribute,' i.e. feeling themselves slighted. 'Sperno' is specially used of scorned or rejected love, E. 3. 74, A. 1. 27. Thus we may see that 'spretō,' the reading of some MSS., is a mere correction by those who did not understand the passage. 'Matres' seems at first sight a strange word for the marriageable women of Thrace (Ov. M. 11. 3 has "nurus Ciconum"), but it seems to be applied to them as Bacchantals, like θύουσας Ἀίδου μηρία, Aesch. Ag. 1235.

521.] The story as told by Ov. l. c. is that the Thracian women, while in the midst of their orgies, accidentally saw Orpheus, remembered his scorn, and so tore him in pieces. Some MSS. have 'nocturnaque,' which Pier. defends, supposing 'que' to be unelided.

522.] [Nonius p. 405 reads 'diversum.'—H. N.]

523.] The application of 'marmoreus' to the body is as old as Lucilius (28. 47), "Hic corpus solidum invenies, hic stare papillas Pectore marmoreo," where however the reference seems to be to firmness of flesh rather than to colour. 'Caput a cervice revulsum' is from Enn. Ann. 462.

524.] Oeagrus was the father of Orpheus, so that 'Oeagrius' here = "paternus."

525.] 'Vox ipsa,' the mere voice, as if it were a separate organ, like the tongue. 'Frigida,' v. 506.

526.] 'Vocabat,' not that he invoked her in death, which the mode of the address contradicts, but that he went on lamenting her in death as in life.

527.] 'Toto flumine,' if pressed, seems to mean over the whole breadth of that part of the stream down which the head

Haec Proteus, et se iactu dedit aequor in altum,
 Quaque dedit, spumantem undam sub vertice torsit.
 At non Cyrene; namque ultro adfata timentem : 530

Nate, licet tristis animo deponere curas.
 Haec omnis morbi causa; hinc miserabile Nymphae,
 Cum quibus illa choros lucis agitabat in altis,
 Exitium misere apibus. Tu munera supplex
 Tende petens pacem, et facilis venerare Napaeas; 535
 Namque dabunt veniam votis, irasque remittent.
 Sed modus orandi qui sit, prius ordine dicam.
 Quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros,

floated while it still retained its power of speech. To suppose that the head kept murmuring on in its course down the stream till it reached the sea, would be to suppose the poet's imagination losing itself in mere extravagances.

528—547.] 'Proteus ended and left him. Cyrene remained to tell him the cure as well as the cause of his loss. It came, she said, from the nymphs, who were to be appeased by the sacrifice of four of his best bulls, their bodies being left in the sacred grove. On the ninth day he was to go back to the grove, having first paid funeral honours to Orpheus and Eurydice.'

528.] *ὡς εἰπὼν, ὑπὸ πόντον ἰδύσατο κυμαίνοντα*, Od. 4. 570. In Hom. Proteus departs much less abruptly than in Virg., answering several questions from Menelaus, and comforting him after the news of his brother's death. Here it may be said that variety is secured, without any departure from prophetic custom, by confining him to a narrative of the events which led to the calamity, and leaving the rest to be said by Cyrene; but the fact still remains, that, so far as the manner of his communication is concerned, he is too much the mouthpiece of the poet, though the narrative is certainly so conducted as to excite pity for Orpheus beyond every other feeling, and so to represent to Aristaeus the gravity of the occasion. 'Iactu' expresses the mode, like "lapsu effugiunt" A. 2. 225, "cursu tendit" ib. 321.

529.] 'Torsit sub vertice:' "quod vulgari usu, vortice vel in vorticem, ita ut vortex fieret." Heyne. Proteus, diving to the depth, is said to wreath the water in foam under the eddy, the poet's object being to give the two images, of a body

shooting down and sending up water, and of the eddy that agitates the surface. Another interpretation of 'sub vertice,' 'under his head,' mentioned by Cerda and adopted by Trapp and Martyn, is now generally given up.

530.] 'At non Cyrene:' some verb, generally equivalent to 'dedit' and 'torsit,' must be inferred from the preceding sentence, as we might say, 'But Cyrene did not leave him thus abruptly.' See on 3. 349 and comp. A. 4. 529. 'Ultrō adfata,' spoke without waiting to be addressed, or, as we might render it, spoke at once.

531.] Comp. Aesch. Ag. 165, *εἰ τὸ μῦθον ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος Χρῆ βαλεῖν ἐγνητύμως*. Med. originally had 'componere.'

533.] For the dances of the nymphs, comp. A. 1. 498 foll.

535.] 'Tende' pictures the attitude of supplication, outstretched hands with gifts in them. "Tendentemque manus Priamum respexit inermis," A. 1. 487. 'Pacem' of reconciliation with the gods, A. 3. 261, 370, &c. There is a verbal resemblance to Lucr. 1. 40, "Funde, petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem." 'Facilis' is not an infrequent epithet of the nymphs, denoting their accessibility and placability. So "faciles Amadryades" Prop. 3. 26. 76, "Naiades faciles" Nemes. Cyn. 94. The 'Napaeae,' *ναπαῖαι*, are distinguished from the Dryades, to whom they seem to have borne a general resemblance, by Col. 10. 264, Nemes. E. 2. 20.

536.] 'Votis,' connected with 'dabunt,' as if he had said "precanti."

537.] ['Set' Med.] "Ordine dicam," *ἐξηγήσομαι*, 'ordine' expressing ritual exactness of detail.

538.] So four bullocks are sacrificed when Aeneas goes down to the shades, A.

Qui tibi nunc viridis depascunt summa Lycae,
 Delige, et intacta totidem cervice iuvenças. 540
 Quattuor his aras alta ad delubra dearum
 Constitue, et sacrum iugulis demitte cruorem,
 Corporaque ipsa boum frondoso desere luco.
 Post, ubi nona suos Aurora ostenderit ortus,
 Inferias Orphei Lethaea papavera mittes, 545
 Et nigram mactabis ovem, lucumque revises.
 Placatam Eurydicen vitula venerabere caesa.

6. 243. 'Eximius' is said by Festus (s. v.) and Macrob. (Sat. 3. 5) to be primarily used, as hero, of cattle selected for sacrifice. Donatus (on Ter. Hec. 1. 1. 9) adds that its proper application there is to pigs, "egregius" being the word for oxen under similar circumstances, "lectus" for sheep. Rom. has 'eximio praestantia.'

539.] Comp. the invocation of Aristaeus, 1. 14. The locality here agrees with his title "Arcadius magister," v. 283, but scarcely with the topography of the present story, v. 317.

540.] 'Intacta cervice,' never yoked. So "grege de intacto," A. 6. 38. Comp. G. 3. 162 foll., where the separation of cattle according to their destination is dwelt on. Thus 'intacta cervice' is equivalent to 'eximios.' 'Intactas' [the Berne scholia], Rom., supported by indications in Verona fragm. Gud., and others of Ribbeck's MSS.: ['intacta' Serv. and Macrob. Sat. 3. 5. 5.—H. N.] Owing to the lacuna in Pal. (see on v. 462), the text here and in v. 538 is perhaps rather doubtful.

542.] Elsewhere 'constituo' is used of setting the victims before the altar, A. 5. 237, 6. 244. So "statuere aram" 8. 271, "statuere iuvenum" 9. 627. With 'iugulis demitte cruorem' Germ. well comp. Eur. Hec. 821 (of the sacrificers), ἀφίεσαν Λαμῶν βορρῶν ἐθὺς οὐρίων φόνον, a passage which Virg. may possibly have had in mind. ['Dimitte' Med.—H. N.]

543.] 'Corpora ipsa,' as distinct from their blood, and perhaps from their throats. There may be some point in 'frondoso,' as answering to the closing up of the chamber recommended v. 303, but the discrepancy pointed out on v. 302 warns us against looking too minutely for signs of analogy.

544.] Heyne suggests that Virg. may be pointing to the Novendiale, a sacrifice performed nine days after a funeral, as

perhaps he does A. 5. 64. At the same time of course he wishes to give time for the production of the swarm, though not so long as was considered necessary in actual practice (see on v. 303).

545.] 'Inferias,' as funeral offerings. "Viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris," A. 10. 519. 'Orphei,' the Greek dative. Rom. has 'Orphee.' 'Papavera:' nothing is said by the commentators to illustrate or explain this offering of poppies, in what form it was made, &c. Is it possible that the reference may be to the μελιττοῦρα, or honey-cake, placed by the side of the corpse, and intended probably for Cerberus, which we may assume to have been made with poppy-seed (comp. A. 4. 486, 6. 420)? 'Mittes:' Cerda comp. Lucr. 3. 52, "nigras mactant pecudes et manibu' divis Inferias mittunt."

546.] The third Aldine edition, a recension which is supposed to have some MS. authority, and perhaps a single MS., reverse the order of this and the next line: and their disposition has been generally followed by the earlier editors, including Heyne. See however on the next verse. "Nigram mactabis ovem:" so Aeneas (A. 6. 249 foll.) sacrifices a black lamb to Night and Earth.

547.] The genuineness of this line is disputed by Heyne and Wagn., but in one position or another it is found in all the MSS., though the difference about the order, if any really exists, may perhaps furnish a slight external ground against it. As it is commonly understood, as if it were merely an additional injunction, "praeterea Eurydicen vitula caesa placabis" (Jahn), there is certainly some awkwardness in its position after 'lucumque revises,' and without any introducing particle; an awkwardness not removed by Jahn's remark that the atonement made to Eurydice might come in as an after-

Haud mora; continuo matris praecepta facessit;
 Ad delubra venit, monstratas excitat aras,
 Quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros 550
 Ducit, et intacta totidem cervice iuvenças.
 Post, ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus,
 Inferias Orphei mittit, lucumque revisit.
 Hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum
 Aspiciunt, liquefacta boum per viscera toto 555
 Stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis,

thought, not being itself really a means of restoring the bees, as, if none but the physical means of restoration are taken account of, the mention of Orpheus' poppies and black sheep might be postponed as well. But the line will gain greatly in force and propriety, if we suppose it to contain an intimation from Cyrene that her son will find his bees restored, and that then he is to offer a calf as a thank-offering to Eurydice: 'you will go back to the grove . . . and then, finding Eurydice appeased, you will honour her,' &c. The sacrifice of the bulls and the offerings to Orpheus have appeased Eurydice, being really offered to her as well. Possibly there may be something delicate in the discrimination of the propitiatory offerings required by the husband from the thank-offering which contents the wife; but it may be no more than one of those poetical varieties of which Virg. is so fond. Ladewig too has seen that a thank-offering is meant.

548—553.] 'He follows his mother's directions, and on returning to the grove, finds the carcasses of the oxen alive with bees, which swarm on a tree.'

548.] For 'facessit' Med. and Gud. have 'capesit,' the latter giving 'facessit' as a variant in the margin, while in two other of Ribbeck's cursives 'facessit' is over an erasure; but though "iussa capessere" occurs A. 1. 77, 'to despatch' is here more appropriate than 'to undertake,' as the stronger word. In A. 4. 295 a single inferior MS. gives "iussa capessunt."

549.] 'Monstratas aras,' like "monstrata piacula," A. 4. 636. 'Excitat,' builds, as in Cic. Legg. 2. 27, "nec e lapide excitare plus" (of a tomb), and other instances given by Forc. In A. 8. 543 "excitat aras" is used of kindling, a sense which Forc. attributes to the present passage.

550.] Rom. and originally Gud. have 'eximio praestantis,' the latter word however, in Rom. resulting from a correction, and 'eximio' is also the reading of Med. In the next line Rom. and originally Gud. again have 'intactas.' Med. originally had 'intacto,' probably from the first syllable of 'totidem.' See on vv. 538, 540.

551.] 'Ducit,' leads to the altar. "Duc nigras pecudes," A. 6. 153. The repetition of the lines that have just occurred is of course an imitation of the Homeric narrative. Heyne, referring to Bentley on Milton, Par. L. 10. 1086, and Upton on Spenser's Faery Queen, pp. 643, 644, finds a reason for these repetitions in the poet's wish not to alter gratuitously or tastelessly what had once been said well; but in an old epic writer there is no need to look for anything deeper than that simplicity which, addressing a simple audience, thinks more of explicit information than of ornamental variety, and is only occasionally visited with unwillingness *αὐτὶς ἀρι(ήλως εἰρημένα μυθολογεῖν*.

552.] 'Induxerat,' had ushered into the sky. "Iam nox inducere terris Umbras . . . parabat," Hor. 1 S. 5. 9.

553.] Rom. and one of Ribbeck's cursives have 'Orpheo.'

554.] 'Monstrum,' of a prodigy, a sense very frequent in the Aeneid, A. 2. 680, &c. This passage and vv. 308 foll. above illustrate each other. Here the bodies of the oxen are not bruised, but the dead flesh becomes deliquescent, and the sides give way, when the bees, which are supposed to form in the stomach, force their way through.

556.] Germ. comp. Lucr. 2. 928, "vermisque effervere, terram Intempestivos cum putor cepit ob imbris." The 'coetæ' and 'viscera' are connected as in A. 1. 211, "Tergora deripiunt costis et viscera nudant."

Immensasque trahi nubes, iamque arbore summa
Confluere et lentis uvam demittere ramis.

Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam
Et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum 560

557.] The swarming of the bees is described much as in vv. 58 foll. Comp. also A. 7. 64 foll. 'Arbore' is local, 'confluere' being used as if "in arborem" had preceded.

558.] 'Uvam demittere' is doubtless suggested by *βοτρυδὴν δὲ πέτραις*, II. 2. 89.

559—566.] 'So ends my rural poem, written while Caesar is winning glories in the East, in my studious retreat at Naples, by me, the poet of the Eclogues.'

559.] This and the following lines, though found in all the MSS., have been condemned by some critics, such as Brunck and Schrader, as the production of a grammarian, such summaries being frequently produced as exercises by later writers, a class of whom Ausonius may be taken as a favourable specimen, while they are sufficiently uncommon in the undoubted works of poets themselves. That a composition of this kind might find its way into the text of MSS. of authority, we shall see at the opening of Aeneid 1; but here as elsewhere the unanimity of the MSS. is an argument not easy to rebut, while the lines may be vindicated on their own ground as completing a poem which would otherwise wear an unfinished air, and as containing nothing unworthy of Virg., though we may hardly assert, with Weichert, that the single word 'oti,' v. 564, proves them to have been written before the latter part of the reign of Augustus. The poet had begun with Caesar; he now ends with him, contriving at the same time, with a self-assertion which, however artfully veiled, must have appeared presumptuous in one less secure of imperial favour, to institute a kind of parallel between the laurels which the master of the world has been winning in Asia with the more peaceful triumphs which the Muse has been achieving at Naples. It is possible that Virg. may have taken the hint of an autobiographical conclusion from some Alexandrine writer, as the two extant works of Nicander, Theriaca and Alexipharmaca, both end with a couplet in which the writer recommends

himself by his own name to the reader's notice. The conclusion of Ovid's Metamorphoses may be said to furnish indirect evidence to the genuineness of the present passage, as, if not actually modelled on it, it shows at any rate that the spirit of self-assertion which breathes in both was not foreign to the Roman poetry of that period. The dedicatory poem in Catullus, and the concluding ode of Horace's Third Book, are specimens of the same kind of feeling. Other critics, of whom Heyne is one, have been satisfied with rejecting the four last lines, a view less consistent than the other, and equally unsupported. 'Haec canebam:' a formula like that at the end of a letter, "Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae," Hor. 1 Ep. 10. 49. Wagn. comp. E. 10. 70, "Haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam," which he regards as the finale of the whole book of Eclogues. 'Canebam super arboribus,' &c., like "super Priamo rogatus," A. 1. 750. "Scribere super re" is used by Cic. Att. 16. 6. The summary of the contents of the Georgics is more rapid and less exact than that with which the poem opens. Bees are omitted altogether (for we can hardly argue with Forb. from v. 168 that they are included in 'pecorum'), as the poet doubtless felt that his reader was not likely to forget them. ['Cultus' the St. Gall fragm.—H. N.]

560.] The period referred to in this and the two following lines is that of Octavianus' progress in the East after the battle of Actium. The meaning is evidently that the poem was finished while these Eastern operations, which were the work of some time, were taking place. To conclude with Wagn. that the whole poem was composed during that time is to disregard probability without any adequate gain from increased strictness of language. See Introductory Essay. 'Canebam dum fulminat: the use of 'dum' with the present in narrative is sufficiently common, the verb in the corresponding clause being in the perfect, e.g. A. 5. 605, 606, "Dum variis referunt tumulo sollennia ludis, Irim de caelo misit

Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentis
 Per populos dat iura, viamque adfectat Olympo.
 Illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
 Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti,

Saturnia Iuno," 'while they are engaged in the obsequies, Juno has sent Iris,' the whole being viewed from the present moment. Hence it is extended to cases where the verb in the leading proposition is in the pluperfect, as E. 7. 6, 7 (note), the construction being a mixture of the present and past forms of narrative, such as frequently occurs in prose as well as in poetry. The combination in this passage of 'dum' with the present, and a verb in the imperfect in the leading proposition, is an instance of a similar mixture. The imperfect in formulas, like those noticed in the note on the preceding line, is intended, as is well known, to place the writer at the time when his work will be perused by the reader. If the present is to be explained in conformity with this usage, we must say that it is meant to imply that the successes of Caesar were still going on when the composition of the *Georgics* was finished, and, in the poet's view, would still be going on when his work should be in the reader's hands. Or we may say that 'canebam' being regarded as a conventional synonyme for the present, the present is used of a time intended to be coextensive with it. In the passage from Livy 21. 7, quoted by Voss, "dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur," the inconsistency of the tenses has a rhetorical force, the point being to fix the mind on the late date to which the consultations extended, and on the early date at which the siege began, so that what is present in the former is placed in juxtaposition with what is past in the latter.

561.] 'Fulminat,' like "fulminat Aeneas armis," A. 12. 654, where the image is that of Jupiter hurling his thunderbolts on the world. So the Scipios are called "fulmina belli," A. 6. 842, Lucr. 3. 1034. Comp. Aristophanes' well-known description of Pericles (Ach. 531), *ἡστραπτή, ἐβρόντα, ἔνεκενὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, though the fulmination there was of a different kind. 'Bello,' instrumental or modal, like "armis," A. 12. l. c. The war is the war with Egypt, just closed, the submissions those which Octavianus afterwards received, Egypt being reduced to a province,

while the claimants of the Parthian throne sought his arbitration, and Herod was confirmed by him in his kingdom. See Merivale, *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 358, 359.

562.] 'Dat iura' is here used loosely of governing, as in Livy 30. 32 "Roma an Karthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros," Hor. 3 Od. 3. 43 "triumphatisque possit Roma ferox dare iura Medis," passages cited by Lersch, *Antiqq. Vergg.* § 2. It is very common in the *Aeneid*, where it generally has the sense of legislation, though the notion of administering justice seems sometimes to be included. See A. 1. 293 (where I have gone too far in excluding the sense of "ius dicere"), 5. 758, 7. 246, 8. 670. 'Adfectare viam' or "iter" is a phrase. Ter. *Phorm.* 5. 8. 71, "Hi gladiatorio animo ad me adfectant viam." The sense is apparently nearly = "ingredi viam," though in one or two passages it seems to denote rather purpose than even an early stage of accomplishment. Caesar is apparently here described as working his way to actual immortality (1. 503), not as making himself a god on earth, which Virg. has declared that he is already (ib. 42). 'Olympo,' like "it clamor caelo," A. 5. 451.

563.] The contrast between the conqueror and the poet, which had been hinted in the previous lines, is here drawn out, not only the occupations being compared, but the places, and even the names. The spelling 'Vergilium' is found in the St. Gall palimpsest, Med., and Rom., [and is attested by inscriptions in which the name occurs.—H. N.] 'Alebat' suits 'canebam.'

564.] 'Parthenope,' the other old name of Naples (Neapolis), from the grave of one of the Sirens of that name. "Sirenium dedit una suum memorabile nomen Parthenope muris Acheloias," Sil. 12. 33, quoted by Emm. 'Oti,' peace: see on E. 1. 6. Weichert's argument, mentioned on v. 559, from the form of the word is not conclusive, as though the genitive "ii," from "ium," may not have come in till the latter part of Augustus' reign, a question on which see Lachmann on Lucr. 5. 1006, the form "i" seems not entirely to have died out afterwards. "Palati" is found

Carmina qui lusi pastorum, audaxque iuventa, 565
Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

Juv. 4. 31. 'Studiis otii' then is opposed to "studiis belli," A. 1. 14, the genitive here, if not there, being possessive. 'Ignobilis' opposed to active life. "Solus ubi in silvis Italidis ignobilis aevum Exigeret," A. 7. 776. Comp. "inglorius," above, 2. 486. 'Florentem:' Cic. Ep. 4. 13, "studia . . . quibus a pueritia florui." The expression there seems to imply something of a compliment; here it probably only denotes abundance.

565.] 'Carmina pastorum' is not "carmina pastoralia," but refers to the actual songs of shepherds in the Bucolics. 'Lusi' E. 1. 10. 'Audax iuventa:' he is thinking

of bucolic poetry, not as compared with other kinds of poetry, but with reference to its own standard, with some such feelings as those embodied E. 9. 32. foll. Heyne comp. "audacibus adnue coeptis," above, 1. 40. [The Berne scholia read "auxique iuventa," mentioning 'audax' as a variant. —H. N.]

566.] E. 1. 1, which shows that 'sub tegmine fagi' here refers to Tityrus. Rom. has 'cecini patulae,' which perhaps might make the sense clearer, but it is more probable that Virg. should have wished to reproduce his first line as closely as possible.

ON

THE LATER DIDACTIC POETS OF ROME.

HAVING spoken of the Latin Pastoral writers who came after Virgil, I may naturally be expected to say something of his successors in Didactic Poetry. It is true that the two cases are not precisely parallel: in the one not only the kind of poetry, but the subject, was the same as Virgil's own: in the other the similarity merely affects the form, and does not extend to the matter. Like Virgil, Calpurnius and Nemesianus sang of the contests, the loves, the laments of shepherds: unlike Virgil, Manilius, Grattius, Nemesianus, and Serenus Sammonicus, sing of astronomy and astrology, of the chase, and of the cure of diseases. Here, however, as in the Introductory Essay to the Georgics, I am addressing those who, like myself, are students of Roman poetry, not students of Roman agriculture, so that I shall need no apology for devoting a short time to the examination of writers whose works resemble the Georgics, as the Georgics themselves resemble not the treatises of Cato and Varro, but the poems of Lucretius. These writers of course will be themselves considered simply with reference to their form: to discuss their matter is a task which is fortunately beyond my purpose, as it is certainly beyond my ability.

The most considerable Latin Didactic poem subsequent to the Georgics is unquestionably the *Astronomica*¹ of Manilius. It is divided into five books, consisting respectively of 926, 970, 682, 935, and 745 lines, so that its length is nearly double that of Virgil's work. Its date is still an unsolved problem. No allusion to it occurs in any ancient writers: it is not even quoted by a single grammarian: indeed, there is no trace of its existence till the eleventh century, which also happens to be the probable date of its earliest MS.; while, on the other hand, its own internal evidence, as estimated by the most competent critics, would seem to refer it to the reign of Tiberius. Professor

¹ I have adopted the forms "Astronomica," "Cynegetica," &c., rather than "Astronomicon," "Cynegeticon," which seem to be merely genitives belonging to the omitted substantive "liber" or "libri," as the Latin title of the Georgics shows. Similar mistakes were made by early English writers, who talked about Virgil's "Aeneidos," and are not uncommonly made by modern English bookbinders. Pliny however (H. N. 32. 11) seems to regard "Halienticon" as a neuter singular.

Ramsay, to whose article in the Dictionary of Biography those who are desirous of further information may be profitably referred, reconciles these apparently conflicting facts by supposing that the poem, bearing, as it does, marks of incompleteness, may never have been published, but that a copy or two may have got into private circulation, and so may have been accidentally preserved. I do not pretend to have given the work such an examination as would qualify me to form an independent opinion; nor would I venture to decide whether, as some have supposed, his language would not lead us to believe him to have been a foreigner. The work is apparently written with that average command of the hexameter which, after the example set by Virgil, became almost a matter of course for a Roman poet, and the language has much of that elaboration and point which after the Augustan age was exacted as a necessity, while it almost ceased to be a merit: but there is no genuine energy or felicity of diction: the expressions are frequently forced, and the thoughts, where not obvious, are apt to degenerate into conceits. I propose to justify this character of a poem which numbers the younger Scaliger and Bentley among its editors, and Creech, not the worst versifier of Dryden's contemporaries, among its translators, by a few extracts from the more professedly poetical passages, and afterwards to give some notion of the general mode of treatment by an analysis of the First Book.

Each of the five books is introduced by a long exordium, in which the author was evidently anxious to display his powers as a poet. The first book has an introduction of 117 lines, the second of at least 59, the third of 42, the fourth of 121, the fifth of 29: and similar halting-places are furnished by the conclusions of the first and third books. In the opening of the second book Manilius elaborates the same thought which is enforced by Virgil at the beginning of the Third Georgic, the difficulty of finding a subject which had not been exhausted by previous treatment: but it is easy to see how far the rhetorician is removed from the poet. After speaking of Homer in lines of which the text is too uncertain to make them worth quoting, he comes to Hesiod.

“Proximus illi

Hesiodus memorat divos divomque parentis
Et Chaos enixum terras, orbemque sub illo
Infantem, et primos titubantia sidera partus,
Titanesque senes, Iovis et cunabula magni,
Et sub fratre viri nomen, sine fratre parentis,
Atque iterum patrio nascentem corpore Bacchum,
Omniaque immenso volitantia lumina mundo.
Quin etiam ruris cultus legesque notavit
Militiamque soli, quod colles Bacchus amaret,
Quod fecunda Ceres campos, quod Pallas utrumque,

Atque arbusta vagis essent quod adultera pomis,
 Silvarumque deos, sacrataque munia nymphis,
 Pacis opus, magnos naturae condit in usus."

The first remark which occurs to the mind is on the needless frigidity of this enumeration of Hesiod's works and their various subjects, when a line or two, mentioning the poet and indicating the character of his poetry, would have been quite sufficient: the second is on the equally gratuitous conceits with which the details are embellished, as in the lines about the creation, about Jupiter, and about Bacchus.

In entering upon the third book he tells us that he is undertaking a new and difficult part of his subject, and prepares himself for the extraordinary effort by proclaiming what he is *not* going to sing.

"Non ego in excidium caeli nascentia bella
 Fulminis et flammæ, partus in matre sepultos;
 Non coniuratos reges, Troiaque cadente
 Hectora venalem cineri, Priamumque ferentem:
 Colchida nec referam vendentem regna parentis,
 Et lacerum fratrem stupro, segetesque virorum,
 Taurorumque truces flammæ, vigilemque draconem,
 Et reduces annos, auroque incendia facta,
 Et male conceptos partus peiusque necatos:
 Non annosa canam Messanae bella nocentis,
 Septenosque duces, ereptaque fulmine flammis
 Moenia Thebarum, et victam quia vicerat urbem,
 Germanosque patris referam matrisque nepotes,
 Natorumque epulas, conversaque sidera retro
 Ereptumque diem: nec Persica bella profundo
 Indicta, et magna pontum sub classe latentem,
 Immissumque fretum terris, iter aequoris undis:
 Non regis magni spatium maiore canenda,
 Quam sint acta, loquar: Romanae gentis origo,
 Totque duces, orbis tot bella atque otia, et omnia
 In populi unius leges ut cesserit orbis,
 Differtur."

Yet, if these lines are frigid in their conception and affectedly obscure in their expression, we need not refuse the praise of ingenuity to those which immediately follow, in which he contrasts the ease of writing on such hackneyed themes with the mechanical difficulties of his own subject.

"Facile est ventis dare vela secundis,
 Fecundumque solum varias agitare per artis,
 Auroque atque ebori decus addere, cum rudis ipsa
 Materies niteat. Speciosis condere rebus
 Carmina, volgatum est opus et componere simplex.
 At mihi per numeros ignotaque nomina rerum,
 Temporaque et varios casus, momentaque mundi,
 Signorumque vices, partisque in partibus ipsis

Luctandum est, quas nosse nimis, quid? dicere, quantum est?
Carmine, quid, proprio? pedibus, quid, iungere certis?"

The fourth book commences with some reflections on the problem of human life, which he solves by the doctrine of fate.

"Quid tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis,
Torquemurque metu caecaque cupidine rerum,
Aeternisque senes curis, dum quaerimus aevum,
Perdimus, et nullo votorum fine beati
Victuros agimus semper, nec vivimus unquam?
Pauperiorque bonis quisque est, quo plura requirit,
Nec quod habet numerat, tantum quod non habet optat;
Cumque sui parvos usus natura reposcat,
Materiam struimus magnae per vota ruinae,
Luxuriamque lucris emimus, luxuque rapinas,
Et summum census pretium est, effundere censum.
Solvite, mortales, animos, curasque levate,
Totque supervacuis vitam deflere querellis.
Fata regunt orbem, certa stant omnia lege,
Longaque per certos signantur tempora casus."

Not content with enunciating his discovery, he proceeds to apply it, tediously enough, to the various events in mythical and historical times. Without fate, he asks, could the fire have fled from Aeneas? could Troy have been victorious at the very crisis of its destiny? would the wolf have reared the two brothers? would Rome have been developed out of a few cottages? could shepherds have made the Capitol the seat of the lightnings, and enclosed Jupiter in his own fortress? Mucius, Horatius, Cloelia, the fate of the Curiatii, the battles of Cannae and Trasimene, the fall of Carthage, the escape of Hannibal by death, the social and civil wars, Marius lying a ruin among ruins, and rising from the precincts of Carthage to conquer a world, Pompey burnt on the shore of Nile, and Caesar bleeding in the senate, all show that there must be Fate in the world.

"Hoc nisi fata darent, nunquam fortuna tulisset."

A specimen of his narrative power occurs in the fifth book, where, having to speak of the constellation of Andromeda, he tells the tale of her deliverance by Perseus in a style which, as Bernhardt aptly remarks,² reminds us of the show-pieces of Seneca the tragedian. These are Perseus' feelings when he first sees the beautiful prisoner.

"Isque ubi pendentem vidit de rupe puellam,
Deriguit facie, quem non stupefecerat hostis,
Vixque manu spoliū tenuit, victorque Medusae
Victus in Andromeda est. Iam cautibus invidet ipsis,

² Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur, p. 454 (2nd edition).

*Felicitasque vocat teneant quae membra catenas.
Et postquam poenae causam cognovit ab ipsa,
Destinat in thalamos per bellum vadere ponti,
Altera si Gorgo veniat, non territus ire."*

But I must redeem my promise of analyzing an entire portion of the poem, the first book.

Manilius proposes his subject, characterizing it very briefly as "*divinas artis et conscia fati Sidera, diversos hominum variantia casus,*" and recommending it as a new strain, which is to shake the woods of Helicon. With equal brevity, Caesar, the worthy heir of a world which the gods gave to his father, is acknowledged as the poet's inspiring deity. When the universe is at peace, the secrets of the universe may be most fitly unfolded. The poet kindles fire on two altars, and feels a twofold heat, the heat of song and the heat of his subject, which is no less than the world itself. Who first revealed such divine secrets to men? Who but the gods? It was Mercury who first disclosed the wondrous movements of the stars: Nature assisted in the work of making herself known, and taught Egyptian and Assyrian kings to scrutinize that heaven which their power so nearly reached. The next step was made by the priests, who, long familiar with divine things, were allowed to perceive the influence of the stars on human life. Knowledge was reduced to a system: occult laws were discovered, and the universe was seen to be regulated by eternal reason. Till then all was uncertainty: men wept to find stars vanish, and were rejoiced at their reappearance. Those were, indeed, days of darkness, when earth was untilled, mines unworked, the sea unnavigated, and every one thought his stock of knowledge enough. Time, penury, and experience worked the cure, and taught language, agriculture, commerce, and the arts of war and peace; nay (to pass from more hackneyed topics), taught divination, magic, and necromancy, and did not stop till they had mounted up to heaven and studied nature's operations, the causes of thunder, conflagrations, earthquakes, rain and wind, and the reason why winter snow is softer than summer hail; till the fiery bolt had been wrested from Jove and transferred to the clouds. Hence came the knowledge of the stars, the poet's present subject, which he hopes to be permitted to pursue through the gentle decline of a long life.

First he undertakes to describe the appearance of the universe, glancing, as he passes, at the various theories of its origin, chaotic or atomic, Vulcanian or Neptunian, a problem which he seems to think beyond divine no less than human comprehension. The upper part of the mundane system is fire, next comes air, which serves as it were to fan the flame: thirdly water, which in like manner feeds the air by its exhalations: lastly earth, which occupies at once the lowest place and the centre, the other elements falling off from it in equal proportions on

all sides. This balance of the earth preserves the regular succession of day and night, the sun having space in which to circle round it. The entire universe in fact is similarly balanced in the void, so that the earth is only following a higher example. The earth is not a plain but a globe: so are the stars, and the sun and moon, the form being caused by the motion of the universe, a perfect and symmetrical form without beginning or end, resembling that of the gods. Hence it is that all the stars are not visible from all parts of the earth. Being spherical, the earth has two poles, north and south. These are visited alternately by the sun, so that it is day with one part of mankind while it is night with another. And this fourfold universe is governed by one divine intelligence.

Proceeding to details, he speaks of the zodiacal signs in their order, contenting himself with enumerating and briefly discriminating them. Then follows a long muster-roll of the northern constellations, extending over nearly a hundred lines. Seventy lines carry us through a similar review of the southern hemisphere: and a much briefer paragraph speaks of certain signs which, though completely invisible, are concluded to exist from analogy. Such is the host of heaven, a mere mixed multitude to look at, yet governed by unerring laws. "*Quid tam confusum specie, quid tam vice certum est?*" This regularity is, in fact, the surest witness to the existence of a supreme intelligence. When Troy was taken by the Greeks, Arctos and Orion were opposed to each other as they are now. Ages have rolled on, retribution has come upon Greece, yet the face of heaven is the same, unchanging, and therefore divine. Forty lines are given to the Arctic and Antarctic circles, the Tropics, and the Equator: thirty to the Colures: thirty more to the Meridian and the Horizon. The Zodiac and Galaxy follow, the latter suggesting a number of inquiries, mythological and philosophical, culminating in a theory that it is inhabited by the souls of the heroes, the chief of whom are enumerated at a somewhat tedious length. The planets are despatched in four lines: the comets receive a longer commemoration, which closes with a passage evidently modelled on the conclusion of the First Georgic, about their effects on mankind and on the empires of the world. Comets, we are told, portend plagues, like that of Athens, when medicine gave way, funeral fires failed, and a great nation perished, scarcely leaving an heir behind it; disasters, as when Germany turned on Varus³ and shed the blood of three Roman legions; civil wars, like the battle of Philippi, waged on ground yet heaving with newly-buried corpses. A brief prayer to the gods that these

³ It is this passage which is relied on for fixing the date of Manilius. He speaks as if the termination of the civil wars by Augustus were a comparatively recent thing, at the same time that he alludes to the catastrophe of Varus.

struggles may be the last that Rome is destined to undergo terminates the book.⁴

Of the *Cynegetica* of Grätius a much shorter notice will suffice. The sole notice of the author or his work to be found among ancient writers of antiquity is comprised in a single pentameter of Ovid (*Ex Ponto*, 4. 16. 34), occurring at the end of a list of contemporary poets; a fact which may help us to reconcile the absolute silence of antiquity about Manilius with the intrinsic probability that the *Astronomica* belong to a time not much later than the Augustan age. All that we know of the history of the poet is confined to his name, which appears to have been a pet-name given to slaves, thus suggesting the supposition that he was one of the class of highly educated slaves, not uncommon in Roman families, and that the practical knowledge of his subject which his poem displays had been gained in the course of his ordinary duties. The cognomen "Faliscus," which is sometimes added to his name, rests on the authority of a MS. which perhaps never existed,⁵ and of a line in the poem itself.⁶ The extant evidence for the text of the *Cynegetica* is a single MS.,⁷ which is evidently imperfect, though perhaps not to any great degree, and in parts as evidently corrupt. A corrupt or imperfect text, however, will not account for the harshnesses and obscurities with which the poem is disfigured. These must in the main be imputed to the writer, who, having none but common thoughts to express, is nevertheless not content to express them in common language.

The poem consists of a single book of 540 lines. Its opening is not unpromising. The subject is proposed modestly enough, "the gift of heaven, the arts that bring the huntsman success," and Diana is invoked as the natural patroness of the subject, the goddess who, with the other silvan powers, came to the help of primeval man in his unequal struggle with the brutes, and taught him to remedy by art the defects of his natural condition. The poet then proceeds at once to describe the construction of a net, and to speak of the best localities for getting the materials. Then follows a digression which reads like a piece of the

⁴ In taking leave of Manilius, I will venture to suggest an emendation of his text. The passage is in Book 1, v. 245, "Nos in nocte sumus, somnosque in membra locamus." Scaliger reads "somno sic," Stöber "somno qui." I should prefer "vocamus." The words are confused *Lucr.* 5. 12, where "vocavit" of the MSS. has been corrected by the editors into "locavit."

⁵ Vouched for by Barth, whose testimony however is doubted.

⁶ V. 40, "At contra nostris in bellia lina Faliscis." "Nostris" may be meant to contrast by anticipation with Spain and Egypt, mentioned in the following lines, in which case it need only mean 'Italian:' but it seems at least as likely that it is intended to discriminate Faleri from Cumae and Etruria, which have just been spoken of.

⁷ There is another MS. which contains part of Grätius along with the "*Haliutica*" mentioned below.

exordium violently separated from its context, about the calamitous fate of the old mythological race who ventured unassisted to combat with wild beasts. Returning to details, he speaks of the plumage required for the *formido*, of nooses and springes, and takes occasion to extol one Dercylos the Arcadian, a name unknown to mythographers, as having earned by his piety the honour of being the inventor not only of the springe, but of the hunting-spear. After a discussion about the best shafts for hunting-spears, he launches into a bolder strain, and enlarges for 350 lines on the various breeds of dogs, especially the metagon, a cross between the Spartan and Cretan, introduced by Hagnon, another unknown worthy, on the care which the metagon requires when young, and on the diseases and injuries incident to dogs, and their remedies, ending with a description of a solemn ceremonial in Sicily, where diseased animals and their keepers are anointed with oil from a natural spring in a cavern sacred to Vulcan, and a companion picture of a yearly lustration of hounds and hunting implements in the grove of the Arician Diana. The remainder of the poem, only 40 lines, is occupied with an enumeration of the best breeds of horses, the preference being apparently given to the Italian,⁸ in a passage which in its completed form may have been intended, as Wernsdorf thinks, as the actual conclusion of the work, though both symmetry of composition and the claims of the subject might certainly have pleaded for a more extended treatment.

The following passage, on the early training of the metagon, will, I think, give a fair notion of Gratius, both in his strength and in his weakness. The early part contains nice observation, pleasingly expressed, though the language sometimes fails in perspicuity; the latter shows how easily he can fall into tasteless common-place.

"Tum deinde monebo,

Ne matrem indocilis natorum turba fatiget,
Percensere notis, iamque inde excernere parvos.
Signa dabunt ipsi. Teneris vix artubus haeret
Ille tuos olim non defecturus honores:
Iamque illum impatiens aequae vementia sortis
Extulit: adfectat materna regna sub alvo,
Ubera tota tenet, a tergo liber aperto,⁹

⁸ The sense however of the lines in which the Italian breed is mentioned, the last three of the poem, is very doubtful, as several words have been obliterated.

⁹ Burmann conjectures "Ubera tota tenens, ac tergo liber aperto." Gronovius changes "a" (which seems to be merely a correction of the MS. reading "ea") into "stat." He is followed by Haupt, who published a critical edition of Gratius and Nemesianus, with the fragment of the *Halieutica*, at Leipzig, in 1838. The sense is that this promising whelp monopolizes his mother's teat, and will not let any of his brothers get on his back, except in cold weather, when he is more tolerant.

Dum tepida indulget terris clementia mundi.
 Verum ubi Caurino perstrinxit frigore vesper,
 Ira iacet, turbaque potens operitur inerti.
 Illius et manibus viris sit cura futuras
 Perpensare : levis deducet pondere fratres.
 Nec me pignoribus,¹ nec te mea carmina fallent.
 Protinus et cultus alios et debita fetae
 Blandimenta feres, curaque sequere merentem :
 Illa perinde suos ut erit delacta minores,²
 Ac longam praestabit opem. Tum denique, fetae
 Cum desunt operi, fregitque industria matres,
 Transeat in catulos omnis tutela relictos.
 Lacte novam pubem faciliue tuebere maza,
 Nec luxur alios avidaeque impendia vitae
 Noscant : haec magno reedit indulgentia damno :
 Nec mirum : humanos non est³ magis altera sensus :
 Tollit se ratio, et vitiiis adeuntibus obstat.
 Haec illa est, Pharios quae fregit noxia reges,
 Dum servata cavis potant Mareotica gemmis,
 Nardiferumque metunt Gangem, vitiiisque ministrant.
 Sic et Achaemenio cecidisti, Lydia, Cyro :
 Atqui dives eras, fluvialibus aurea venis.
 Scilicet, ad summam ne quid restaret habendum,
 Tu quoque, luxuriae fictas dum colligis artis,
 Et sequeris demens alienam, Graecia, culpam,
 O quantum et quotiens decoris frustrata paterni !
 At qualis nostris, quam simplex mensa, Camillis !
 Qui tibi cultus erat post tot, Serrane, triumphos !
 Ergo illi ex habitu virtutisque indole priscoe
 Imposuere orbi Romam caput, actaque ab illis
 Ad caelum virtus summosque tetendit honores.
 Scilicet exiguis magna sub imagine rebus
 Prospicies, quae sit ratio et quo fine regenda."

The *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus may be conveniently treated in connexion with Gratius' poem, though the interval of time between their respective dates is considerable. The younger poet must, I think, be

¹ If the text is right, "pignoribus" must have the sense of "indiciis." "You will not find the tokens mentioned in my poem delusive, any more than I do." But Burmann is probably right in reading "Haec de pignoribus (nec te mea carmina fallent): Protinus," &c., the young "pignora" being distinguished from the mother.

² For these words, which of course give no sense, Johnson, an English editor of Gratius and Nemesianus (London, 1699), ingeniously suggests "suo nutrit," or "saturat," "de lacte minores." Lachmann, whom Haupt follows, changes "delacta" into "devincta," the MS. reading in the next line being not "ac" but "ad."

³ "Est" is generally understood i. q. "edit." In the next line Barth conjectures "Tollat . . . obstat," reason being called upon to rise and put down luxury. Wernsdorf, after Johnson, changes "obstat" into "abstat," supposing the sense to be that when vice enters, reason retires. Lachmann reads "humanos non res magis altera sensus Tollit : sed ratio vitiiis adeuntibus obstat," which Haupt adopts.

allowed to rank higher than the elder in command of poetical imagery and poetical language: his work however is still more fragmentary, being evidently only a part of what was originally intended, though there are not the same marks of actual imperfection, and the number of suspected readings seems to be smaller in proportion. The thousand ways of hunting, the exhilarating toil, and the rapid evolutions of peaceful rural strife, are Nemesianus' subject; a wholly new and untried one, as he tells us, in apparent ignorance of the labours of his predecessor. This boasted novelty he proceeds to enforce in the rhetorical spirit of the passages which I quoted from Manilius, enumerating at great length by way of contrast the various subjects which other poets have treated to exhaustion. He then states his own intentions more at large, and promises, like Virgil, at no distant day to sing of the exploits of his imperial patrons, the two sons of Carus. Diana is then invoked, and invited to accoutre herself for the chase, with painted quiver, golden arrows, purple buskins, gold-embroidered scarf, jewelled belt, and wreath for the hair; a somewhat unseasonable inventory, imitated perhaps from the wardrobe of a Homeric goddess, but as frigid in an invocation as it is appropriate in an antique epic narrative. After this introduction of 100 lines we come to the poem itself, which takes up only 220 more. Nearly 140 of these are given to dogs, the chief stress being laid on the subject of training. I will quote a few, which go over part of the ground traversed in the passage cited from Gratius.

"Fecundos aperit partus matura gravado
 Continuo, largaque vides strepere omnia prole:
 Sed, quamvis avidus, primos contemnere partus
 Malueris, mox non omnis nutrire minores.
 Nam tibi si placitum populosos pascere fetus,
 Iam macie tenuis sucique videbis inanias
 Pugnantisque diu, quisnam prior ubera lambat,
 Distrahere invalidam lassato viscere matrem.
 Sin vero hæc cura est, melior ne forte necetur
 Abdaturve domo, catulosque probare voluntas
 Queis nondum gressus stabiles, neque lumina passa,
 Luciferum videre iubar, quas prodidit usus
 Percipe, et intrepidus spectatis adnue dictis.
 Pondere nam catuli poteris perpendere vires,
 Corporibusque levis gravibus prænoscere cursu.
 Quin et flammato ducatur linea longe
 Circuitu, signetque habilem vapor igneus orbem:
 Impune in medio possis consistere circo.
 Huc omnes catuli, huc indiscreta feratur
 Turba: dabit mater partus examine honestos,
 Iudicio natos servans trepidoque periclo.
 Nam postquam conclusa videt sua germina flammis,

Continuo saltu transcendens fervida zonae
 Vinela, rapit riotu primum portatque cubili,
 Mox alium, mox deinde alium : sic conscia mater
 Segregat egregiam subolem virtutis amore."

The rest of the poem is occupied partly with horses, the points of a good horse and the training which he requires being described in the manner, though not quite with the felicity, of the Third Georgic, partly with hunting implements ; after which we are dismissed to the chase rather abruptly :

" His ita dispositis hiemis sub tempus aquosae
 Incipe velocis catulos inmittere pratis,
 Incipe cornipedes latos agitare per agros :
 Venemur, dum mane novum, dum mollia prata
 Nocturnis calcata feris vestigia servant."

Two fragments of a poem on Fowling (*Ixautica* or *De Aucupio*) were printed in a Dialogue on Birds (1544) by Gibertus Longolius who asserted that they had been transcribed for him from a copy of a work by Nemesianus existing in a library at Bologna. Werdsdorf, in opposition to Ulitius, thinks them not unworthy of their reputed author : but in any case they need not detain us further.

The elder Pliny, in two passages of his Natural History,⁴ speaks of a poem by Ovid, entitled *Halieutica*. A fragment on that subject with Ovid's name attached to it is found in a MS. containing part of Gratinus' Cynægetica, and has been frequently printed in editions of Gratinus and Nemesianus, or as part of Ovid's works. It would perhaps be too much to assign it to such illustrious parentage, though Haupt thinks otherwise : but it would not disgrace either of the two poets whom we have just been considering. Take a specimen.

" At contra scopulis crinali corpore segnis
 Polypus haeret, et hac eludit retia fraude,
 Et sub lege loci sumit mutatque colorem,
 Semper ei similis quem contigit : atque ubi praedam
 Pendentem saetis avidus rapit, hic quoque fallit
 Elato calamo, cum demum emersus in auras
 Brachia dissolvit, populatumque exspuit hamum.
 At mugil cauda pendentem everberat escam
 Excussamque legit. Lupus acri concitus ira
 Discursu fertur vario, fluctusque ferentis
 Prosequitur, quassatque caput, dum volnere saevus
 Laxato cadat hamus, et ora patentia linquat."

Another fragment with the same argument was published by Hieronymus Columna in his Commentary on the Fragments of Ennius,

⁴ Book 32, chaps. 2 and 11.

having been transcribed from an old MS. by Sertorius Quadrimanus. More ambitious than the former, to which however it is indebted for several lines, it professes in its exordium to be the work of Ovid, who speaks of himself as led to his subject by the scenes of his exile: but though the lines in which the profession is made are not without ability, those who should credit it would be compelled to suppose that Ovid's removal from Rome had made him forget the quantity of the first syllable of "dirigo," as he ventures to address Glancus—

"Quare si veteris durant vestigia moris,
Si precibus hominum flectuntur numina ponti,
Huc adsis, dirigasque pedes, umeroque natantis."

The date of Serenus Sammonicus is at any rate earlier than that of Nemesianus, though it is questioned whether he is to be identified with a person of that name, "cuius libri," says Spartianus, "plurimi ad doctrinam exstant," who was put to death by Caracalla, or with his son, the preceptor of the younger Gordian, and the valued friend of Alexander Severus. His work, however, *De Medicina Præcepta*, in 1115 hexameters, is not properly a didactic poem at all, but merely a medical treatise in metre. Those who are fond of classical parallels may compare it with Catus' lecture to Horace: but to others it will seem a product of the second childhood of literature, when subjects, which, since prose composition existed, have always been treated in prose, are set to tune again by the perverse ingenuity of grammarians. The only part which appears to have any poetical pretension is the opening.

"Membrorum series certo deducta tenore
Ut stet, nam similis medicinæ defluit ordo,
Principio celsa de corporis arce loquamur.
Phoebe, salutiferum, quod pangimus, adsere carmen,
Inventumque tuum prompto comitare favore.
Tuque potens artis, reducem qui tradere vitam
Nosti, seu caelo manis revocare sepultos,
Qui colis Aegeas, qui Pergama, quique Epidaurum,
Qui quondam placidi tectus sub pelle draconis
Tarpeias arcis atque incluta templa petisti
Depellens taetros praesenti numine morbos,
Huc ades, et quidquid cupide mihi saepe roganti
Firmasti, cunctum teneris expone papyria."

Now let us listen to a remedy for a stiff neck.

"At si cervices durataque colla rigeant,
Mira loquar, geminus mulcebitur unguine poples;
Hinc longum per iter nervos medicina sequetur:
Anseris aut pingui torpentia colla fovebis.
Inlinitur valido multum lens cocta in aceto,

Aut caprae fimus et bulbi, aut cervina medulla :
 Hoc etiam immotos flectes medicamine nervos.
 Quos autem vocitant tolles, attingere dextra
 Debebis, qua gryllus erit pressante peremptus."

Still more barren and unpoetical is *Prisciani Carmen de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, a set of 208 hexameters, the authorship of which is involved in some doubt. The first nine lines will show that in spite of a preliminary flourish, it is little better than a *memoria technica*, a device for fixing facts about weights and measures in the memory.

"Pondera Paeoniis veterum memorata libellis
 Nosse iuvat. Pondus rebus natura locavit
 Corporeis ; elementa suum regit omnia pondus.
 Pondere terra manet : vacuus quoque ponderis aether
 Indefessa rapit volventis sidera mundi.
 Ordinar a minimis, post haec maiora sequentur ;
 Nam maius nihil est aliud quam multa minuta.
 Semioboli duplum est obolus, quem pondere duplo
 Gramma vocant, scriplum nostri dixere priores."

Here at length we may stop. The didactic poetry with which we have been dealing, though far enough removed from the spirit of the *Georgics*, has at any rate preserved their form. Terentianus Maurus may have been as much of a didactic poet as Sammonicus or the supposed Priscian ; but as he chose to exemplify in his work the various metres for which he laid down rules, he can hardly come under consideration in an essay which is intended to illustrate by comparison the didactic poetry of Virgil. Other works which the historians of Latin literature have classed among didactic poems seem to be excluded by different reasons. The *Phaenomena* of Avienus, like the fragments of Cicero and Germanicus, hardly calls for notice independently of Aratus' work. The poem on Aetna has didactic affinities, but its subject is not sufficiently general. The *Periegeses* of Avienus and Priscian fall rather under the category of descriptive poetry. Columella's Tenth Book has been mentioned in another place.⁵

⁵ Note on G. 4. 148.

ADDENDA, &c.

P. 49, note on E. 4. 4.

It is right to mention that the Third Sibylline Book, minus a few interpolations, is supposed by modern critics to have been written about 170 B.C., so that Virgil may have actually known it. I do not however find in it any such resemblance to the language of the Fourth Eclogue as to necessitate the supposition that the one must have been the model of the other.

I wish to say that the Introduction to the Georgics had passed through the press before the publication of Mr. Munro's edition of Lucretius. It would be difficult otherwise to excuse the absence there of any allusion to that most important work. In the subsequent Commentary I have fortunately been able to introduce an occasional reference to it, though not so frequently as I might have done had I had the advantage of consulting it earlier.

[On Georg. 4. 132 it should be added that Seneca Ben. 1. 7. 1 quotes this line with the reading *animo*: "qui dedit parva magnifice, qui *regum aequavit opes animo*."—H. N.]



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